OF VARIOUS MAGNIFICENCE

The Architectural History
of the
San Antonio Missions
in the
Colonial Period and the Nineteenth Century

San Antonio Missions National Historical Park,
San Antonio, Texas

by

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Volume One
of
An Architectural and Administrative History
of the
San Antonio Missions
in Two Volumes

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The title is from *A Journey Through Texas*, by Frederick Law Olmsted, 1857, p. 156.

ATTENTION:

Portions of this scanned document are illegible due to the poor quality of the source document.

DEDICATION

After five years of overseeing the San Antonio Historic Structures Report, among all the other jobs she did, Marlys transferred to San Francisco in the Western Region, and then left the Park Service for the private sector. She bequeathed the job of supervising the completion of the HSR to Melody Webb, the Historian for the Southwest Region. Melody assigned the HSR to me as the only remaining member of the original team, and offered the help of "someone who can use the computer." That someone was Kristin Miller, a temporary employee who came to work for us during the summer while waiting to go to graduate school at Columbia University. In an intense period of six weeks of work, we rewrote chapters, added material suggested by reviewers, and struggled with the usual problems of finalizing a major manuscript. Now it is finished, and I can go on to other things.

However, the report could not have been completed without the long-suffering tolerance of Melody Webb. And especially, it couldn't have been done without Kristin, who has more patience than the Sphinx, an infinite capacity for remembering every detail on every page of this massive document, and the ability to make the computer dance for her.

Because the HSR would still be sitting on a shelf without them, I add Melody and Kristin to this dedication.

James E. Ivey Santa Fe, New Mexico

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A historic structure report is a unique creature of the National Park Service. Over time it has evolved as a document focusing on the tangible elements which make up a building: the architectural design and embellishments, the one or several structural systems, the fabric (building materials), the fasteners and the finishes. It describes changes in these elements over time: how a porch was added here and an interior partition wall removed there; how sagging roof timbers were shored up with makeshift rigging that lasted 80 years; how in 1813, having grown bored with its basic beige walls, Mrs. McGillicuddy painted the whole thing pink. In so doing, it differentiates between original fabric and original workmanship -- those elements incorporated at the time of initial construction -- and other elements added later in the structure's history.

The typical Historic Structure Report (HSR) consists of three major components. These are: 1) an administrative context within which the building or buildings became the responsibility of the National Park Service, and was subsequently maintained by the service; 2) a historical context, reviewing the major structural events that formed the buildings acquired by the Park Service; and 3) an architectural analysis section, detailing the present materials, problems, and solutions for the management of the buildings. This report is essentially the first two parts of a complete HSR. Volume One is the historical data section, and Volume Two is an administrative history of the park. The structural analysis for such a large number of buildings will be far too voluminous fit into a single report, and must be assembled structure by structure over the next several years. Hopefully the present report will form a framework of background information that will make such analyses easier.

Usually, information about a given structure can be found in two ways: first, through documentary research, the study of anything written about a particular building or others like it; second, by looking, in a thorough, systematic way, at the building itself. Depending on the nature of the structure to be examined, each method can require very specialized skills.

At San Antonio, for the Spanish colonial period, the requirements were specialized indeed. The documentary research required not only a knowledge of Spanish, but Spanish of a rather esoteric sort: paleography ("old writing") of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There was a second requirement, more ephemeral: the ability to "see" a structure where none exists, to conceptualize three-dimensional space. And a third, that of experience in archeology, which in skilled hands can breathe life into bricks and bones. Finally, to make it all work, the three skills needed to be meshed: documentary description with spatial visualization with evidence in the ground.

James E. Ivey, better known as Jake, is endowed with this unusual combination of abilities. A Spanish colonial scholar, he is also trained in archeology and has participated in or directed dozens of excavations. He is a skilled draftsman who can conjure up in three dimensions -- and verify -- the descriptions of an eighteenth-century priest on a stroll through the mission's convento. Self-taught in paleography, he is a diligent researcher, yet he is also a pragmatist. Jake uncovered a wealth of information in the archives, and following the research, he turned to on-site archeological investigation to confirm his findings. The first eight chapters of Volume One are essentially his original work.

A different approach had to be devised for Chapters 9 and 10. For the turbulent period encompassing the post-colonial era, the Texas Revolution, the Civil War, and the late nineteenth century, the research emphasis shifted from a necessarily conceptual one to one based upon the many eyewitness accounts of travelers and soldiers. From mid-century onward, a new form of documentation was available: the photograph, which for the first time in history offered visual, verifiable evidence.

During the course of the research, James T. Escobedo, Jr. (Santiago to his colleagues and friends) developed considerable expertise in the locating and dating of mid-to-late nineteenth century and early twentieth century photographs of the missions. As a native San Antonian reared in the neighborhood of Concepción, Santiago brought yet another dimension to the project: over the past two decades, he had witnessed changes to the structures which lent a special immediacy to his work. Coupled with his academic training in archeology, this first-hand experience gave him valuable insight into the physical history of the structures. He proved to be a valued collaborator in the writing of Chapters 9 and 10 and all of Volume Two of the study.

In a sense, a National Park Service historic structure report is like the tail which wags the beast. Focusing on the building and not the builder tends to slight the human dimension, the raison d'etre, and the larger historical issues of politics, economics, religion, and the movements of men and their weapons of war. In dealing with the missions of San Antonio, the writers have striven to achieve a more deliberate balance of the material. While emphasizing the physical aspects of the missions, they have also included historical documentation on their management and operation, their builders and rebuilders. As a result, this study combines information normally found in another type of NPS document, the administrative history, with that more customarily found in the historic structures report.

This linkage of structural information with administrative data forms the basis for Volume Two. The principal author was Marlys Bush Thurber, but the text was substantially revised and new research added by Dr. Arthur Gomez, who first became familiar with the material while serving as the historian for San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. Jake and Santiago contributed to the writing of most of the chapters, and were joined by a fourth team member, Tom Ireland, a transplanted New Yorker. A writer of short stories and verse hired initially to edit the report, Tom's skills--which also encompass building construction and linguistics--became immediately apparent. He was put to work as writer as well as editor, and he produced the original versions of Chapter *, The Missions at Mid-Century, and Chapter *, The Missions as a National Park.

Architecture and building is a visual medium, and words alone do not suffice to convey content and meaning. It follows that a historic structures report is incomplete, at best, without graphic means of portrayal. As a part of his research, Jake Ivey blocked out plans of the mission structures to show modifications during the colonial period. From these plans, HABS delineator Jim Fergusson drew the hypothetical plans included in Appendix I. Although the core team is responsible for the content of the study--and for the inevitable errors and omissions--the project would never have come to fruition without the help and dedication of others. Friends and colleagues in San Antonio played an especially important role in its production. Foremost among local civic organizations, the San Antonio Conservation Society, with its long history of involvement with the missions, gave invaluable support to the work. Past presidents of the organization, including Wanda Ford, Joanna Parrish, and Lynn Osborne Bobbitt, were particularly helpful.

Pat Osborne, San Antonio's historic preservation officer, was a key resource, as was Patsy Light, chairperson, Advisory Commission of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. Dr Felix D. Almaraz, Jr., chairman, Bexar County Historical Commission, was available for consultation on the Spanish colonial period in Texas. Both Henry Guerra, former chairman, Bexar County Historical Commission, and Mary Ann Guerra, were helpful throughout the project. Major General William A. Harris, Ret., a committed advocate of the missions, offered important counsel on individuals and groups knowledgeable about Texas history.

In his role as archdiocesan director of the Archdiocese of San Antonio, Monsignor Balthasar J. Janacek, affectionately known as Father Balty, gave unstintingly of his time and counsel. Father Balty's personal devotion to the cause of the San Antonio missions should not go unrecognized.

San Antonio business persons as well offered help far beyond mere monetary considerations. In particular, George Thien of Tobin Aerial Surveys, Inc. went to considerable effort to produce for us the excellent base maps which formed a critical part of the research.

Architectural colleagues also gave generously of their time. The late O'Neil Ford, FAIA, on several occasions carved hours out of his busy schedule to share his wisdom and wit. Carolyn Peterson, AIA, principal in the firm of Ford, Powell and Carson, Architects and Planners, Inc., spent long but fruitful hours climbing scaffolds, examining historic building material, and debating with us the technical aspects of the preservation of the mission structures. Robert Harris, architect and son of the late Ethel Harris, provided important information on the Harris House.

In Austin, key staff of the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department were readily available for consultation on the state's longtime role in the preservation of San Jose. Orion Knox, head of the Historic Sites and Restoration Branch, and architects Steve Whiston and Dennis Cordes were particularly kind in helping us locate research material. Curtis Tunnell, executive director of the Texas Historical Commission, shared his extensive knowledge of archeology at the missions. Eugene George, AIA, on the faculty of The University of Texas, shared his expertise on the architecture of the missions.

Major contributors to the research phase. Chief among these was San Antonio architect Harvey P. Smith, Jr., who provided valuable interpretation of his father's lifelong work at the missions. Our gratitude goes also to the late Rufus Walker, who shared his memories of San Jose of the 1940s. In Santa Fe, we spent many pleasant hours with Dr. Erik K. Reed, former NPS regional archeologist of the southwest Region, who modestly recalled his role in the preservation of Mission San José. The contribution of Pierson DeVries, former director of Old Spanish Missions and former superintendent of Mission San José was without peer. Pete shares a commitment to the missions perhaps equalled only by that of Father Balty.

We also wish to acknowledge the wise counsel of the late Fr. Marion Habig, OFM, who during his long life contributed so much to the study of the history of the missions. In correspondence with Fr. Habig, he offered us an important critical appraisal of the colonial portion of the manuscript, validating our findings on the layout of Mission Concepción. Further, his *Alamo Chain of Missions* formed the core and framework of the historic structures report. Without his work, this study would have been far more difficult to produce.

The academic community of the University of Texas at San Antonio gave freely of their expertise. Archeologist Anne Fox, of the Center for Archaeological Research, offered professional guidance on the archeological mysteries presented by the missions. Dr. 0. W. van Auken, plant ecologist and professor, conducted original research and wrote several papers on the ecology of the missions area. Dr. Joel Gunn, paleoclimatologist and professor, Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, developed the landscape study for the missions and consulted on archeological findings. Dr. Jacinto Quirarte, director of the Research Center for the Arts, and his research associate, Dr. Donna Pierce, produced a study of the decorative architectural elements of the Spanish colonial missions. We owe further thanks to Dr. Pierce for providing us with colonial documents found during her research in the Archivo General de la Nacion in Mexico City.

In the course of the research, many San Antonio agencies, organizations, and institutions were utilized. We wish to thank Sister Maria Carolina of Old Spanish Missions Research Library at Our Lady of the Lake College, for providing access to the microfilm collections. We also appreciate the help given us by the staff at the San Antonio Public Library, History and Reference Department.

In addition, our gratitude extends to Leroy Kitch of the San Antonio Light for historic photographs of San José during the 1917 restoration; to James L. Blair of the San Antonio River Authority (SARA), for lending old river maps; and to Joseph Zawatski, former curator at the San Antonio Museum of Transportation, for his help in the identification and of automobiles visible in the historical photographs. These served as a critical aid in suggesting periods for otherwise undated pictures. We made extensive use of the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas at the Alamo, and we thank Martha Utterback, Sharon Crutchfield, and Bernice Strong for their assistance. At the Institute of Texan Cultures, Debby Large and Tom Shelton provided valuable help. Our gratitude extends also to Cecilia Steinfeldt, Bill Green, and George Ann Cormier of Witte Memorial Museum. Ofelia Tennant, former archivist, Catholic Archives of San Antonio, provided assistance in locating historic photographs and archival materials.

William Randolph of Randolph Blueprint Company, San Antonio, graciously allowed us to use his private photograph collection.

In Austin, Susan Smith and Matilde Rosales-McLemore of the Archives and Records Division, General Land Office, guided us to critical historical documents in their collection. Staff at the Texas Natural Resources Information system provided USGS topographic maps, aerials, and other historical data. Ralph Elder of the Barker Texas History Center, the University of Texas, assisted in our research of the Barker Archives. We are grateful also for the help provided by Sister Dolores Kasner of the Catholic Archives of Texas and Vicky Bell of the Texas State Library.

Elsewhere in Texas, Ft. Worth's Amon Carter Western Museum, with its fine collection of historic photographs, proved a valuable resource. In College Station, Captain Tex Treadwell of Texas A&M was generous in allowing us the use of his private stereopticon collection. Kevin Young, military historian and chief of interpretation at Presidio La Bahia in Goliad, provided expert aid on the identification and dating of historic photographs.

Further afield, our own NPS colleagues dedicated time and effort to the project. In Washington, National Park Service Chief Historian Edwin F. Bearss reviewed the first draft of the study. Ed Bearss somehow made time to read every word of the manuscript, offering significant comment, and for his diligence we are most grateful. Assistant Chief Historical Architect Randall Biallas reviewed the draft MS well, and we very much appreciate his continuing interest in the project, and that of Chief Historical Architect Hugh C Miller. Also in the Washington office, Kenneth L. Anderson, principal architect for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), put together the first HABS team at San Antonio in fifty years. Our thanks to Ken for setting in motion a critically important documentation project which was carried out under the dedicated supervision of John White, partner in the architectural firm of White Associates, Lubbock, Texas.

At Denver Service Center, Micrographics Chief Tom Fair provided us with top quality reproductions of photographs and other graphics. Marilyn Hoff, planner for the Southeast-Southwest Team, guided us to mission archival materials from Central Files in Ft. Worth. Anthony Crosby, architect with the Southeast-Southwest Team, was generous in sharing his preservation experience at Tumacacori National Monument.

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No acknowledgement would be complete without a return to the locus of the study and an expression of our gratitude to Robert Amdor, present superintendent of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, and Jose Cisneros, superintendent of the park when the project was begun. Jose Cisneros and his staff, particularly former chief Ranger Ernesto Ortega, devoted hours, funding, and more importantly, their concern, to the successful accomplishment of the project.

CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS

Present-Day Context

San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, with its four Spanish colonial missions and associated resources, is a 475-acre area located in south central San Antonio. The park contains a total of 86 structures directly associated with the four missions and an additional 21 archeological and historical sites which record more than 260 years of history. The missions are situated at intervals along the San Antonio River over a distance of about 8 miles. They are, from north to south, Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña, on the east side of the river; Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, on the west; Mission San Juan Capistrano, again on the east; and Mission San Francisco de la Espada, on the west. Not included in the park is Mission San Antonio de Valero, popularly known as the Alamo, located just east of San Antonio Riverwalk and central plazas.

Included within the park are the dams of missions Espada and San Juan with their associated acequias (irrigation ditches); the aqueduct which carries the Espada acequia over Piedras Creek; the labores (fields) of Espada and San Juan; and other cultural resources consisting of prehistoric sites, colonial sites outside the missions proper, and Mexican and Anglo-American sites associated with the missions or with the development of the mission lands.

The missions were originally established in the eighteenth century as self-sufficient enterprises distant from urban San Antonio. In the southern part of the park, around missions San Juan and Espada, this rural character still remains, although urbanization and industry present a growing threat to the tranquil setting. The San Antonio River, which used to meander between the missions, has been confined to a man-made channel. Of the four acequia systems, today only Espada still functions, but there are plans to restore the San Juan acequia flow by pumping water from the channelized river. The northernmost missions, Concepción and San José, are now so encompassed by residential and commercial development that they have become anomalies in their own setting.

The park's principal historic features are the structures of the missions. These were built initially from prototypes developed in medieval Europe and refined in the New World to accommodate specific, formalized functions. They consist generally of the following: an enclosing wall for confinement and defense, broken by gates at strategic or convenient places; a church for religious observances and a sacristy for the storage of vestments and sacred objects; a *convento* containing the friary, where the priests lived and worked, and other rooms for the storage and production of material goods; and the Indian quarters, a series of small attached rooms built, most frequently into the enclosing walls, to house the Indians of the mission. After the mission lands and structures were divided among the mission Indians and "other deserving persons," the transition from a mission lifestyle to one more closely resembling a village or town required new architectural solutions. Old buildings were restored, reused, or left in ruin; new buildings were constructed.

In terms of architectural envelope, interior space, and sculptural embellishment, much of the eighteenth century character of the individual structures remains intact. Except in a few protected areas, notably at Concepción, the painted decoration has not survived. Church and convento exteriors formerly plastered and covered with ornate geometric designs are now bare stone with an occasional faint trace of color.

The visual character of the compounds as a whole, however, has changed dramatically from colonial days. At Concepción, after years of effort on the part of the Park Service, the modern alignment of

Mission Road has been returned to its old route around the walls of the mission, and the majority of the plaza is being delineated in front of the church and convento, making an island of grass and trees in urban surroundings. The compounds at Espada and San Juan are defined only in part, with broken walls and disconnected buildings surrounding the space which was originally the mission plazas. Only San José conveys, as a result of the extensive 1930s reconstruction work, a dramatic sense of the volume of the compound space and the character of its enclosing walls.

General Significance

The San Antonio missions were a major part of the Spanish colonial system for the establishment and management of its defensive and settlement frontier in the American Southwest. This frontier had significant and far-reaching effects on the development of the United States both politically and culturally, effects which are continuing today. The missions were directly involved in the military, religious, and cultural development of the Texas frontier, and they influenced policy-making in these areas across the entire Southwest. Their impact upon the development of the American cattle industry was pronounced. Their contribution to agriculture and commerce was of critical importance to the development of the state of Texas and to the San Antonio region. The structures themselves constitute a unique record of the architecture, art, and sculpture of the Spanish colonial period in Texas. This record has had a substantive influence on the study of the history of architecture and decorative arts in the American Southwest. Archival collections of the mission documents offer unlimited opportunities for historical studies on the topics of acculturation, culture change, comparative frontier studies, and the mechanics and implementation of the Mission system. The unparalleled archeological record of each Mission offers a unique resource for study of the progressive changes in material culture which occurred at each of the missions, changes which may well be representative of culture change throughout the Southwest.

The Spanish Colonial Missionary System

The process of exploring and settling a frontier during the Spanish colonial period usually involved three elements: the presidio, or fort; the colonial town; and the mission. The San Antonio missions were a critical part of the extension of the Spanish frontier into Texas. Their purpose as part of the colonial effort was to:

--Spread Christianity and European culture on the Texas frontier;

--Serve as an essential element of frontier policy, in conjunction with the presidio and the colonial town of San Antonio.

They served to control the Indian population, to lighten the burden of defense imposed on the military, and to lessen the threat of raid and theft to the colonial town. The San Antonio complex formed the base from which Spanish military and missionary operations and activities in Texas were carried out. It supported the frontline, short-lived presidios and missions to the north and east. A principal component of these operations was the observation, control and opposition of the French colonies of the Mississippi valley and the central Gulf coast in the period from 1720 to 1763, the English colonies and the Indians to the north from 1763 to 1776, and the United States and the Comanche Indians after 1776.

Two missions and a presidio were established in the San Antonio area in 1718-1720, and political, military and religious considerations moved three new missions into the same small valley in 1731. As

a result, five missions were located in the San Antonio River valley under the protection of a single presidio. They were grouped closely, for two principal reasons. First, the fields required irrigation, and this could be accomplished only in a narrow area along the upper ten miles or so of the valley. Second, the threat of attack from hostile northern Indian tribes was ever present, and the missions needed to be near the presidio and each other for mutual protection. The San Antonio missions form a viable example of what has been described as "missions of occupation". These were groups of missions which aided in the pacification of the frontier during Spain's northern expansion.

This religious and military complex formed a principal logistical center for the northern Spanish frontier and was a key element in political decisions concerning that frontier. In addition to their more political purposes, the missions served to educate the Indian in the Catholic religion and the Hispanic culture, producing useful citizens in an area where the manpower shortage was a major difficulty; moreover, they supplied the military with food and supplies that otherwise might not be available.

The Missions and the American Cattle Industry

Each mission had a ranch on which were raised the sheep, goats, and cattle that supplied the necessary animal products, such as meat, wool, milk, cheese, and leather. The entire cattle industry, from ranching to the driving of cattle across great distances to principal markets, was developed in Mexico during the two centuries prior to the establishment of San Antonio. Spanish ranching as it was practiced in Texas formed the basis for the American cattle industry, and the mission herds were the source of the wild cattle which formed the basis for that industry.

Agriculture and Commerce

The missions brought a specialized method of agriculture using irrigated farmland to the San Antonio river valley. This system, extended by later settlers, formed the subsistence basis for the San Antonio economy for over a century. Portions of mission-built irrigation systems continue in use in San Antonio and other areas of Texas today. Necessary industries such as weaving, iron working, and carpentry established by the missions were of great importance to the maintenance of the entire military and political structure of the eastern portion of the frontier. Mission-trained artisans and workers were a principal source of labor and finished goods on the labor-hungry frontier, and the surpluS produced by mission shops helped fill the need for goods in an area at the far end of a long and expensive supply line. The supply line itself was operated to a large extent by the missions and formed the basis for the development of similar supply systems by merchants.

Culture and Society

The four missions as a group form a clearly defined region within which their influence has been dominant. The missions were dynamic societies which, once established, began a process of cultural change affecting not only the Indians placed in their charge, but also the fathers who administered the missions, the military establishment which protected them, and the Spanish colonists who competed for land and water and for the labor of the mission Indians. As this process of interaction continued, the physical structures of the missions were altered in response to the changing priorities of the mission community. As the Indians became Hispanicized and as Hispanics settled in the vicinity, the missions dominated the cultural development of their local area. Eventually the missions became, to one extent or another, centers of a distinctive culture blending Indian and Hispanic elements. Today each mission

continues to be a center of this pastoral Hispanicized culture, the church in each instance serving as the local parish church.

The surviving structures and structural remains contain examples of architectural change from every period of the history of the missions. A wide range of sculptural and painted decoration is still extant, illustrating the development of these arts on the frontier. The San Antonio missions are among only a very few relatively intact examples of the colonial mission in the American Southwest and have been of great importance to general architectural studies of this period.

Historical and Cultural Studies Potential

The records of the mission period form a large reservoir of primary information about mission life, growth, and influence over the military and political currents of the Spanish frontier and of San Antonio and Texas in later years. Much of this material is virtually untouched and will be of great importance to future historical studies concerning the establishment of the San Antonio missions, their operation and management, their influence over the frontier, and their decline.

Archeological Studies Potential

Archeological resources within and around each mission are extensive and unique. The limited archeological work carried out at the missions has already begun to cast new light on the historical record, resulting in the reinterpretation of earlier conclusions about the missions and their influence, change, and conversion to secular villages. The implications of this work in archeology and history are only just beginning to be recognized and will have a great impact on future historical and cultural studies of Texas and the Spanish frontier.

Integrity

The district as a whole reflects a very high level of integrity. The missions stand today on their eighteenth century sites. Some retain elements of the colonial mission complex virtually unchanged within their surviving structures, while others have kept the details of their plan and siting intact. The community of each still survives, although in a greatly modified form. This community continues to look to the mission church as a vital element in its social and religious life. All the missions echo their own version of the most significant factor associated with the district: the continuity of the life and spirit of the community from the eighteenth century to the present.

Feeling

The missions evoke distinctive feelings for visitor and local resident alike. For the parishioner, the mission complexes are as much a part of their daily lives as their homes, their families or their jobs; they are a part of the tradition and continuity of their lives. For the visitor from nearby places, the structures are surviving reminders of that mysterious and romantic part of their Texas past, the days of the Spanish Empire. For all who travel to them, the sense of age, of mass, of substance and permanence, of the presence of the past unchanged, is profoundly felt.

Chapter 1
PROTOTYPES AND ANTECEDENTS

European Beginnings

An Archetypal Plan as shaped by Monastic Life

Monasticism, the retreat of a group of the faithful from the world into a separate community with a specific set of rules governing their lives, originated in the fourth century A.D. In that century several orders with an explicit code of rules were established. European monastic tradition derives from the Rule of St. Augustine, which he composed for his first monastery in North Africa. Followers of his rule had established houses in Europe by 500 A.D., and subsequent monastic development followed the basic ideas which he had outlined.

The most significant derivative of the Rule of St. Augustine was the Rule of St. Benedict, written about 540 A.D. For those in the Benedictine and other orders which developed subsequently, these rules formed the basis for their lives. They defined the activities of every hour of the day, every day of the year:

> The whole course of the day was divided into hours of prayer, reading, work, fasting, meditation, and sleep. In [St. Benedict's] rule many of these activities were allotted distinct buildings. To the organization of the day in time corresponded its organization by place, and the perfect monastery could only emerge from their complete agreement. Each activity was to take place in its appointed room, which was to be used for no other purpose, whether this was sleeping, eating, working, meditating, washing, or even speaking. (Braunfels 1972:11)

In the process of attempting to live ever more exactly by these rules, monasteries worked for "the optimum framework for the daily round to be realized as exactly as the Rule demands" (Ibid.:10). This eventually resulted in an archetypal plan for monastic houses, which formed the guiding principle for all subsequent construction.

Braunfels and others have demonstrated that this archetypical plan reached a close approximation of its final form in the period from 800 A.D. to 850 A.D., although some further refinement of the ideas occurred in later years.

The Idealized Plan Evolving from the Plan of St. Gall

The essential points of this structural organization or expression of the Rule of St. Benedict were codified in the Plan of St. Gall, a heavily annotated drawing of the plan of an ideal monastic establishment prepared in ca. 820 A.D. (Horn 1979). Among other things, this plan demonstrates the attempt to follow St. Benedict's rule that "whenever possible the monastery should be so laid out that everything essential, that is to say water, mills, garden and workshops for the plying of the various crafts, is found within the monastery walls" (Braunfels 1972:10).

The idealized Plan of St. Gall was expressed as physical reality more and more frequently after 850-900 A.D. By the time of St. Francis, two centuries later, the typical layout of a monastery was quite

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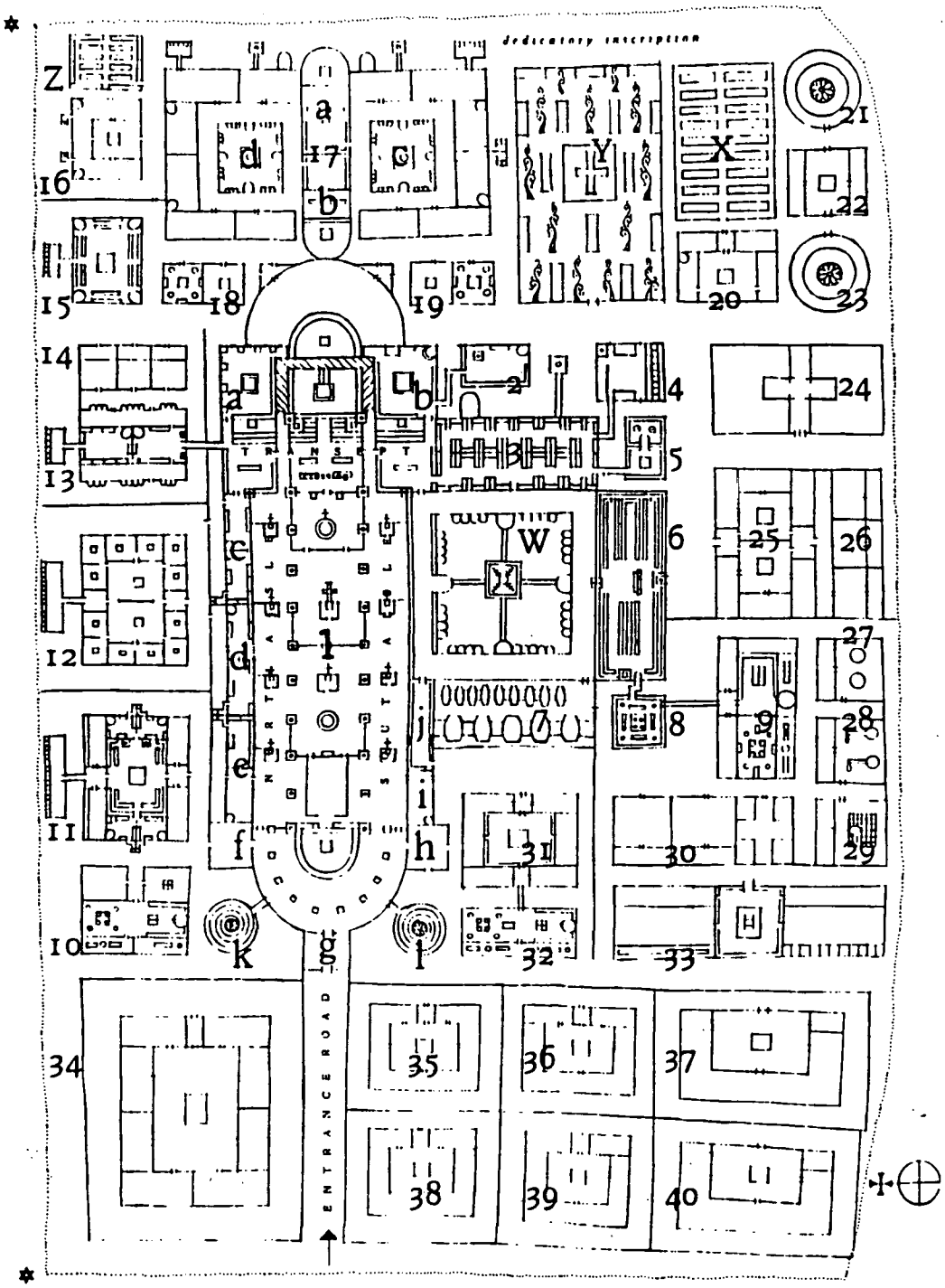

Figure 1. The Plan of St. Gall, with an index of its component structures. Courtesy University of California Press.

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INDEX

TO BUILDING NUMBERS OF THE PLAN

1. Church
   a. Scriptorium below, Library above
   b. Sacristy below, Vestry above
   c. Lodging for Visiting Monks
   d. Lodging of Master of the Outer School
   e. Porter's Lodging
   f. Porch giving access to House for Distinguished Guests and to Outer School
   g. Porch for reception of all visitors
   h. Porch giving access to Hospice for Pilgrims and Paupers and to servants' and herdsmen's quarters
   i. Lodging of Master of the Hospice for Pilgrims and Paupers
   j. Monks' Parlor
   k. Tower of St. Michael
   l. Tower of St. Gabriel
2. Annex for Preparation of Holy Bread and Holy Oil
3. Monks' Dormitory above, Warming Room below
4. Monks' Privy
5. Monks' Laundry and Bath House
6. Monks' Refectory below, Vestiary above
7. Monks' Cellar below, Larder above
8. Monks' Kitchen
9. Monks' Bake and Brew House
10. Kitchen, Bake, and Brew House for Distinguished Guests
11. House for Distinguished Guests
12. Outer School
13. Abbot's House
14. Abbot's Kitchen, Cellar, and Bath House
15. House for Bloodletting
16. House of the Physicians
17. Novitiate and Infirmary
    a. Chapel for the Novices
    b. Chapel for the Sick
    c. Cloister of the Novices
    d. Cloister of the Sick
18. Kitchen and Bath for the Sick
19. Kitchen and Bath for the Novices
20. House of the Gardener
21. Goosehouse
22. House of the Fowlkeepers
23. Henhouse
24. Granary
25. Great Collective Workshop
26. Annex of the Great Collective Workshop
27. Mill
28. Mortar
29. Drying Kiln
30. House of Coopers and Wheelwrights, and Brewers' Granary
31. Hospice for Pilgrims and Paupers
32. Kitchen, Bake and Brew House for Pilgrims and Paupers
33. House for Horses and Oxen and Their Keepers
34. House for the Vassals and Knights who travel in the Emperor's Following (identification not certain)
35. House for Sheep and Shepherds
36. House for Goats and Goatherds
37. House for Cows and Cowherds
38. House for Servants of Outlying Estates and for Servants Travelling with the Emperor's Court (not certain; cf. No. 34)
39. House for Swine and Swineherds
40. House for Brood Mares and Foals and Their Keepers

W. Monks' Cloister Yard
X. Monks' Vegetable Garden
Y. Monks' Cemetery and Orchard
Z. Medicinal Herb Garden

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similar to the St. Gall ideal. The core structures of such a monastic complex normally consisted of the following:

1. the church
2. a "dorter," or dormitory, where the monks slept communally
3. a kitchen
4. a "refectory," or dining hall, again a communal arrangement
5. a "cellar," or storehouse
6. a chapter house, where the Rule of St. Benedict was studied and read aloud.

The structures usually formed a rectangular enclosure adjoining the church. This enclosure was an area for quiet contemplation, open to the sky, with a covered walkway called the "cloister" around its borders.

Outside this core complex were the other structures essential to the monastery's self-sufficient operation. These included an infirmary and hospital, a brewery, a bakery, and mills; presses for wine-making; chicken coops, stables, and barns; shops of various kinds for the cooper, the turner, the blacksmith and other craftsmen; and gardens. Other necessary buildings were a guest house with a separate kitchen; a physician's house; housing and training areas for novices; and the house and kitchen for the abbot, the chief administrator of the monastery (Ibid.:34,39). Beyond the principal enclosure of the monastery would be the necessary farm plots, fields, and pastures.

The Friary Plan as Developed by the Franciscan Mendicants

With his first rule, which received papal approval in ca. 1210, St. Francis of Assisi created a new community of evangelical brothers, or "mendicants." Although St. Francis was opposed to considering his followers as an order, they were officially recognized as such by a papal bull of 1220, and he revised his rule in 1221 and 1223 to take this into account. Final papal approval came in 1230, four years after his death (Ibid.:129).

The Franciscans were not monks, but "lesser brothers," acting as itinerant preachers to Christians and missionaries to non-Christians. There was no desire for withdrawal from the world: on the contrary, the world was their principal interest. St. Francis opposed the idea of specific houses, or convents, for his followers, but after his death a strong movement arose to build Franciscan conventual houses in imitation of other orders. This was opposed by traditionalists, who advocated adherence to the letter of the rule. Nonetheless, during the fourteenth century the "Conventuals" dominated the order, and convents, or "friaries," were accepted as a part of Franciscan life.

The plan for these friaries was the traditional Benedictine layout, with some differences. Instead of an abbot, the Franciscan convent was administered by a prior not significantly higher in the hierarchy of the order than the other brothers. Thus, a separate establishment for the abbot's residence was not needed. Ideally, the brothers did not pursue activities for economic gain, living instead from the charity of those to whom they ministered. This rendered unnecessary the entire complex of farms, pasturage, barns, stables, coops, and associated personnel in the compound, and in turn reduced the size of the storehouse. The activities of each brother were a good deal more individualized than in the earlier, communally organized monastic orders, so that provision for the coming and going of each brother had to be incorporated into the housing system. This resulted in the abandonment of the communal

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dormitory and the provision of a separate cell, or sleeping room, for each brother. Other elements of the old monastic building plan, including the chapter house and the cloister, were left unchanged. The result was a convent which was still recognizably derived from the Benedictine plan as exemplified by the Plan of St. Gall, but considerably smaller and simpler (Ibid.:132-33).

By the first half of the fifteenth century the traditional Benedictine plan had fully evolved into a friary plan. In this adapted plan, the cells of the friars, the offices, and the other necessary rooms had been incorporated into the continuous rectangular enclosure around the cloister, with the cells on the second floor. The cloister and friary directly adjoined the church in the traditional manner. Additional rooms were added outside this core structure complex as needed. This was the nature of the Franciscan friary plan at the time of the conquest of Mexico in 1519-20.

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The Conquest of Mexico

Establishment of Franciscan Friaries in New Spain

Cortes landed on the coast of Mexico in 1519, and the conquest was effectively complete by 1521. The privileges of patronato real had been granted to the King of Spain by a papal bull of 1508, which gave him the right to collect tithes and nominate candidates to the various religious offices within the new world. The Crown selected the Franciscans and other mendicant orders to carry out the duties of the church in the new colony, and in 1524 the first contingent of twelve Franciscans arrived to begin converting the Indians (Ricard 1966:21). By 1559, 80 Franciscan friaries housing 380 friars had been established (Ibid.:23).

In New Spain, the Franciscans depended for their support not on the charity of the surrounding population, but on their legal position in relation to the Spanish crown and the administrators of the new colony. The privileges granted to the Franciscans and other missionaries allowed them to impress Indian labor without pay (Kubler 1948.1:2- 3). In the early years missions were established in Indian towns that already existed, but after 1550, it became common to establish a new village at a site selected by the missionaries. The Indians would then be brought to the site to carry out its development (Ibid.:86).

Sixteenth Century Adaptations

By 1570 most of the territory south of the Lerma and San Juan rivers had been organized into provinces of missionary activity, and missions established in most of the population centers. These rivers marked the northern limits of Indians who were sedentary and lived in towns or fixed districts. North of these two rivers lived the Chichimecas, predominantly nomadic Indians who had never been subjugated by the Aztecs. To move into these areas, the missionaries first had to develop new policies and methods.

From 1524 to 1570 the friaries constructed by the Franciscans with Indian labor followed the late medieval plan of the order's establishments in Europe, but with several differences. The number of inhabitants in each establishment was small, and the laborers unskilled; therefore, the colonial friaries tended to be smaller and even simpler than their contemporaries in Europe. But the core complex--a church and adjoining cloister with its covered walk and central patio surrounded by a rectangle of buildings with offices on the first floor and cells on the second--remained essentially the same. The churches of these early friaries were very simple structures, usually with a single nave and no transept. Unique to these Mexican convents was a large enclosed patio or plaza in front of the church. This area, called an atrio, was used largely for ceremonial purposes (Kubler 1948, 2:314-15).

Further Development of the Friary

The construction of permanent buildings on the sites of these early missions did not begin until about 1530. Kubler describes the general progress of construction at sites near Mexico city: "provisional, thatched shelters for church and friaries before 1530; temporary... church and masonry convento between 1530 and 1540; permanent open chapel, 1540-50; and the large, single-naved church after 1550, appended to the old conventual buildings" (Ibid.:345). This sequence is of interest because it is followed again in

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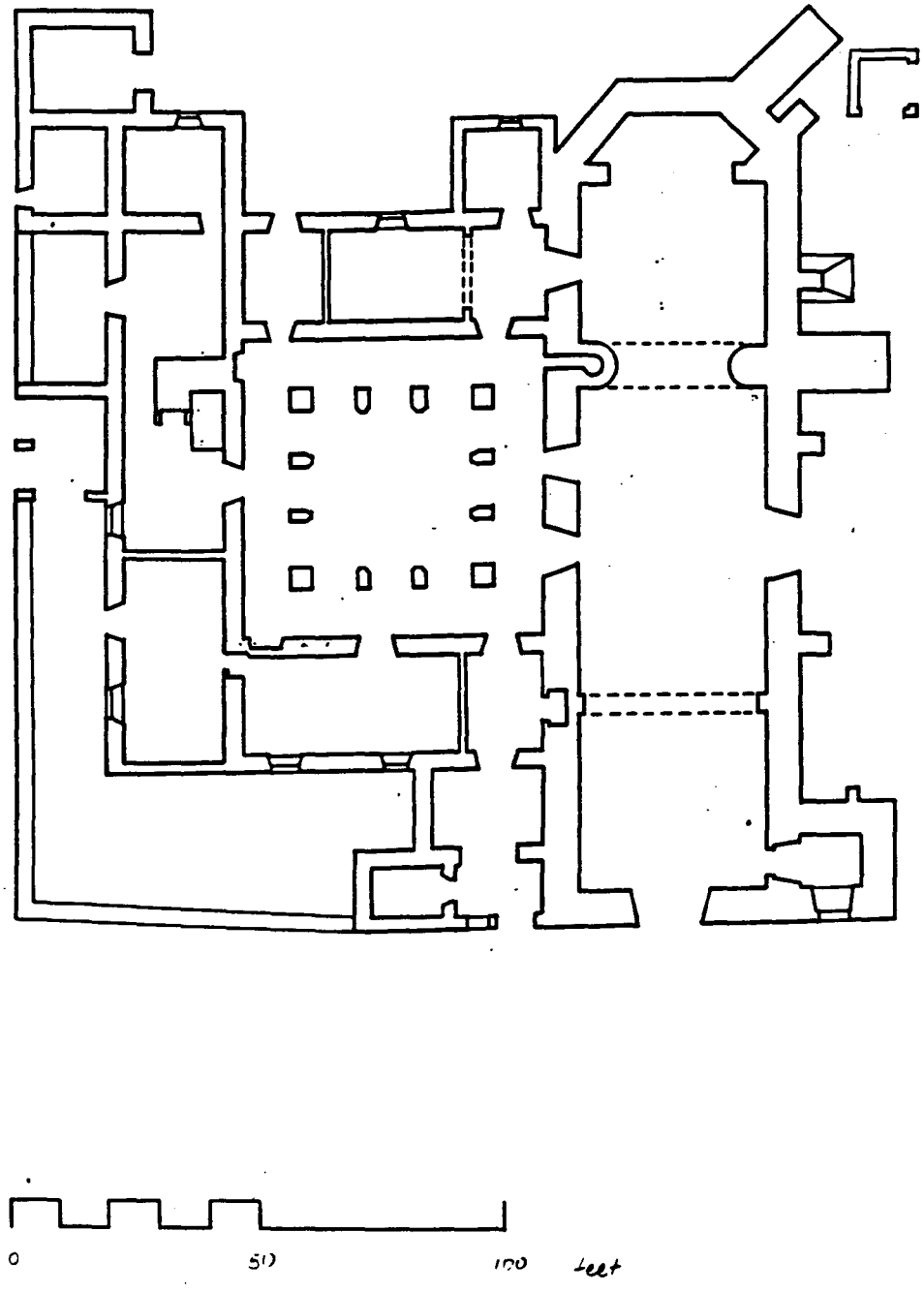

Figure 2. A typical plan of a Franciscan church and convento in sixteenth-century Mexico. Drawing courtesy Roland Rodriguez.

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San Antonio in the eighteenth century. The earliest surviving cloister construction of this period is the kind Kubler calls the "buttressed cloister":

> The cloister facades are heavy masonry walls, reinforced by massive buttresses, and the cloister-walk openings are separate windows, not arcades. . . . The cloister-walk openings and vaults were built entirely of rough, small materials, crowned in mortar, and held in place during the drying period by centerings . . . . The design took form without use of specialized stone shapes. In an arcaded cloister, on the other hand, columns, capitals, and arches all require precise and specialized stonecuttings; they cannot be prepared in the absence of highly skilled workmen . . . . Among the buttressed cloisters, two types may immediately be distinguished: those built of rubble, without specialized stone; and those of cut stone, with voussoirs [wedge-shaped stones forming part of the curve of an arched opening] and ashlar masonry. (Ricard 1966:77)

The convento structures built later on in San Antonio are similar in many respects to this last variety of buttressed cloister.

Sixteenth Century Missions Typology

From 1524 to ca. 1570, three types of missions developed: "the mission of occupation, the mission of penetration, and the mission of liaison" (Ibid.). The mission of occupation was one of a dense network of convents grouped roughly around a center. The mission of penetration was "represented by the precarious establishment of sporadic houses in zones of difficult relief, unpleasant climate, not yet pacified, or on the border of unsubjugated territories . . . . These missions accompanied or preceded the military conquest, while the missions of occupation followed it and, by force of circumstances, consolidated it" (Ibid.:78). Finally, the missions of liaison were "strings of convents which, instead of appearing in groups like the first kind, appear in a more or less straight line, connecting any group whatever with the City of Mexico" (Ibid.). These were established so that "the religious might move from one mission to the next without going outside the jurisdiction of the Order" (Ibid.). After 1570 most missions fell into one or more of these categories. For example, the missions of San Antonio began as a single mission of liaison and grew into a complex of missions of occupation.

The Rise of the Secular Clergy and the "Mission of Penetration"

The secular clergy--that is, under the authority of a local bishop rather than one of the mendicant orders--slowly increased in number and quality from ca. 1550 to 1570. In 1574 a royal order placed the mendicant orders under the control of the viceroy and the diocese, and "a decree of 1583 ordered outright preferential treatment of the secular clergy in Mexico . . . . By the end of the century, [the mendicant orders] faced the choice of retiring to their remaining conventual retreats, or of going forth to new conversions at the periphery of the colonial world" (Kubler 1948, 1:20; see also Ricard 1966:3).

The "progressive secularization of the Indian parishes, and consequently . . . the elimination of the primitive Orders" (Ricard 1966:3) made missionaries available for the expanding frontiers to the north.

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The province of Nueva Galicia was established in 1531; Nueva Viscaya in 1562 (McCloskey 1955:3-4). Both provinces included large areas which were only nominally conquered, or not at all.

With the effective freeing of numerous friars from older missions in 1583, the Bishop of Guadalajara proposed a method of pacifying these new areas which would consolidate former plactices and remove friars from the central areas of Mexico to these new frontiers:

> The war as now conducted is very costly and difficult. Although the presidios and soldiers give some protection, they really serve to prolong the war because of the harm they do the natives, capturing their women and children.
>
> Cheapest, best and most Christian remedy is to found six or seven settlements . . . each one of which shall contain two or three Franciscans. At each place there should be erected some modest houses and a church, and the friars should be provisioned for a few years at His Majesty's expense. To protect friars and inhabitants, up to eight soldiers should be stationed in each new settlement, with salary from the crown but receiving orders from the Franciscans. These soldiers would be for defense only, and thus prohibited from making entradas [raids] without permission of the friars. So that their salary should be small, those soldiers should be married men and be granted the ordinary lands for settlers. To each new settlement should be sent some Mexicans, or Tlaxcalans, or other sedentary Indians, well Christianized, so that they can serve as fiscales [government officials, song leaders (cantores), and in other religious capacities, as well as settlers. Their example, plus the friar's persuasion, will attract the nomads to peaceful settlement. This has been proved on other parts of the frontier. The expense of this will not be great or continuing, such as is the case in the upkeep of the soldiery now. The monasteries can be built for 2,000 pesos each, and the upkeep for two friars in each, with all religious equipment, should be less than 800 pesos; to this should be added 900 pesos for two soldiers (who can be taken from present presidios and companies, and picked from among married men who would be very desirous of such service). Nor would there be difficulty in getting Indian settlers, excusing them from tribute for ten or twelve years and granting other privileges and aid. (Crouch et al. 1982:71-72)

This became the standard procedure for most missionary work on the northern frontier, and was essentially an adaptation of the "mission of penetration" described by Ricard. The Franciscans worked principally in the areas to the east of the Sierras on this frontier, while the Jesuits, who had arrived in Mexico in 1572, began working in the mountains and along the coast to the west in 1591.

The Northern Frontier

By 1600 the northern frontier consisted of several distinct areas. The Jesuits had developed an outpost of missions in the region of Sonora between the Gulf of California and the Sierras. New Mexico had become an area of intense Franciscan work after 1598. Settlements around present Monclova had begun in ca. 1580, and the conquest of the Saltillo area had been accomplished by ca. 1590. The rest of the northern frontier was mostly empty (McCloskey 1955:8).

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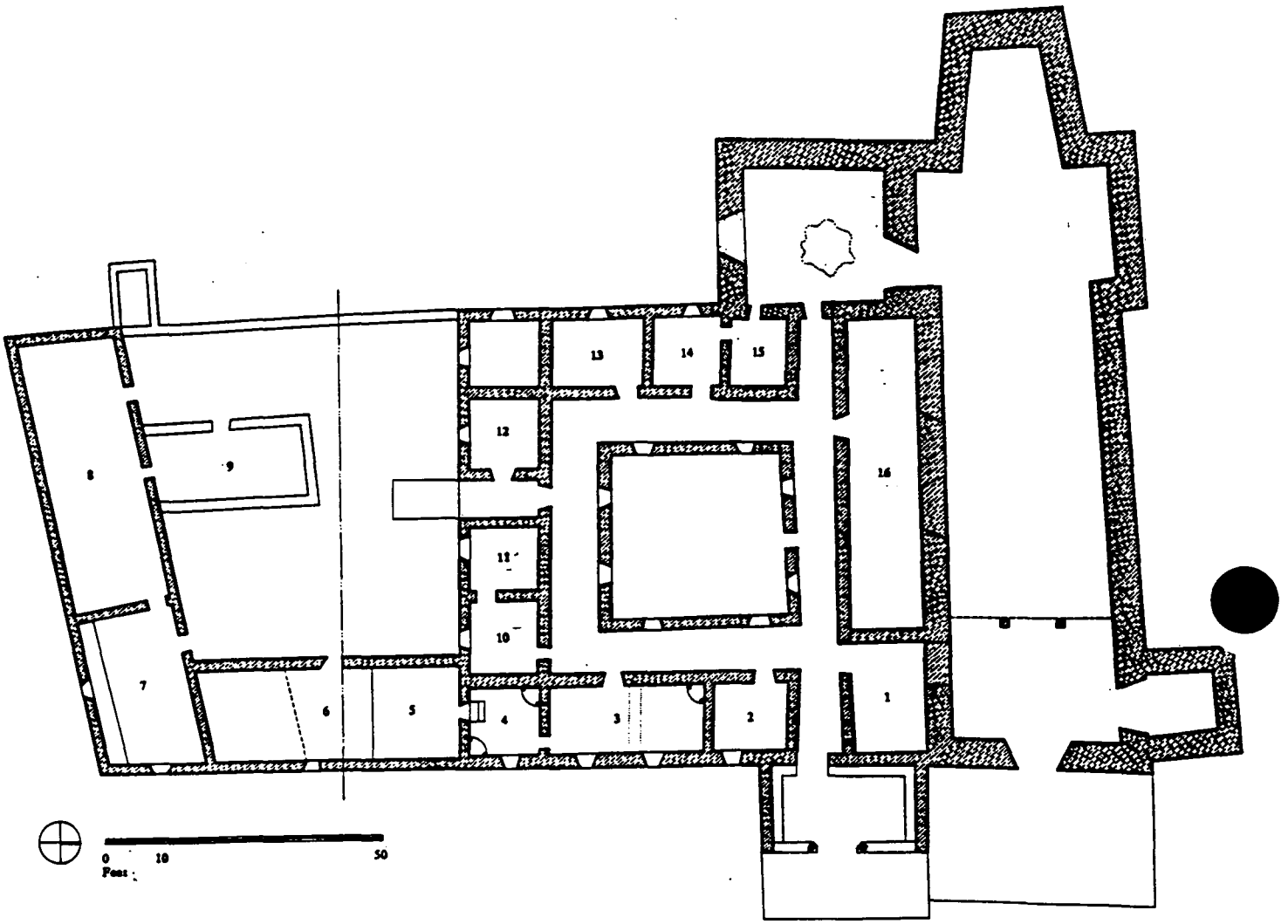

Figure 3. A typical plan of a Franciscan church and convento in seventeenth-century New Mexico: San Buenaventura de Las Humanas, Salinas National Monument, New Mexico. The church and convento were built 1660-1668; the church was never completed. Drawing by Jean Pike and Ted Connally.

some extent. This practice frequently resulted in a rectilinear street plan around a central plaza, or square (Crouch et al. 1982:28-29). There are no references to fortified Indian towns associated with missions built during the 16OOs on the northern frontier, although the Laws of the Indies did provide for designing a town plan with defensive capability.

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The Mission and the Indian Village

The Franciscans in New Mexico and the Jesuits in Sonora followed the same basic procedure for mission establishment. A new mission would be placed in or near a population center, and outlying groups of Indians would be induced to gather around the mission. For example, by 1623 the Jesuits had established eight missions for the Yaquis and gathered Indians from 80 rancherias (settlement areas) into these eight new mission towns along the Rio Yaqui (Spicer 1962:49). In New Mexico, the Franciscans found that the Pueblo Indians already lived in concentrated villages, but were interested in further concentration for the purpose of defense (Kubler 1940:16). In all these missions the Indians lived in villages, usually in houses of their own design. The plan of each village was apparently a combination of Spanish planning ideas and traditional Indian practices, the proportions of influence depending on the strength of the Indian tradition. The pueblo towns show little influence of Spanish town planning ideas before 1680 (Ibid.:16-17), but elsewhere the Laws of the Indies were followed to

Seventeenth Century render Adaptations

The Franciscan missions of New Mexico continued the traditions already established in central Mexico during the sixteenth century. A rectangular convento would be constructed adjoining a long, single-naved church. By the first decades of the seventeenth century, the relationship between the mendicant friar and the people to whom he carried his message had changed considerably from what was common in Europe. The northern missions had been funded by the Crown as early as about 1583, as shown by the proposal made by the Bishop of Guadalajara. In 1631 the missionaries entered into a contract with the viceroy whereby the expenses for equipment and supplies of the missions of New Mexico were also assumed by the Crown(KubleI 1940:7). Every three years thereafter, a sum of money was allotted to the missionary effort and drawn on by the Franciscans (Montgomery et al. 1949:143). The funds were used to purchase essential supplies, tools, and manufactured goods which could not readily be made on the frontier. These were shipped north by wagon train to New Mexico (Ibid. :143-44). Farms, irrigation systems, and a ranch were also included in the basic inventory of properties of each mission, again contrary to the early precepts of the Franciscan order requiring that they subsist on the charity of those to whom they preached (Kubler 1940:19; Braunfels 1972:131). The necessities of missionary life had forced a gradual adaptation of the original ideals of the order to the economic realities of the frontier.

A further development of the missionary process was the formation of the first missionary college in 1683 at Querétaro, Mexico. This was a Franciscan organization intended to improve missionary methods and direct the establishment of missions to specific areas. Within a few years the college began its efforts in the new area of Texas (McCloskey 1955:25-35, 64).

Texas

Querétaran Expansion into Texas

The attempt to establish a new mission field in Texas began with the creation of the first mission to the Tejas or Caddo Indians of east Texas in 1690. A second mission was set up later in the same year, and an attempt to establish seven more started in 1691. The Texas missions followed the usual pattern of placing a church and friary near a center of Indian population and then attempting to convince the more distant groups to move closer to the mission complex. The Indians did not like this idea (Ibid.:66-70).

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Because of the extreme length of the supply line to these missions and the increasing hostility from both local Indians and Spanish authorities, the initial effort was abandoned in 1693.

Even in the face of defeat, the missionaries of Querétaro looked for another opportunity to move into Texas. Initial steps were taken in 1698-1705 with a series of new establishments in the general area of present Guerrero, Coahuila, on the south bank of the Rio Grande. Principal among these were the missions of San Juan Bautista, San Francisco Solano, and San Bernardo.

The Mission and Village as Defined in the Laws of the Indies

Documents of the original founding of San Juan and San Francisco clearly reveal the method which had been developed for establishing missions among the more nomadic Indians of the semi-arid regions extending for several hundred miles on either side of the lower Rio Grande. At the founding of both missions, a representative of the government granted the land for the mission and village to the Indians, and then proceeded to lay out the village plan according to the Laws of the Indies (Weddle 1968:24,32). He located the streets and main plaza, and designated sites for the church, friary, and administrative buildings. At San Juan Bautista, the general plan and construction of the Indian houses was also specified. Since these villages were being established for nomadic Indians with a very limited tradition of building, the agent of Spain had to provide for virtually all aspects of village life, with little or no contribution from the Indians themselves.[1]

The Fortified Village Plan

At some time after 17OO the settlements built for the Indians were converted from open villages to enclosed, defensible compounds. San Juan Bautista, San Bernardo, and San Francisco Solano were moved several times during the first few decades of the eighteenth century. In 1727 both San Juan and San Bernardo apparently still had some approximation of an open village built on their new sites, and some of the Indian houses continued to be described as rancherias, probably indicating that they were brush or jacal huts rather than European-style houses. However, a number of more formal houses had been built at each mission (Paredes 1727:46, 52-53). Not until 1745, when San Juan had again been rebuilt on another site, is that mission explicitly described as having a fortified village compound (Ortiz 1745:1376). The missions of the San Antonio River followed roughly the same timetable, not developing fortified villages until 1745 or in some cases even later.

Querétaran and Zacatecan Missions in East Texas

The next move to establish a mission field in Texas did not occur until 1717, primarily in response to an increasingly threatening French presence on the Mississippi and Colorado rivers east of the Texas

[1]This is in direct contrast to the policy followed in New Mexico a century before, when the missions were being established at pueblos that already existed. The "reduction" of the native populace had been practiced further south since at least 1550 (Kubler 1948:1:86), and was also used among the nomadic Indians of the san Antonio area.

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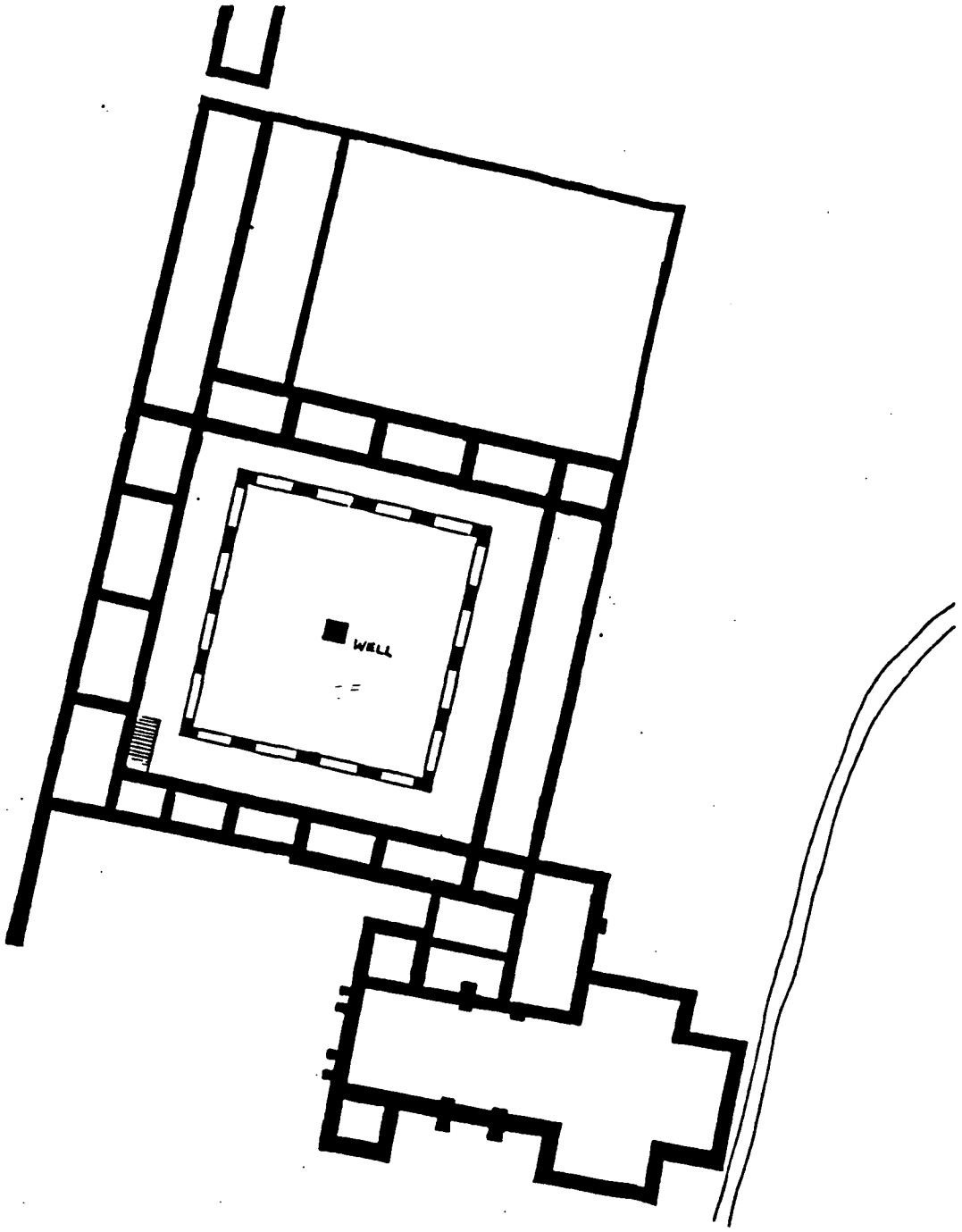

Figure 4. The standard plan of a Franciscan church and convento in the early eighteenth century: San Antonio de Valero, San Antonio, Texas. The Franciscans never completed construction on the full plan of the convento. Drawing courtesy James E. Ivey, National Park Service.

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Indians. In the meantime, the college of Querétaro established a second college at Zacatecas, Mexico, in 1707 (McCloskey 1955:99). The two colleges pooled their resources to reestablish missions to the Tejas of east Texas. They founded six missions in 1716, again attempting to gather scattered groups of Indians into concentrated villages. Three of these missions were Querétaran: San Francisco de los Tejas, La Purísima Concepción, and San José de los Nazonis.

Concepción was the chief mission and the residence of Fr. Isidro Felix de Espinosa, the new father president of the Querétaran missions of Texas. The other three were under the administration of Zacatecas: Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Dolores de los Ais, and San Miguel de Linares. Guadalupe was the chief mission under the Zacatecan father president, Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus (Castañeda 1936:57-69).

The Missions and Presidios of South Texas

At the same time, the presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas was established. A second presidio, Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, was also founded in the area in 1721 (Ibid. :144). As part of the new system of presidios and missions, an intermediate presidio, San Antonio de Bejar, and a "mission of liaison,", San Antonio de Valero, were established on the San Antonio River in 1718 (Castañeda 1936:91-95). Although Querétaran, Valero was intended for use by missionaries of both colleges as a way-station on the long trip from San Juan Bautista to the east Texas missions. Two years later the college of Zacatecas established the mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo on the San Antonio River as their liaison mission (Ibid.:128-30).

The founding documents for San José show that the Laws of the Indies were still the guiding rule for mission villages, and again made provision for the streets, main square, church, and public buildings (Ibid.:129). No similar documentation is available for San Antonio de Valero. The first available description, that of 1727, indicates that it, too, was laid out as an open village (Paredes 1727:39). A third mission, that of San Xavier de Najera, was established on the San Antonio River in 1722, but was abandoned in ca. 1727 because so few Indians were willing to enter it (Castañeda 1936:159-67). Finally, in 1731, a revision of priorities on the east Texas frontier resulted in the relocation of the three Querétaran missions to San Antonio, resulting in five active missions, a presidio, and a civil settlement, all within eight miles of each other on the San Antonio River (Ibid.:225-43).

Modifications to the Seventeenth Century Ideal Plan of the Missions

Through at least 1720, the general approach to the ideal layout of a mission was one which combined the traditional monastic church and friary plan with the plan of an open village for the Indians laid out around a central square. The subsequent years saw a change from this traditional approach, with most of the missions of Texas, at least, adopting a much more defensive plan which enclosed the Indian village within walls.

The missions of San Antonio were initially laid out according to the open village plan but were converted to the enclosed, fortified village plan between 1730 and 1760, when the mission of San Juan Bautista was undergoing a similar transformation. Although other missions along the Rio Grande were slower to adopt such modifications, the fortified town, or placita, was also being developed in northern New Mexico during the mid-eighteenth century (Simmons 1979:110-11; Kutsche et al 1976:6). Kubler

also notes a change in the general relationship of the church and friary to the Indian pueblo in New Mexico after 1690. He illustrates two village plans which reflect an increased concern for defense, with a rectangular village layout around a central square, incorporating the church and friary in one corner (Kubler 1940:20; fig.26, 47).

What caused such a major change in the philosophy of the ideal plan of a mission? One probable cause of this move towards fortification can be identified: Apaches. Beginning in ca. 1690, Apache raiding activity intensified along a broad front of eastern New Mexico, northeastern Texas, and northern Chihuahua, and by 1710 the Spanish had been forced to abandon southern New Mexico and Arizona (Spicer 162:233,236). By 1730 the problem was recognized as one which threatened the entire northwestern frontier (Ibid.:236). During this same period Apaches became a recognized presence in the area of San Antonio. By 1727 they had already carried out two raids on the cattle of Mission Valero (Weddle 1968:174). The threat continued through the middle of the eighteenth century, and was probably the cause of the increasingly defensive nature of the plans of frontier haciendas, presidios, missions, and small towns seen during this period.

Conclusion: The San Antonio Missions as a Record of Franciscan Development

As finally completed in San Antonio, the missions were the product of the continuing tradition of Franciscan planning modified by necessity, and they can be seen as a record of every stage of this development. The plan of each mission, its associated village, and its method of construction reflect practices continuously in use from at least the sixteenth century, adapted to fit new circumstances. This process of adaptation did not stop with the missionary effort in Texas, but continued to evolve as the Franciscans moved into California in the last years of the eighteenth century. The plans of the California missions incorporated the changes to the ideal mission worked out in Texas and other parts of the frontier, and continued to add variations of their own. The choices made at each point in the development of the San Antonio missions were a product not only of the problems and necessities of the individual mission, but also of the entire history of monasticism. Further, these choices effected not only the individual mission, but the entire mission system. The structural history of the San Antonio missions is, therefore, a critical record of both the construction of the San Antonio missions and the missionary enterprise of the northern frontier.

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Chapter 2
DEVELOPMENT AND CONSTRUCTION OF A MISSION
ON THE TEXAS FRONTIER

Introduction

The six missions of San Antonio were established by the Franciscan missionary effort over a period of thirteen years from 1718 to 1731. Mission San Antonio de Valero was the first in 1718, followed by Mission San Jose y San Miguel de Aguayo in 1720, Mission San Francisco Xavier de Najera in 1722, and Missions Nuestra Senora de la Purisima Concepción de Acuña, San Juan Capistrano and Nuestro Padre San Francisco de la Espada in 1731. Each episode of establishment responded to different political and religious situations, and each mission followed its own unique path of development; but all six reflected the same basic pattern of siting, plan, structure, materials, and function.

This pattern derived from two forces directly influencing the missionary. One was the result of constraints placed on the development of the mission by the social and natural environments within which the missionary had to work. The other was the goal and purpose of the mission as perceived by the missionary.

Environmental constraints included the availability or lack of raw materials, water in a usable form, good soil, farming and pasture land, an acceptable building site, and a dependable Indian work force. Equally important was the consideration that a mission to the pagan Indians was usually on an undeveloped frontier, which meant that all technological support had to be either imported or created on site. Available raw materials directly influenced the form, appearance, and stages of development of the missions.

The purpose of the missionary was to bring the pagan Indian into the body of Christianity. This was accomplished by a long-term effort divided into several administrative phases:

1. The *mision*. This was the simple establishment of a missionary effort directed towards a particular group of Indians. It was set up in one of two basic patterns: the *conversion*, established for Indians who already lived sedentary lives in a fixed village system; or the *reduccion*, an artificial village establishment constructed by the missionary for Indians who had no fixed place of residence, and who would have to be brought, or "reduced, " to the new mission. The second pattern was that used for the nomadic Indians of the San Antonio area. Indoctrination of these Indians (called "neophytes" once they had been brought into the mission) continued until they were considered capable of maintaining themselves and a Christian lifestyle on their own. To the spanish missionary, a Christian lifestyle meant the conducting of daily life in a Hispanic manner, observing those guidelines in effect for all Christian citizens of spain and its Empire. when the neophyte community of the mission reached this point, the mission went to its next phase (Matson and Fontana 1977: 13-14).

2. The *doctrina*. At this point, the missionaries surrendered the management of the secular activities of the community to a local government made up of Indian neophytes. This is frequently called "partial secularization." The missionary continued the religious training of the community in the capacity of a parish priest. The community continued to receive some support from the Franciscan missionary system in the form of annual supplies and the upkeep of the church, friary, and other religious structures. The neophytes of a doctrina could be taxed and tithed by the secular government and the secular church, responsibilities from which they had previously been exempt. When the missionaries felt that the religious training of the community was completed, they advanced to the next stage (Ibid.).

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3. The *curato*. Missionary activity ceased at the new community, and the church and other religious buildings were turned over to the bishop of the secular church responsible for the mission region. The mission community at this point became fully secularized, and was regarded as a new *pueblo* (town) (Ibid.).

In the following sections are discussed the missionary plan which would use the available materials of the environment to produce a viable mission community; the considerations of the missionaries in the selection of a site in the San Antonio River Valley; and the structural complex necessary to maintain the mission.

The Master Masons of the San Antonio Missions

The men who designed and built the mission churches of San Antonio, Texas, have been unknown since the close of the colonial period in Texas. Recent historical, architectural and archeological research on the history of the missions has supplied a small group of names of master masons who worked in Texas and added some detail to the scant outlines of their activities. The information permits a first attempt to narrate the work of these men in San Antonio and determine which structures they actually created.[1]

The reconstruction of events given here is tentative, and is intended to serve as a guide for future research on the architectural development of the northern frontier of New Spain.

Master Masons and Franciscans

Franciscan missionaries were quite capable of conducting many of the construction projects carried out in the missions of Texas.[2] The missionary effort in New Spain had a long tradition of masons who were also mendicants. In the sixteenth century, for example, they had built some of the most brilliant architecture in Mexico. However, during this century of remarkable creativity the rate of failure of the great churches was high, resulting in a general rule restricting missionary construction activities: any construction requiring an arch, vault, or dome was usually contracted to a professional mason, or it was not built.[3] In the seventeenth century, the application of the rule on the northern frontier in New

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[1]The principle secondary sources for this paper are Mardith Schuetz. "Professional Artisans in the Hispanic Southwest." The Americas. 40:1(July. 1983). pp. 17-71: Mardith Schuetz. "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions. 1718-1821." Dissertation. University of Texas at Austin (1980): and James Ivey et al.. "A Structural History of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park." Manuscript. National Park Service. Santa Fe (n.d.). hereafter cited as HSR. Schuetz and the author independently found documentation of the activities of several masons. and the author defined the episodes of construction at the missions within narrow limits. The two sets of information. when combined. permitted the writing of this paper. The author wishes to acknowledge the extraordinary research achievements of Mardith Schuetz in both archeology and history. which made possible this paper and many others. The reasoning behind the narrative has been presented in the footnotes.

[2]See "Building Without a Blueprint: Franciscan Structural Planning in Eighteenth-Century Texas" for a discussion of the construction capabilities and methods of Franciscan missionaries and a history of Franciscan (as opposed to mason's) construction in San Antonio.

[3]See. for example. Fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes. "Visita de las Misiones del Rio Grande del Norte por Fr. Miguel Sevillano de Paredes en 15 de Octubre 1727." Vol. 29. pp. 35-68. Archivo General de Mexico: Historia. Fray Sevillano states that the missionaries of Valero "had always wanted to build a church all of stone. and with good form

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Mexico resulted in a compromise on church structure. No master masons were available to the missionaries in this remote province, so the churches had to be built using the techniques known to the Franciscans. As a result, the churches were "merely" large versions of the convento rooms and other buildings usually built by Franciscan masons, utilizing "wall-and-beam" construction. They had vertical walls of stone (or occasionally adobe), roofed with *vigas* (beams) supporting a flat earthen roof. Beams also formed the lintels of wall openings such as doors and windows. Somewhere in northern Mexico in the late sixteenth century, the missionary builders apparently created the innovation of the transverse clerestory window to provide lighting within the church.[4]

The Franciscans began establishing apostolic colleges for missionary endeavors on the northern frontier in 1683 with the creation of the College of Queretaro. The colleges were intended to improve missionary methods and direct efforts to specific areas. Within a few years the new college began the establishment of missions in the almost unknown land of Texas. In 1707 the college of Queretaro created a daughter college at Zacatecas. The two colleges worked together on the province of Texas.

When Franciscan efforts expanded into Texas beginning in 1690, they had access to greater financial support and architectural expertise than had been available in New Mexico in the previous century. They could plan for churches on the frontier like those being built for Franciscan establishments in the more central areas of New Spain. A precarious political and military situation and popular tradition continued the use of the simple, flat-roofed church in New Mexico, usually rebuilt from the ruins of earlier churches. Texas, however, was virgin territory and the newly established Franciscan missionary colleges were optimistic and ambitious. The Franciscans decided to attempt to import master masons to the Texas Frontier and to build imposing churches in the styles of the heartland of New Spain.

The Maestro

Contracts

Since no *maestros de albanil*, or master masons, lived in Texas during the early years of the new settlements there, the Franciscans had to hire them in the south and bring them to the frontier. The most common terms of hire between missionary and mason was the *maestranza* contract. In this type of contract, the *maestro* was hired to supply his expertise and supervision in return for a salary. The

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[3](...continued)
and appearance. For this it was necessary to bring acceptable materials and a master mason." They had begun to gather the materials to build the church, but could go no further without a master mason. The Franciscans were still applying the same rule in California 70 years later. At La Purísima Concepción in 1798 the missionaries again had gathered materials to begin building the church, and had even laid the foundations. "but, owing to the entire ignorance of the Fathers, there is necessary a master, or masters, who are experienced in this matter, otherwise the work will not be done with sufficient security for stability:" Norman Neuerburg, The Architecture of Mission La Purísima Concepción (Santa Barbara: Bellerophone Books, 1987), p. 2. On the Northern Frontier, only in New Mexico did the missionary build his own church, and these buildings are of a distinctive appearance. In all Spanish colonial architectural analysis, the researcher should begin with the assumption: "If it has an arch or a vault, a master mason built it."

[4]Personal communication from Gloria Gifford about the creation of the transverse clerestory in northern Mexico in the 1500s. We need more information on when flat roofed, clerestoried churches began to be built, and their distribution. Did most churches in Mexico go through a flat roofed phase before it was rebuilt in vaults? Were flat roofed churches (call them terrado) ever built in Spain or Morocco? Were clerestory windows ever used in Spain?

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contractor usually supplied a labor force and materials for the project.[5] In practice on the northern frontier, the terms of the contract could vary somewhat. For example, in one of the few surviving examples of such a contract from San Antonio, the Franciscans agreed to supply iron tools for construction work, and the master mason Dionicio Gonzales agreed to cover the cost of cutting the stone, but would receive a payment of 1700 pesos for the work.[6] Other considerations could be supplied by the missionaries. In about 1750, when the master mason Hieronimo Ybarra was contracted to come from San Luis Obispo to San Antonio to take over the numerous construction projects then underway, he apparently paid for his own travel, but the Franciscans covered the transportation costs and living expenses of his wife in 1751.[7]

Organization of the work

Master masons worked out the designs of projects and directed the work. The San Antonio missions frequently hired a *maestro* to conduct several major construction projects at once. In these cases, it was apparently common to hire a foreman or *mayordomo de obra* to carry out the daily supervision of a specific project, and other *mayordomos* to direct various technical tasks necessary for the construction.

List and discuss: stone cutting, lime making, woodworking.

Most of these men are unknown at present, but fortunately one mayordomo left a will outlining the provisions of his contract so that his heirs would be able to collect what was owed him. This was Joseph Padron, mayordomo of the quarrying for the permanent church at San Juan, who died in 1779. In return for his cutting and hauling the stone for construction of the church, the missionaries agreed to pay him 1300 pesos in goods and loan him the iron tools with which to do the work.[8]

Other experts worked on the projects, too. A *maestro de carpenteria*, or master carpenter, usually built the wooden structures for the master mason. These could range from the construction of the huge, intricately carved main doors to the corbels and railings of balconies. Refugio roof note. Illustrate it. Huizar contract?

Building Design

The master mason designed the church of each mission within the context of current practice and the desires of the missionaries who would use the building. In practice, this probably meant that the Father President of the province outlined the requirements of each church, the maestro worked out an initial

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[5]Sidney David Markman. Colonial Architecture of Antigua Guatemala. Vol. 64, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1966). p. 50.

[6]HSR. p. 45.

[7]HSR. p. 46: Annual Accounts of the Queretaran Missions of Texas. year 1751. microfilm roll 15. frames 4887.4890. Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library. Our Lady of the Lake University. San Antonio. Texas. The accounts list charges for the transportation of Maria Gallegos. wife of the Maestro de Albanil Geronimo Ybarra. "who is at this mission (que se haya en esta Mission)."

[8]HSR. p. 51: Padron 1779. p. 3.

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design, and the Father President reviewed it for suitability.[9] When the Father President approved of a design, the maestro made final drawings of the plan and elevation, including a plan of the facade and its fine-carved decoration and any other carved details on the interior or exterior of the church.[10] These drawings remained at the mission to serve as a guide for the construction over the years required to complete the building, even if the maestro left for one reason or another. So far, none of these drawings have been found for the San Antonio missions, even though the detailed plans for the facade of Valero were still being consulted some 34 years after they were prepared.[11] They have apparently gone the way of the other missing documents of the San Antonio missions, either destroyed or stored in some unsuspected repository in Mexico or Spain.[12]

Laying out the facade and the parts of the church using proportional rules as described in Schuetz. NO need to go into any detail here, since it will be discussed in the article on Tello's designs for the churches of San Antonio.

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[9]The design sequence described here is conjectural, based on the plans and details of Concepción and Valero and the references to their construction in the Franciscan records. Considering the political structure of the frontier, however, the sequence had to go something like this.

[10]Whether such drawings were ever made for the missions of Texas has been argued for decades. The strongest argument against the existence of architectural plans for the buildings has been the lack of any available examples. However, the general context within which the churches were built makes it unlikely, if not impossible, for their construction to have taken place without detailed plan drawings. A master mason was needed for such work because it was complex and required careful planning of foundation thicknesses and depths, wall thicknesses, buttress locations and cross-section, the size, shape and location of stones for the ribs, vaults, domes, and fine details such as the carvings of the facade and pilaster capitals on the interior. If any of these elements were executed incorrectly, the building could easily fall. For anyone to attempt the construction of such a major project by calculation in his head alone would have been not only impossible, but criminal. It had been standard procedure for masons to make drawings since at least the 10th century, and was certainly standard in Mexico in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It would be surprising if a maestro changed his standard methods when he went to work on the frontier. The author has demonstrated, for example, that plan and elevation drawings were made for the rebuilding of San Gregorio de Abó, one of the missions of Salinas National Monument near Mountainair, New Mexico, in 1645-51: see "An Exercise in Design: the Renovation of San Gregorio de Abó, New Mexico, in the Seventeenth Century."

[11]One measured plan for a Texas mission <u>does</u> exist. It was found by a WPA research group in the 1930s, but its source is unknown. The researchers believed that it was for Mission Refugio, near Refugio, Texas. The plan is not, however, a mason's construction plan, but a rough sketch of the proposed wooden roof of the church. It is the sort of drawing that a master mason would make to convey his concepts for the roof of his building to the master carpenter who would actually have to build it, applying his own expertise and methods. References to the plan of the facade of Valero occur twice in the records. One is in the 1767 contract between the Franciscans and Dionicio Gonzales, where he agrees to complete the fine-carved pillars, columns and niches "according to the plan." The second is in the inventory of 1772, where the intended appearance of the facade is described, again using the plan of the maestro.

[12]The documents missing from the San Antonio missions include a number of birth, marriage, and death record books, and all of the account books of the missions. These would include records of all credits and debits of the individual missions from loans made and received as well as shipments of woven goods, craft items, sheep and cattle for sale at markets in northern Mexico, and the mission inventories, running accounts of all furniture and goods used or stored in the missions. References to these records occur frequently in the available mission documents, but no examples of them are known. The account books keeping track of all items shipped on the annual supply trains to the Queretaran missions of San Antonio from 1745 to 1772 have, however, been located in the Queretaran Archives at Celaya, Mexico. Microfilm copies of these books are available in the Old Spanish Missions Research Library at Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, Texas, roll **** frames **** to ****.

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Structure and Function: The Conceptual Plan of a Mission

Activities and Functions

Throughout its life, the mission always supported certain essential activities. The construction and maintenance of the *acequia* (irrigation ditch) and the fields it watered were of first importance (Paredes 1727:39). secondary to this were the construction of a permanent church; housing, offices, and kitchens for the fathers and staff of the mission; housing for the Indian neophytes (Ibid.); workshops to produce manufactured goods such as iron tools, carved and cut wood, and cloth; storage facilities for goods brought to the site to establish the mission (Gilmore 1969:15) and later to store the produce of the fields and workshops; corrals and stables, facilities for livestock herding, pasturing, care, and branding; and the maintenance of the supply trains to and from the mission, which brought the many items not available on the new frontier.

This complex system of functions was established virtually overnight on a new site. From that point on, although they varied in relative importance. and the structures accommodating them underwent physical changes, the functions themselves never ceased to exist throughout the operation of the mission system.

The system was flexible and could be adjusted to the changing priorities arising out of a mission's development. It was organized into a series of separate but interacting processes managed either directly or indirectly by the missionary:

1. secular activities of a low technological level, requiring little or no training and monitored by the missionary through his staff

2. production and support activities requiring higher technology, training, and specialized tools and personnel, directly monitored and in some cases even directed by the missionary

3. religious activities, conducted directly by the missionary

The Plan as a Reflection of Functional Elements

This "separate but interacting" arrangement was reflected in the general plan of a mission. Mission lands outside the walls of the complex were used by knowledgeable persons for raising animals and crops. The complex itself had a large area devoted to the houses of the Indians. In this area they also conducted their lives as families and as members of a community under their own town government (Schuetz 1980b, Leutenegger and Habig 1978:35). These were the predominantly secular processes of a mission.

The more technical processes were usually grouped together in a second separate area immediately adjacent to the priest's quarters, or *convento*. Here, under the direct influence of the missionary, specialists carried out the work of the mason, the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the seaver in workshops designed for these tasks. Also included in this complex were the storage areas for products and supplies, including the granary, where the all-important produce of the fields was stored against famine and storm for distribution at intervals to the neophytes and to Supply seed for the next year's planting.

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Within the convento the missionary conducted his business as a priest, keeping records of births, baptisms, marriages, deaths, the annual accounts of the mission's supplies and money or credit exchanges with the missionary college or members of the secular world, and so on. Here too was the cloister, where the missionary could continue the structured life required of him by his vows to the Church and to his order. From the convento, the missionary interacted directly with the community in the church and with the economic system of the mission in the work shop area.

In the first years of a mission these separate processes were intertwined; that is, there was little separation of the activities of the mission into specific areas or structures. This period would end within three to five years. Such a lack of differentiation was probably intentional on the part of the missionaries, as well as the result of the restricted technological capabilities characteristic of a new establishment. During their first days together in a new mission, the missionary wanted frequent and close contact with his neophytes. As time passed, however, and the physical system and technological base developed, many areas of activity became separate functions accommodated in specialized structures.

Although the plans of the missions exhibit differences which will be discussed below, the structures and spaces which evolved in response to functional requirements were essentially the same for all the San Antonio missions. From the initial founding and throughout the development phase, these were typically as follows:

The Church

Nave: The central longitudinal space for the congregation, which squatted or Stood for services. It could contain a baptismal area, confessionals, and a banco (bench) for meetings of mission pueblo authorities. The nave was usually separated from the Sanctuary by a railing.

Sanctuary: Normally a raised area at the end of the nave opposite the entry. It contained the altar, altar table, side altars, and altar screen retable or reredos).

Other Elements: The final church may have had transepts with side altars, and a baptismal area in one of the bell tower bases.

The Sacristy

The sacristy communicated with the church, usually into the Sanctuary or immediately outside the Sanctuary railing, It contained StOrage space for vestments and a vesting area for the celebrant.

The Convento

The complex of structures grouped around the primary patio which contained the following:

Friary: living quarters for the missionaries, consisting of cells for sleep and work, and sometimes divided into cell proper and alcove. Frequently the father worked in the cell and slept in the alcove.

Hospederia: hospice, guest room for visiting friars

Infirmary: sickroom for friars, frequently the same room as hospederia

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Privy: sometimes located under a staircase in convento or other two-story structure

Oficinas: work areas where goods, equipment and supplies of mission are stored

Cocina: kitchen for convento; frequently has associated rooms for food preparation, such as a bread-making room

Refectory: dining hall for friars

The Second Patio

Some missions have a second patio adjoining the convento, where the following structures could be located. These could also be associated with the primary convento patio.

Obraje: weaving room

Workrooms: associated with weaving room, used for cleaning, drying, and processing of cotton and wool before weaving

Tapancos: lofts built into rooms creating a partial second floor where goods are stored

Albanileria: stonemason's shop

Fragua: blacksmith shop

Carpinteria: carpenter's shop

Troje: granary

Siting Considerations

Once the decision was made to establish a mission in a general area based on the political and religious needs of the region, a specific site was selected. The criteria for site selection are well recorded in the documents dealing with the founding of the missions of San Antonio and elsewhere in the southwest.

Availability of Water and Raw Materials for Building

The highest priority, exceeding even the proximity of local Indian groups, was the accessibility of water. Indians could always be brought to a mission Site, but water obeyed specific physical laws which dictated where it could be used. For example, the three San Antonio missions founded in 1731 had seen a previous establishment attempt on the Colorado River (then called the San Marcos) in 1729, but it had to be abandoned because of "the difficulty of obtaining water, being so necessary for the maintaining of the people who would be brought here" (General Land Office, Spanish Archives [GLOSA] 50:14).

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The first consideration for a site, then, was a place where water could be taken from the river. This required a dam across the river to raise the water level to an acceptable height. A good dam location would be a "short distance from the [flood]plains," and have "firmness of the edge." The bottom should lend itself "more than any other spot to the building of the dam, and should be of stone and gravel so that in no way will the beasts get mired." The site should also offer "the convenience of being able to obtain, from the selfsame river [valley], timber for the fabrication of the wagons and other tools to transport rock" (Gilmore 1969:132).

After the dam, other necessities were taken into account. The site should have the following characteristics:

> An irrigation ditch could be taken from the River of San Antonio to irrigate the lands . . . the luxuriant foliage of the land was noted and that the acequia could water much farm land, as much as could be planted by a large number of people. . . . all of these lands being very apparent, and pastures as well, and plentiful wood for construction beams and for firewood, with the River very close with excellent exits and entrances for the large and small livestock and the horses. we considered a height, very uniform and very spacious, to be the better for the construction of the church and the pueblo. (Leutenegger and Habig 1978:31-33)

A site could be rejected because the "plain lacks proper drainage for those times when the River and the Arroyo are flooding, and though this is not noticeable at this moment, the evidence is in the piles of debris which have been left at the high water points" (Gilmore 1969:126). In terms of resources, the site should offer "irrigation, good land, stone, lime, and timber" (GLOSA 50:14).

These criteria of site selection were not peculiar to the central Texas area. A military engineer's assessment in 1796 of a site for the establishment of a town in California uses the same points of evaluation: "There are good lands of all types to be found in that area, part of which can be irrigated with the construction of a dam; part with already enough water for seasonal crops; and part which can be used as new grazing lands for cattle. The area also has the essentials for construction of buildings, such as wood, stone, lime, clay for adobe, brick tile, etc. , with an abundance of water for these purposes" (Fireman 1977:213).

A second Site was rejected: "The site called La Alameda has nothing to recommend it for the purpose. Although the terrain is level, it lacks water, not only for irrigation, but there is not even enough for the daily needs of the settlers and to meet the requirements of construction. Neither in this area is there wood, firewood, or stone, and therefore I do not consider it a good site for the purpose contemplated" (Ibid.).

In addition to its use for fields, animals, and human consumption, water was such a vital element in construction that it could influence the choice of a site. For example, when selecting the site for Presidio Gigedo, Captain Felipe de Rabago y Teran remarked:

> We all came to immediate agreement that the San Francisco Xavier de Gigedo Presidio should be erected on [a specific site] because of the nearness of water, since, although the river is at some distance, there is a lagoon near-by, which the Reverend Fathers say is full all year so that there is sufficient water for mortar as well as for the

> necessities of the house,[13] although it will be necessary to go to the river to fetch water to drink because of the possibility of the lagoon's water being tainted; the difficulty would arise in any other locale of having the same distance from the river, and it would be extremely costly to carry water for mortar for the presidio; here it is near-by, and there is plenty of wood and pasture for the horses. (Gilmore 1969:134-35)

Therefore, the siting needs of a mission were:

1. A river with a combination of dependable volume of flow, proper bank height, correct downstream slope, and an acceptable valley contour--all of which would make an irrigation dam and ditch system feasible.

2. Irrigable bottom lands (*labores*) which could be plowed for farming.

3. Similar lands which would serve as pastures (*pasturas*) for the mission herds, with good access to the river for watering of these animals

4. The placement of the site above the level of the highest visible flood debris, but in such a location that the main acequia could be routed close by the building complex, to supply easily accessible water to the occupants of the site.

5. The availability of specific raw materials necessary for the development and maintenance of the mission buildings. These include stands of trees of sufficient size and variety to supply the needs of the carpenter's shop for architectural elements such as roofing and door and window framing; firewood for cooking, the blacksmith's shop, the lime and ceramic kilns, and so on; good building stone for the mason's shop; a source of lime for construction and finishing; readily available sources of clean Sand, gravel, and a good quality clay, all to be used in the making of mortar, cement, fired bricks, and adobe for plastering, flooring and construction; and a handy supply of water for construction purposes, primarily for the mixing of various clay, Sand and lime combinations.

Suitable Topography

Space for specific structures within the mission compound was then assessed, as at the new site of Mission San José in 1720:

> The boundaries and area are prescribed by Royal Ordinances, according to which authority I assign and demarcate for the church the portion, within the place where I have given them the said property, with sufficient capacity for the cemetery and those things which are customary, for the convento and hospital, for the *casas reales*, the jail, and whatever else is needed; and the main plaza a square [formed by blocks of houses] where the side of each block is 120 varas long [about 332 feet], and the houses will be laid out in the customary manner, and the Streets will be laid out in the same form

[13]This phrase probably refers to the privies, the necesarias, of the convento, or casa.

> and manner which is customary. (Leutenneger and Habig 1978:35; translation by Ivey)[14]

This is virtually the same wording used when mission San Juan Bautista was founded in Coahuila in 1699 (Weddle 1968:24), and paraphrases the pertinent sections of the Laws of the Indies (Crouch et al. 1982:11-19). It is apparent from references in the survey notes of both the town of San Fernando (presently San Antonio) and the description of the Siting of Presidio San Francisco de Xavier de Gigedo written by Rabago y Teran (Gilmore 1969:133-136) that a master map of the proposed construction was in hand at the time the survey and layout of these Sites was conducted. The Laws of the Indies indicate that such a map is necessary (Crouch et al. 1982:13). Rabago y Teran stated specifically that after arriving at a site which had the prerequisites of wood, water, level ground, and so on, he "examined the map which had been given me, and after I had showed it to all those standing around, and when it had been sufficiently scrutinized, we realized that there was sufficient space to build the Presidio in conformity with the plans in front of us" (Gilmore 1969:135),

Layout of the Structures: Standardized Concepts versus a Physical Plan

Since San José was apparently laid out using the same procedures as, for example, the surveying of presidio San Francisco de Gigedo, should it be assumed that a plan or map was also available for this surveying operation? Perhaps not. Captain Juan Valdes, who laid out the site, indicated that he was following custom and the *reales ordenanzas* (the Royal Ordinances) as he proceeded, but never refers to or implies the existence of a physical plan or map of the proposed layout of the mission. The "custom" to which Valdes refers was probably the standardized concepts of the arrangement of a mission and the necessary size of its components as supplied by Fr. Miguel Nunez and Fr. Agustin Patron, who accompanied him in the establishment of the mission (Leutenegger and Habig 1978:35).

When missions concepcion, San Juan, and San Francisco de la Espada were founded in the San Antonio River valley on March 5, 1731, the officer representing the Crown was the same Captain Juan Antonio Perez de Almazan who four months later would survey the plat of the town of San Fernando, It is apparent, however, that some procedural changes had been made in the ten years since the founding of Mission San José. The founding officer representing the Crown did not lay Out the site as described by Valdes in 1720, but granted the property as he would any tract of land. Fr. Gabriel de Vergara, the president of the Querétaran mission of Texas, accepted the site of concepcion from Almazan; Fr. Pedro Muñoz received the site of San Francisco de la Espada; and Fr. Joseph de Urtado accepted the site of San Juan. Each father then presumably set about the task of laying out his new mission.

Surveying

The first steps on a new site usually involved surveying. Irrigable areas for farming and pasturing were measured, the optimum line for the acequia and the location of the dam were selected, and the mission complex was laid out (Gilmore 1969:141-42).

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[14]The term "casas reales" has a wide range of meanings, but in the context of a frontier mission, it usually means the government buildings of the Indian town.

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Eighteenth Century Surveying Practice and Capabilities

The actual surveying process in use on the Texas colonial frontier was rarely described in the documents of the period. To be understood, the few descriptions available require a discussion of the general context of surveying pIactices and capabilities of the time.

As of 1700-1730 there were two principal methods in use for the surveying of tracts of land in North America. one was a combination magnetic compass and sighting device called a "circumferentor, " used with a Surveyor's chain of a certain length. This method was common in the English colonies (Wilford 1981:174-175). The other method employed only a surveyor's chain, with the angles of tract corners determined by diagonal measurements and the laws of trigonometry and geometry. Cardinal directions were rarely mentioned in the surveyor's notes, and were apparently considered less important than landmark references. A third method, used in Texas and New Mexico, was the description of a tract by reference to landmarks alone, with no measurements other than an estimate of the area enclosed. This was employed in the deeds for the Rancho San Lucas (also called El Atascosa) of Mission San José and the Rancho Monte Galvan used jointly by missions San Antonio de Valero, Purisima Concepción, and San Juan (GLOSA 50:51-84; Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library [OSMHRL] 4;5250-5257). The Rancho San Lucas deed is a more formal document than the Monte Galvan deed in that it gives a linear description of the boundaries of the tract. Even so, measurements and true or magnetic bearings are omitted.

The magnetic compass seems to have been uncommon on the Texas frontier before the 1770s. When Fr. Morfi visited mission San Juan in 1778, he gave one to the missionary there (Morfi 1967:106). The only known reference to its use on the Texas frontier is by Virginia Taylor Houston, who points out that it was used in 1714 in southern Coahuila by surveyors of a grant made to the Marquis San Miguel de Aguayo. In this case the surveyors made use of the compass, but they could only estimate distances because of the roughness of the terrain and the danger of attack by Indians" (Houston 1962:205).

A more explicit document is the record of the original survey of the villa of San Fernando in 1731, the town which eventually became San Antonio. This survey, conducted under the direction of the commander of the presidio, Captain Juan Antonio Perez de Almazan, made use of a cuerda or *cordel* (cord) of 50 castilian varas in length, ca. 139 feet. In addition, Almazan mentioned an instrument he called a *reloj de sol*, or sundial. This probably refers to a device known in English as an "equinoctial ring" which had been invented in Europe in the early years of the seventeenth century, and was popular through the eighteenth century. Guye and Michel, in referring to the equinoctial ring, state that "it enjoyed great success for it made an excellent pocket-dial thanks to its compactness and strength . . . . When the instrument is accurately orientated the ray of sunlight . . . gives the time. Conversely, when the ray falls on the ring, [the] instrument . . . is now a compass" (Guye and Michel 1971:244, 246-47). The device was not as delicate or inconsistent as a compass, and on a sunny day -- a dependable commodity in Texas -- indicated geographic north rather than the more abstract and changeable magnetic north.

Besides the equinoctial ring, several other methods were known for finding true north by the use of the sun, and had been employed by surveyors since the days of the Roman Empire. The simplest of these involved a vertical pole called a "gnomen." A circle was drawn with the gnomen at the center. The shadow of the gnomen was then observed after the sun rose in the morning, and the point at which the tip of the shadow crossed the circle was marked. In the afternoon, as the shadow of the gnomen began

to lengthen again, the point at which its tip recrossed the circle was also marked. A line was drawn from the first point to the second, and the midpoint of this line was then determined. An additional line drawn from the base of the gnomen through this midpoint very closely approximated the direction of geographic north. On the shortest and longest days of the year (the winter and summer solstices, in December and June). this method gave an exact indication of geographic north. Vitrivius describes this procedure in his *Ten Books on Architecture*. written in ca. 25 B.C., copies of which are known to have been available on the Spanish frontier (SMRC, March 1981:5). The method was still being used to determine true north in surveyor's handbooks as late as 1904 (Gillespie 1883:160). The equinoctial ring had the advantage of being virtually pocket-sized, could be set up quickly, and gave immediate results with acceptable accuracy. This made it a far better tool for surveyors. Certainly, Almazan's statement indicates the use of some such instrument.

The cord was another ancient tool for measuring long distances. Directions for setting up a waxed surveyor's cord were given by Hero of Alexandria in the first century A.D. (Stone 1928:218-19), and a similar description was written in 1904 by Gillespie, who remarked that "a well made rope . . . when stretched wetted, and allowed to dry with moderate strain will not vary from a chain more than one foot in two thouSand, if carefully used" (Gillespie 1904:15).

Survey Methodology: The Example of the San Xavier Missions

A description of the steps involved in surveying lands for a mission is available in the documents dealing with the establishment of the San Xavier mission and presidio in 1750-51, about 130 miles northeast of San Antonio in what is now Milam County. At the San Xavier site, the fields were measured by Don Joseph Joaquin de Eca y Musquiz using a surveying cord and cardinal directions. MuSquiz was assisted by Francisco Delgado, Geronimo Flores, and Juan Diego de la Garza, selected because they were experienced in acequia systems. All three were residents of San Fernando de Bexar (Bolton 1962:224). During the survey, the crew was accompanied by Fr. Juan Domingo de Arricivieta, missionary at the new mission of San Ildefonso.

The survey crew selected five points along the San Xavier River (presently the San Gabriel River). At each point they measured the width of the river, the height of the bank on both sides, and the depth of the water at one vara intervals across the stream.[15] After the measurements were taken, the land on each side of the river near the measurement point was assessed for its potential use as farm or pasture, and as the possible lite of a dam or irrigation system. Only a few areas were judged to be suitable for farming. The crew described and measured each of these areas, and noted its location relative to the missions that had already been established.

The descriptions consisted of a general statement of the appearance of each plain or meadow, its boundary topography, and its length and width. If present, difficult features such as an irregular surface, hills, wooded areas, and arroyos were usually mentioned. For example:

> On the south bank there is a plain or level piece of ground which has been measured from the corner of the junction of the Arroyo Las Animas and the San Xavier River

[15] A vara equals about thirty-three inches.

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> to the fence of the mission of the same name, to be 5,000 varas long; and the measuring line has indicated that its width from the foot of the hill on which the mission of San Ildefonso is located, continuing in a straight line to end at the obstruction which is the said river was 1800 varas and this plain belongs to the mission of San Ildefonso. (Gilmore 1969:125)

Criteria for the Selection of Farmland

In comparing the survey notes with a topographic map of the area as it appears today, it is evident that the surveyors used a restrictive set of criteria for the selection of usable farmland: the land had to be very level, with no major contour changes, creeks or gullies crossing it; it had to be above the usual flood zones of the river but below the irregular highlands; and it had to be big enough to offer a justifiable return on the labor of irrigation construction. The floodplain, with its multiple river scars, old channels, and oxbow lakes, was usually rejected in favor of the first terrace, where the river had once channelled into the surrounding hills, but which retained little or no trace of the old channels. Mission and presidio sites were selected on higher, flat-topped hills -- usually low, detached portions of a higher terrace, where it would be close to the water and surrounded by irrigable land.

The difficulties of supplying irrigation water to the mission fields were not insurmountable, although there was a mild disagreement between the missionaries and the experts over the best location for the dam and headgate of the acequia. For the dam, the experts selected a location about fifteen miles above Mission San Xavier. The lands associated with this area, called Santa Maria de la Visitacion, were also considered very good for farming. Musquiz's report implies that he and his experts found this to be a better site for the missions than their locations in 1750. Fr. Mariano de los Dolores y Biana examined the site, disagreed with the evaluation, and decided to leave the missions where they were. In his opinion, the best location for the dam to supply water to the acequia system was about seven miles upstream from the confluence of San Xavier and Las Animas creeks (the present San Gabriel and Brushy Creeks), which was near the temporary location of the mission garrison. work on the acequia at this proposed location started in october of 1750, but apparently was never completed (Bolton 1970:234-237).

Evidence for the Survey of San Antonio Mission Lands

It can be assumed that a similar evaluation was carried out in the area of the proposed San Antonio missions in 1718, 1720, and late 1730 or early 1731. After the evaluation was completed, the lands were granted to each mission and the mission building sites selected and staked out. The property descriptions for the present sites of missions Valero and San José have not been found, but those for missions Concepción, San Juan and Espada are available. These descriptions are in the same format as the deeds of Monte Galvan and San Lucas, except that few landmarks are mentioned. The only physical relationships considered important enough to be included in these deeds were the locations of the missions relative to each other and to the San Antonio River. Fr. Gabriel de Vergara, father president of the Queréteran missions of Texas, reviewed the missions' legal rights concerning land in 1731 as part of the founding of the three new missions (Vergara 1731). This document does not clearly define the boundaries of the mission lands, but indicates that each mission could claim up to four square leagues of land, and that the law prevented others from owning land within three leagues of the boundary markers of the mission lands (Ibid.:3562, 3563). A clear delineation of the lands of each

mission apparently was not carried out until the 175Os, and the boundaries were still in dispute between missionaries and secular land owners through the 177Os.

The methods for surveying and staking out San Antonio mission sites are not specifically described. However, by examining the procedures used by Almazan in laying out San Fernando in 1731, and by Rabago y Teran in siting the Presidio San Francisco de Xavier de Gigedo in 1751, it is possible to deduce the basic method used by colonial surveyors to accomplish such a task.

In both cases, the center of the selected site was used as the primary reference. From this point half-diagonals were measured which determined the corners of the main plazas of a town, the presidio, or in this case, the mission. Within this rectangle or square, subdivisions were set out as the outlines of specific buildings.

The half-diagonal method was prone to a variety of errors. If the angle of any given half-diagonal were off, the corner determined by that half-diagonal would be displaced, which in turn meant that three of the corners would not have precise right angles. If the measurement were off, the same distortion would occur. The surveyors would have known how to determine a right angle by any one of several different simple geometric processes, but would have applied them only to the central half-diagonals of a square plan, where the diagonals should cross at right angles. Such a method would not have been used on rectangular plans, and was apparently not applied to the corners of any of the plans. The laying out of individual structures within the primary plan would have used the rules for determining right angles except where this produced conflicts with the corners of the primary plan. When this happened, the builders of the individual structures apparently compromised between the angles of the primary plan and the rectilinear plan desired for the structure, as was the case at the southwest corner of Mission San Juan. The survey notes of San Fernando demonstrate that changes in the layout of a town or structure were acceptable when natural barriers such as arroyos or rivers interfered with the plan.

The presidio of San Francisco de Xavier de Gigedo was laid out by this general procedure. The master mason, master carpenter, and others would "stretch lines . .. to measure from the center of this site how much space the presidio would require, how much for the barracks for the soldiers, how much for the corresponding plazas and for the other necessary structures . . . . They drove stakes to mark out the site... wherewith everything was completely finished in order to start the construction and building" (Gilmore 1979:136). Frequently a master mason or carpenter was available with layout experience, but the missionary himself could be expected to be familiar with the procedures. At San Xavier, for example, Rabago y Teran remarked that the missionaries are "themselves well-versed in this matter" (Gilmore 1969:135). The missionary effort had a long history of experience in site selection and layout. In the sixteenth century, for example, missionaries were described as laying out mission towns in this manner:

> *Ellos eran los que tiraban los cordeles, median las calles, daban sitio a las casas, [y] trazaban las iglesias.*

Planning and Work Organization

Preliminaries to "Permanent" construction

Once a site had been selected and the major points of plan and subdivision marked out by the surveyors, actual construction could begin. Temporary structures would be built to house the missionaries, Indians,

supplies and tools, and religious articles--probably within a few days or weeks (Castañeda 1936:94). Once basic shelter was available, a final planning assessment of the new site would probably have been made, evaluating the various possible arrangements of structure for the best use of the site. The conceptual elements of a mission and their interaction as discussed in Section I formed the basis for this planning evaluation. At the same time, areas were selected for the first fields, and clearing and plowing began. The final evaluation of the line of the acequia was carried out and the work begun. As time and available labor permitted, work started on interim structures for the granary/storehouse and the church, and on the construction of the stone friary and the "permanent" granary (Ibid.:94; Paredes 1727:38-40).

Although it is never explicitly stated, it is reasonable to assume that the final plan of the entire friary enclosure and at least the general outline of the stone or "permanent" church were laid out on the ground during this planning session. For the convento the foundations of the buildings were probably constructed immediately to serve as the indelible plan for future construction. Barring unforseen developments, the initial plans were followed for the next several decades of construction. The church and other structures requiring detailed technical knowledge, such as vaulting and buttressing, were delayed until a master mason could be brought to conduct the work (Paredes 1727:40).

Builder Expertise

Where did the expertise come from to carry out the many tasks associated with the construction of the buildings of the mission? In most parts of Mexico and New Mexico, the missionaries themselves are considered to have been the repository of this knowledge. In New Mexico, the missionaries found that the Pueblo Indians were already using construction techniques like those in use in parts of Spain, so that the missionary became essentially the director of a modified construction process using the methods and skills already developed by local labor. Even in New Mexico, however, Spanish experts in such skills as carpentry and blacksmithing were imported to train the Indians.

In Texas, however, the Indians coming into the new missions had little background in construction, with experience in building temporary shelters at best. For the missionary to be sure that the many tasks which had to be accomplished simultaneously using predominantly unskilled labor were all carried out properly, he had to have several skilled or semiskilled supervisors to oversee the various works.

These experts were made available to the missions in a variety of ways. The initial group which established the Mission de San Antonio de Valero was expected to include "a number of old mission Indians, skilled in the cultivation of the soil, to help in teaching those newly congregated how to plant crops. A master carpenter, a blacksmith, and a mason should also be sent at royal expense that they might help build the churches and dwellings and teach these trades to the Indians. It was particularly important that a good weaver should accompany Father Olivares, who could teach the Indians how to weave the flax, the wool, and the goat hair into cloth" (Castañeda 1936:76).

***Most of these requirements were met, although not yet known are the names of many of the craftsmen--the mason, carpenter, blacksmith, and weaver--whO accompanied the missionary party to the new site of mission San Antonio de Valero. Others are known: the accompanying military detachment which was to establish the Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar included the military engineer and surveyor Francisco Barreiro (Castañeda 1936:84; Fireman 1977:54-55), the master mason Francisco de la Cruz, and the carpenter Santiago Perez (Castañeda 1936:84). Although Castañeda doubted that any "old mission Indians" were actually brought from San Francisco Solano to help establish the new mission of

Valero, Schuetz has shown in a recent study that a number of Indians from Solano did indeed form the core of the new mission population (Schuetz 1980b:50, 53, 254, 273, 331-334),***

Master masons were available to the Franciscan endeavor in San Antonio from the first. For example, Francisco de la Cruz (François de la Croix), a Frenchman who was both a master mason and a master stone carver, accompanied the expedition to establish the presidio and mission of San Antonio de Valero in 1718.[16] Several other masons lived at Mission Valero during the period from 1718 to 1726, but did not supply the expertise needed to construct a major mission church.[17] With the establishment of the Zacatecan mission of San Jose y San Miguel de Aguayo south of the presidio in 1720, the need for a master mason was increased. When three of the Queretaran missions of east Texas were transferred to San Antonio in 1731, the need became acute for the Queretaran effort. Franciscan authority began the process of securing a *maestro* for the construction of several mission churches in San Antonio.

The projects were to be the church of San Antonio de Valero, established on its present site in 1724, and the three new missions of Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada, all established south of Valero seven years later in 1731. By 1738, several churches had been built in San Antonio by Franciscan masons, but all were interim buildings of one sort or another.

The missionaries of Valero were using a flat-roofed stone building as their church. They had originally constructed it in about 1730.[18] The building was about 60 feet long and perhaps 16 feet wide on the interior, about the same size as the adobe church at Concepción or the first stone church at Mission Rosario, near Goliad, Texas. The Franciscans had built it against the south end of the convento with the north wall of the church extending east beyond the wall of the southernmost room of the convento. A stairway up the east face of the south room gave access to the choir loft of the church. The arcaded corridor along the east side of the convento had not yet been built. The main entrance of the church was at the west end of the building, and a room serving as the sacristy was on the north side at the east

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[16]The identity of the designer of the two full-sized Queretaran churches of San Antonio has long been a mystery. The research of Mardith Schuetz over the last two decades has revealed that he was Antonio Tello, and more recent analysis of the episodes of construction of the churches has indicated his association with most of the major structural events in the missions during the period from 1738 to 1744.

[17]List the other masons known in town, state that they all seem to have been apprentice or journeyman masons, not maestros. In 1727 Sevillano de Paredes wrote that Valero was collecting the stone needed to begin construction on a primary church for the mission, but that work could not begin until the services of a master mason were made available.

[18]The Franciscans constructed the building sometime between 172? and 1745. It was in use when Antonio Tello began the planning of the primary church in about 1?38, and had probably replaced the jacal church soon after 1727. Tello's plans put the primary church far back from the mission plaza, and the wall connecting the new church to the first church is at a slightly different angle and is several inches thinner, indicating that it was butted onto the east end of the first church. At that time the sacristy of the first church continued north of the point of juncture, obscuring the line of the church wall sufficiently that the alignments could not be made precisely the same. Or, the first church was built at slightly less than a right angle to the convento, and the new wall was angled so as to return the south wall to the correct point where a precise right angle would have taken it. Between 1759 and 1762 the missionaries removed this building and converted the mission granary to a temporary church. The foundations of the earlier church remain in the ground at the south end of the convento directly in front of the Alamo Shrine.

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end. The interior of the church was decorated with inlaid stonework making various patterns on the walls. Tello designed the wall enclosing the convento patio to extend east from the church.[19] [Figure]

At Concepción, the Franciscans had built a temporary adobe church in 1732. During the years from 1732 to 1738, the Franciscans replaced the adobe convento buildings with a sacristy and convento of stone adjoining the adobe building, beginning with a full outline of the final convento buildings in the form of foundations. Only convento rooms along the northern and eastern sides of the patio were actually built.[20]

At San Juan, they constructed a jacal church of vertical posts set in the ground, plastered with mud, and given a thatched roof (the type of construction called *jacal)*. This building probably went up in about 1732, at the same time as the construction of jacales at Mission Concepción. The Franciscans continued to use the jacal through 1745. Soon after, they converted one of the buildings of the convento to a temporary church.

Espada probably also had a jacal church, but no references to early buildings here have been found. Because it was so far from the sources of good stone, it is likely that Espada's jacal church continued in use until the missionaries completed the sacristy of the primary church in late 1744 or early 1745.

At San Jose, the Zacatecans had completed a church with a flat, beam-supported roof of the style common in northern Mexico and New Mexico in the previous century, rather than waiting for a Zacatecan mason to show up. This church had been built by the missionaries themselves, probably during the years from 1725 to 1730, before the arrival of master masons in town. The building was a stone structure 97 feet long and 19 feet wide, with transepts, a choir loft with a window through the facade, a single bell tower, and probably a clerestory window.[21] It had a retablo over at least the main altar, and a painted pulpit in the nave. The interior of both the church and its sacristy were whitewashed and painted. It adjoined the west side of the convento, and probably faced south onto the main plaza of the mission.[22] It would remain the principle church of San Jose until the Zacatecans decided, in about 1765, to replace it with a larger, more impressively decorated, vaulted building.

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[19]When this church was demolished in about 1760. the north wall of the building was left standing to form the south wall of the convento patio enclosure. In the painting of Valero by Gentilz. completed in the 1870s but based on sketches of the 1850s. most of the details of a cross-section of this church can be seen. The door to the choir at the east edge of the convento rooms. the door to the sacristy. the stub of the east end wall of the building. and the decorative stone inlays can all be seen. Today. only the lower 10 feet of this wall still survives. with the sacristy door and stub of the east wall destroyed by the large gateway opening into the patio. However. the differences in alignment and thickness can still be measured. and even seen when the eye is placed next to the surface of the wall and sighted along it towards the east.

[20]See "Building Without a Blueprint: Franciscan something or other." Also "Changing Policies on the Northern Frontier." and "The Adobe Church of Concepción."

[21]The first stone church at San Jose probably resembled the church at Las Trampas. New Mexico. built about 1750 *** or some other. more appropriate church *** .

[22]The present convento incorporates the early convento of this first church. and in fact a portion of the west wall of the convento contains a surviving fragment of the church. It forms a panel in the apse end of the present church. thicker than the walls of the convento around it but thinner than the walls of the new church.

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Antonio Tello

The Queretarans hired the master mason Antonio de Tello to take on the huge task of designing and building the four churches of Queretaran San Antonio.[23] He arrived in Texas from Zacatecas, Mexico, in about 1738, and immediately set about creating his designs.[24] He was about to attempt the rather incredible feat of directing the construction of four major churches at the same time.[25]

Tello's Designs

The plan and elevation of the churches of Concepción and Valero were almost identical. The facades were, of course, different, but carved in the same style. Discuss the details as necessary. Include figures showing plan to same scale, facade and side view elevations to same scale. Note that Valero is about 19% larger in all main dimensions, and among other things was designed with insets or broad, shallow niches in the end walls of the transepts for retablos above the side altars.

The location and size of the sacristy was different at each, dictated by the location of the other buildings of the mission. At Concepción, the church and sacristy were apparently designed so as to fit onto the already-standing granary. Concepción's sacristy had a simple barrel vault, unlike Valero's more complex structure.

At Valero, Tello designed the church and sacristy to complete the corner of an already existing convento behind the temporary church, where services continued to be held while the construction proceeded on the new building. Only when the sacristy was complete and ready to house church services would the old church be torn down.[26] Tello designed the sacristy to fit in one corner of the transept, rather than on the end as at Concepción and apparently Espada, with the door between the two opening through the side wall of the transept. Tello designed the Valero sacristy with a double domed vaulting, separating the two domes with a thick rib.

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[23]Little is known of Tello other than the testimony in the records of the Bexar Archives. These give some evidence of his relationship to the missionaries, and outline the events leading to his fleeing San Antonio in August, 1744. This information, in conjunction with the construction events of those years, indicates that the Franciscans brought Tello to San Antonio to design and build all the needed mission churches of the area. While in the area, his expertise may have been used by the Zacatecan Franciscans at San Jose, and by the civilian community to design and build the parish church of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria y Guadalupe in San Fernando de Bexar, the original name of San Antonio. His association with the parish church of Candelaria is suggested by the timing of the construction of that building, the style of its plan and facade, and the suspicion that the parishioners could not afford to import their own master mason.

[24]Tello may have built the arcades for the ground floor level of the San Jose convento and the ground floor of the Valero convento in the same period of 1739-1744.

[25]Much of the following discussion of what Tello did over the next few years, from 1738 to 1744, is derived from the description of the churches written in October, 1745, by Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz. Because structural evidence indicates that if construction occurred at any mission other than Valero from 1744 to 1751, the state of the construction in October, 1745, is as it was left by Tello when he fled town in August, 1744.

[26]Actually, the old church was torn down a little early. The sacristy was completed in about 1765, but the old church was torn down about 1760; see 1759, 1762, and 1772 reports. The old granary was converted to temporary use as a church by 1762.

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The location of the sacristy at Espada was again different, being attached directly to the convento and oriented with the long axis towards the transept, rather than the short axis as at Concepción. The doorway in the end rather than the side indicates that it was not tucked in a corner as at Valero, which was its transept doorway on one side. [Discuss relative sizes of the three sacristies, locations of their doors, relationships to churches and conventos. Is end wall of Espada sacristy too small to be the full width of the transept? If so, does this tell something about the probable plan of the church?]

The style of the facades of Concepción and Valero and the doorway at Espada are all very similar.[27] What other elements of carving survive in the three churches, and do they show the same similarities? It looks as though Concepción was a simple, straightforward design while Valero was larger and more intricate and complex. The fancy sacristy doorway at Espada indicates that Tello's design for this church would have been even more convoluted than Valero. The designs imply that Tello worked out Concepción first, then Valero, then Espada, and finally San Juan.

Apparently Tello began construction on the church of Concepción first, followed by Valero, then Espada. Espada and San Juan were handicapped by being some distance from sources of good limestone, while Concepción and Valero each had a quarry near the work. The 1745 report gives a good description of the state of construction reached at each mission as of August, 1744, when Tello left town hurriedly.

Purísima Concepción

By 1740 Tello was ready to begin construction. He started with Purísima Concepción, probably because it was the Father President's church.

Here, Tello had the problem that the Franciscans had built the stone convento and granary in the wrong arrangement to allow him the best placing of the new church. He would have to either tear down the granary so that the church and sacristy could join the convento at its northeast corner, or place the church at the northwest corner of the convento with the sacristy located where the stone sacristy of the adobe church stood. This resulted in the convento extending off to the southeast from the church, rather than being tucked up against the south side of the building as it should. Tello elected to do neither of these things, but to join the church and sacristy to the north end of the granary and join the church and convento together with a new section of building extending south from the southwest bell tower.

For the new section of the convento, Tello planned and designed a unique vaulted structure, rather like a small section of some of the older conventos in Mexico.[28] It was built at the same time as the lower portions of the church: the arched stairway to the church bell tower was built against the north wall of the convento, and the stonework is tied into that wall and the bell tower wall. By Tello's

[27]The facade of the parish church was very similar in its flat, panel-like design set onto the blank front of the building. However, this was the general style in use throughout most of New Spain in the first half of the eighteenth century: some similarities are to be expected. An examination of the records concerning the construction of the parish church may reveal the name of the master mason who designed it.

[28]Tello's new convento for Concepción is the earliest known example of the design used fifty years later for most of the conventos in the California missions. It is possible that some progenitor of this plan will be found in the conventos of Zacatecas or elsewhere in Mexico, where Tello was working before arriving in San Antonio.

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departure in August, 1744, the vaults of the first three rooms of the convento had been built, along with the vaulted corridor on each side of the building. The completed convento rooms reached almost to the walls of the first stone convento. The adobe church at the west end of the first convento continued in use as the church of the mission, pending completion of the sacristy of the new church.

By August, 1744, the church, built of "cut stone and mortar," had reached what the Franciscans considered the halfway point. This probably indicates that about half the height of the walls had been built. Such a height would have meant that the roofs of the ground-floor rooms of the bell-towers, the roof of the sacristy, and the arched stairs to the second floor room above the sacristy had all been completed. The adobe church and its stone sacristy were probably torn down in 1743 or 1744, and services transferred to the new sacristy.

San Antonio de Valero

After Concepción was well-begun and the mayordomo clearly in control of the work, Tello turned to Valero. He laid out the foundation trenches in early 1744, and on May 8, 1?44, the missionaries participated in the ceremonies associated with the laying of the cornerstone for the new church of Valero. This marks the date when Tello completed the foundation trenching and began construction on the foundations. By the time of Tello's departure in August, the foundations were finished.[29]

The plans for the church were designed with the access to the choir loft from the second story of the convento across a wooden platform to the door of the antechoro. Tello may have designed all the rooms from the old sacristy to the new sacristy; do the details of these rooms and how they make the transition from one building to the other tell me anything about what was standing, the sequence of construction, and the design problems Tello dealt with? He may have intended to replace the wooden platform for the choir entrance with a masonry structure later. Did the second story pre-date the church? Did the room next to the sacristy predate the church and sacristy?

San Francisco de la Espada

Tello began construction on the church for Espada a month or two after the founding ceremony at Valero. Work here went somewhat slower because Espada was farther from the quarry at Concepción.[30] By August trenches for the entire outline of the church had been excavated, and portions of the foundations laid. The above-grade walls of the sacristy had been started, including the fine-carved stones of the doorway from the transept of the new church into the sacristy, and stood about two feet above grade.[31]

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[29]The description of Valero a little over a year later, in October, 1745, stated that "se acaba la yglesia empezada," apparently meaning "the church foundation has been finished." Empezada seems to be a synonym for cimiento, foundation, in a number of documents from this period.

[30]It is curious that Tello did not begin San Juan next, because it was closer to the limestone quarry at Concepción. It is likely that the priority of each mission's construction was assigned by the Father President according to his own needs, rather than by Tello according to considerations of efficiency.

[31]In the inventory of 1?72, the foundations of the church were described as half-built. Quote. Apparently no further construction on the building had occurred since 1744.

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After Tello's abrupt departure in August and before October of the next year, someone, probably the mayordomo, completed the sacristy with a flat roof rather than the vaulted roof Tello had certainly intended.[32] The first carved stones of the doorway had already been set in place when Tello left, but the rest still lay in the storage area, awaiting assembly. It would appear that soon after Tello's flight, the mayordomo broke two of the fine-carved stones for the door, probably in the process of attempting to assemble them. These were the central stone of the right door jamb, and one of the two impost stones for the arch over the door. In the absence of the master mason who had done the carving, these stones could not be replaced.[33]

Presented with a difficult situation, the mayordomo improvised as best he could. He replaced the stone for the right door jamb with fired brick carved to produce the needed outline of the moldings. When the stonework and the brick patch was plastered and painted, the substitution would not be noticeable. The missing stone for the arch was more difficult. The mason did not want to attempt making a replacement stone of brick, for fear that it would fail, and he could not carve a replacement stone.[34] The mayordomo arrived at a startling solution to the problem that allowed him to complete the doorway. He found that if he discarded the second impost stone and reversed the order and position of the next two stones on each side of the base of the arch, the bottom surfaces of the two lowest stones were level. [Figure here showing the plan of the doorway as is, with the missing section of the right jamb indicated and the outlines of the entire stones of the arch, not just the carved lines, with next to it the reconstruction of the probable design.] Once the arch was completed, the remainder of the sacristy walls could be built up until the vigas of the flat room could be set in place. The building was completed in its makeshift form by October, 1745.

San Juan Capistrano

No construction on a permanent church for San Juan is mentioned. There are some odd foundations against the north wall of the convento compound where the church would have been, but they run east and west rather than north and south, and are probably the foundations of a granary that stood somewhere in the area in the early 1800s.

Antonio Tello Leaves Town

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[32]The sacristy at Espada was probably intended to have been vaulted as at the other two churches, but of course had to be completed with a flat roof after the departure of Tello. However, the foundations and lower one or two feet of wall had been built before Tello left, and should preserve the structures to support the intended vault. These should be a series of buttresses along both the north and south walls, probably a pair at the front of the building, a second pair at the back, and a third pair in the center. These would show only in archeological investigations of the foundations beneath the floors of the transepts.

[33]These events are deduced from the recorded events of Tello's departure and the description a little over a year later, and the details of the doorway construction itself. The identity of the person who carried out the makeshift completion of the building knew enough to construct the arched doorway as best he could, but not enough to vault the building. The mayordomo in charge of the construction would have been the default authority with Tello gone, and is the most likely candidate.

[34]There seems to have been almost a superstitious conviction on the part of non-maestros that only a maestro could design or carve stones for an arch or vault, a belief undoubtedly encouraged by master masons. This is rather like the conviction today that only computer technicians can get a computer to work: it isn't entirely true, but why take a chance?

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Narrate the sequence of events here.

The Unknown Architect at Valero

Apparently the Franciscans felt that since they had Tello's plans and elevations, they should be able to finish the churches. They seem to have tried to complete the church of Valero. This resulted in the collapse of the construction. The collapse probably occurred in early 1750. In November of 1749 the book of burials records a burial in "the new church" which "was not finished." The new master mason Geronimo Ybarra had to have been requested by 1750 to have arrived in 1751. The request was probably prompted by the collapse of the church. The 1756 report says that the etc.****

Mason in San Antonio working on the parish church also apparently worked *only* on the church of Valero, nearest to parish church. Tello was able to work on Concepción and Valero, and possibly the parish church: more capable.

Possible that a mayordomo did the work at Valero, perhaps the one from Concepción, rather than the mason for the parish church.

Hieronymo Ybarra

Valero

At Valero Ybarra cleared away the rubble and higher portions of the walls, leaving the lower sections that had been built by Tello. He then rebuilt the walls following Tello's original design. Ybarra continued to work in San Antonio through at least 1758, when the keystone of the arch of Valero's main entrance was set in place. Description of 1762 indicates that work was still going on at Valero, so presence of Ybarra here can be assumed. He was gone, however, by 1766. Assume he left (or died) in about 1764. Arches may have been built at Valero prior to 1745, or as late as 1756-59, or both. Tello apparently built the ground floor arches for the western convento rooms. Ybarra built the arches for the second floor, and may have added arches along the north and south sides, both levels. This depends on how the analysis of the south side construction sequence works out, with a room in the center of the south wall beginning as a sacristy and other rooms attached etc.

Nicholas of Concepción

Estevan Losoya

Estevan Losoya, an Indian from Aguas Calientes, was master mason for the Queretaran missions in 1766 and 1767. He worked principally at Valero, where he died in 1767 (when?). He may have arrived earlier than 1766. First burials in the church being rebuilt occurred in 1765 and 1766. Ask Richard to look for him in the San Fernando records.

Dionicio Gonzales

Dionicio (Domingo) Gonzales became "maestro de la obra" at Valero on September 27, 1767. He was to complete the facade "according to the plan." This indicates that Tello's plans were still available at Valero as of 1767. No other information about Gonzales in the available records. Ask Richard Garay

to check into the San Fernando records for him, birth, death, or marriage. Gonzales may have continued working at Valero until at least 1772.

Valero still incomplete as of 1772. Describe situation.

Schuetz also studied the availability of expertise at the missions through time. The masons of Valero are well documented, and a good example of the variety of sources from which the missions took their tradesmen. In 1726 the Mission employed Ascencio, a Xarame Indian possibly from Mission San Francisco Solano, as a mason; in 1729, the Spaniard Nicolas Maldonado; and in ca. 1750, Geronimo Ybarra (Ibid.:273, 279). Ybarra is known from other sources to have been brought to Valero (apparently from San Luis Potosi) before 1750 as the *maestro de albanil*, or master mason (Cuentas 1751:4887, 4890). In 1766 and 1767 Estevan de el Oio, an Indian from Aguas Calientes, was described as the "master mason and master in charge of the work on the church"; and in the latter year, the Spaniard Dionicio Gonzales was also described as the "master in charge of the work on the church" (schuetz 1980b:297; Gonzales and Lopez 1767.4:5220). The other trades display a similarly wide variety in point of origin and ethnic background, including the Flemish master blacksmith and ironworker Juan Banul (or Banuel) from Brussels, who worked at Valero in 1730 (Schuetz 1980b:297; Chabot 1937:117); and Pierre Charli, A Frenchman, who became the carpenter at Valero in 1779 (BCDR Gl:l).

The San Antonio missionaries had skilled tradesmen and experienced Indian neophytes to aid them in their work and supervision from the very beginning. Rather than being almost the sole source of all technical knowledge, as they were in the New Mexico missions, the missionaries of San Antonio were primarily administrators. Their job was to coordinate all the different activities that went into the successful operation of the mission.

Style of Construction

There was no one style of construction particular to the San Antonio missions. Because of the different backgrounds of the men who worked at each mission as the master mason, carpenter, and blacksmith, it is reasonably safe to assume that the methods of construction, work organization, and production of materials followed the procedures in general use on the frontier at the time. A number of documents are available from various archival sources which outline these accepted procedures quite well in the period from 1710 to 1809. Using these documents, architectural planning, work organization, and the supply of construction materials will be discussed.

The Master Plan

It is possible that each of the missions of San Antonio had some form of master plan or drawing which showed at least a general idea of the completed stone church, friary, workshops, and granary. If such plans existed, none are available; however, the manner in which the missions grew over time indicates that some form of plan existed. They were added to in an orderly manner over periods of time much longer than the stay of the individual missionaries. The convento complexes of San Antonio de valero and Espada show a simple stepwise construction process through time in the various reports and descriptions. San Juan does the same, even though the plan of known foundations indicates at least one

major change of layout design. The construction histories of Concepción and San José do not easily match the idea of long-term development following a master plan, but probably represent the implementation of major changes to an earlier plan.

The master plan may have contained information such as the size and shape of the convento compound, the locations and sizes of individual rooms within this compound, and the intended uses of these rooms. Site plans for the final church and granary would have been included. Detailed plans of the structures themselves would be dictated to some extent by the technical requirements of the structural design, and left to the master mason. The missionaries would have been responsible for the layout of the convento compound and much of its construction, since these buildings required a much lower level of theoretical architectural knowledge than the vaulted and buttressed structures. The rule seems to have been that the Franciscans could plan and direct the building of any structure simpler than an arch. Any structure requiring an arch or vault waited for a master mason.

These assumptions are supported by Paredes's description of Valero in 1727. Work was being carried out on the roof of the convento, and several of them were already finished, but no work was being done on the church except the collection of stone in preparation for the arrival of a master mason (Paredes 1727:39, 40). Apparently the mason did not arrive until ca. 1744, because the first stone of the new church was not placed until that year (Habig 1968a:49). A jacal was being used for the church in 1727 (Paredes 1727:39), but by 1745 an interim church of stone had been built where services were to be held while the final church was under construction. This interim church had a sacristy; a choir loft which communicated with the stairs of the friary; and apparently, a bell tower of some sort -- all built without the aid of a master mason. At San Juan and Concepción, as well, simple building methods were followed in the construction of temporary churches.

Individual Building Plans

It can be shown beyond doubt that drawings were used for at least some part of the planning of the construction of a mission church in San Antonio. In 1772 the final church of Valero was being rebuilt. It had collapsed between 1745 and 1756 when it was almost finished. The rebuilding had begun before 1756, and was about half finished in 1762. The master mason Hieronimo Ybarra, brought from San Luis Potosi in ca. 1750, was probably responsible for the design and the first part of the construction of the new church, the present ruined church of San Antonio de Valero. If so, then the work began in ca. 1750. Ybarra may also have been responsible for the design of the present facade of San Antonio de Valero. Certainly the plans for the facade existed by 1767 (Gonzales and Lopez 1767:5220). By 1772 the walls had been raised to approximately their final height, several of the ribs had been constructed, and the vaulted roof over the Sanctuary had been built. The 1772 inventory described the facade as it had been completed to that date, and added:

> *. . . . ha de tener segun su mapa catorze varas y una tercia asta el remate . . . con su propocionado nicho conforme al mapa, que tiene dado el maestro.*
>
> . . . . according to the plan it will be 14 1/3 varas [about 40 feet] in height to the top of the facade . . . with a niche in proportion, in conformation with the plan which the master [mason] has supplied. (Leutenegger 1977:7, 8)

No known example of a plan for any part of the missions of San Antonio has yet been found; however, a plan of an unidentified church drawn sometime in the late 17OOs is available. The plan was located in the files of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) research project on the San Antonio missions,

presently stored in the Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas in Austin, and was thought by the WPA researchers to be the plan of the mission church at Refugio, Texas (see figure 5). This plan was apparently prepared as a guide for the construction of the roof of the church. It shows the outline of the stone walls of the building and indicates what are apparently the heights to which the walls had been built. Most of its details and notes are concerned with the construction of the wooden roof over the crossing of the nave and transepts. The nave itself had stone ribs already built and was ready for a vaulting of timbers. These details are limited, and descriptive rather than specific. The plan suggests that the master mason acted as the designer of the building and was in charge of all stone work and construction; but delegated all woodwork, including roofing, to the master carpenter. The master mason supplied the master carpenter with general guidelines and trusted him to work out the best structural design.

Construction Contracts

The agreement between Dionicio Gonzales and Fr. Joseph Lopez in 1767 is a good example of the sort of construction contract in use at the time:

Mission S.n Antt.o y Septiembre 27 del ano de 1767

Digo yo Dionicio de Jesus Gonzales que me obligo con mi persona y vienes abidos y por aber, Acabar perfectisimomente la portada de la Yglesia de San Antonio, Como esta en el mapa, poniendo a mi costa la piedra labrada i fin que para esto, sufrece litigo--ni desturbio, por lo que me remeto a todas la justisias para que me agan cumplir con esta mi obligasion--
Y la mission se obliga en la misma forma a pagar me las cantidades de mil y sien pesos en reales, y la eramienta que nesesitare dandomela calsada, degandome mirasion Libre i para que Conste lo firme con el ministro de dicha mission, en dicho dia, mes, y año.

Dionicio de Jesus Gonzales [rubric]

Fr. Joseph Lopez [rubric]

Mission San Antonio, September 27 of the year 1767

I, Dionicio de Jesus Gonzales, state that I pledge myself, my person and possessions, owned and to be owned, to completely finish the facade of the Church of San Antonio, as it is on the plan, placing to my cost the cut stone; and lastly, that for this I should suffer litigation nor dismissal, for which I place myself [open] to all [just] retribution so that I may be made to complete this my obligation -- And the mission obligates itself in the same manner to pay me the quantity of 1100 pesos in reales, and the iron tools with which I should additionally be supplied, leaving me free supervision, and in order that it be clear, it is confirmed with the minister of the said mission on the said day, month, and year.

Dionicio de Jesus Gonzales [rubric]

Fr. Joseph Lopez [rubric] (OSMHRL 4:5220)

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Figure 5. A plan for carpentry work on an unknown church. The front of the church, at the bottom of the page, was not included in the original. Courtesy Barker Historical Library, University of Texas at Austin.

The legend in the upper left corner reads:

escala de varas comunes

1. *el cañons de las Yglesias tiene 8 1/3 v.^{s} de ancho*
2. *Los cruseros de 3 1/3 var.^{s}*
3. *Pichinas q.^{e} han de sentar las Gualdras de a 6 v.^{s} q.^{e} son 4.*
4. *Los altos van cubiertos de Piedra h.ta recibir las Gualdras*
5. *Morillos q.^{e} han de serrar, y se necesitan 16.*
6. *son Soleras ō Latas p.^{a} lo mismo y se necesitan 16.*
7. *Los Quartones p.^{a} q.^{e} reciban toda la Madera han de ser 8 de 2 1/2 v.^{s} p.^{a} encadenarse 2 Marcos en el modo figurado*
8. *Son los Cuerpos de los tramos q.^{e} han de cubrirse con Madera sobre los arcos de Piedra q.^{e} tiene*

On the drawing, the notations read:

1. *Prebisterio*[sic] *de 4 3/4 var.^{s}*
2,2. *Crusero de 3 1/3 v.^{s}*
3,3,3,3. *Gualdras de 6 v.^{s}*
4,4,4,4. *alto de 2 3/4 v.^{s}*
5. *Morillos.* [on the beams]
6. *Latas.* [between the beams]
7. [marking the two nested squares at the center of the "dome."]
8,8,8. [marking the roof areas of the nave between pilasters and ribs.]

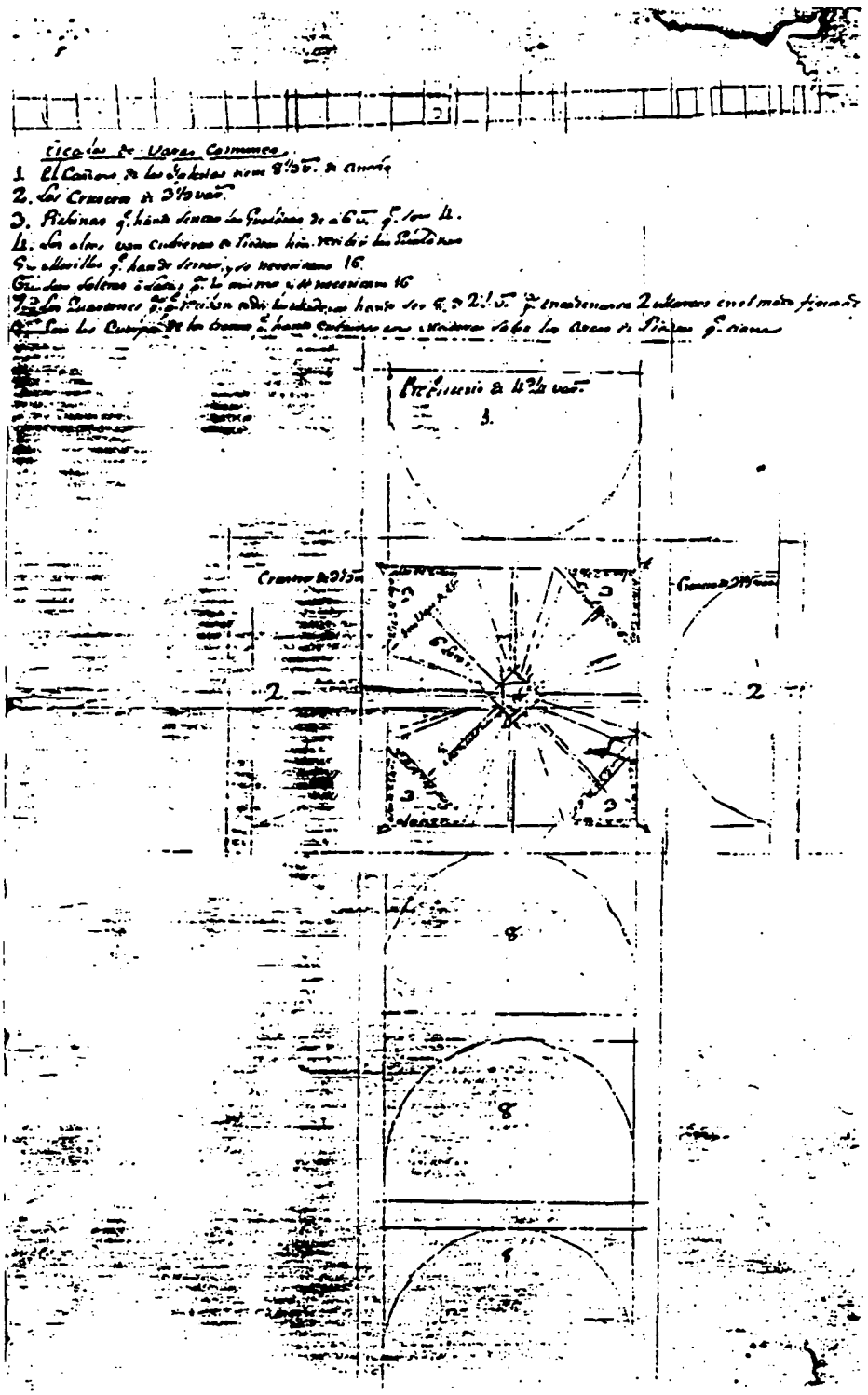
Translated, the legend reads:

scale in common varas [this is associated with the scale at the top of the page]

1. The naves of the churches are 23 feet wide
2. Transepts of 8 1/3 feet [depth]
3. *Pichinas*, that should rest on the large supporting beams (*gualdras*); each of the four large beams is 16 3/4 feet long.
4. The High sections are covered with stone up to where they will recieve the supporting beams.
5. Beams to close [the roof]; sixteen are required.
6. These are battens or crosspieces for the same purpose; sixteen are required.
7. The joists which receive all the previous wood elements; eight are required, each 9 feet long, in order to be fastened together into two frames in the manner shown.
8. These are the shapes of the sections that should be roofed with wood over the arches of stone, already present

The notations read:

1. Sanctuary of 13 1/4 feet [deep].
2. Transept of 9 1/3 feet [deep].
3. Supporting beams of 16 3/4 feet.
4. High section of 7 1/2 feet [height].
5. Beams.
6. Battens.
7. [marking the two nested squares at the center of the "dome."]
8. [marking the roof areas of the nave between pilasters and ribs.]



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This document and others pertaining to construction contracts between the San Antonio missions and individual craftsmen indicate that most of the work was carried out under a *maestranza* contract, in which the craftsman was hired to supply his expertise and supervision in return for a salary. Apparently he also frequently received room, board, and other considerations.[35] With this kind of contract, the contracting agent (the mission) usually supplied the necessary labor and materials for the project (Markman 1966:50). However, note that in the Dionicio Gonzales contract, Gonzales agreed to cover the cost of the stone, while Fr. Lopez would cover the cost of the tools. A clearer picture of costs and responsibilities can be gained from the Statement of Costs for the reconstruction of Mission Rosario, near Goliad, Texas, in 1791 (BA, 21:802-804).

[35]For example. Mission San Antonio de Valero paid transportation expenses for the wife of their resident master mason Hieronimo Ybarra from San Luis Obispo to San Antonio in 1751 (Cuentas 1751:4887. 4890).

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Labor Organization: Supervisors and Workers

Once designs for the various buildings had been worked out, whether formally by the master mason in the case of the church or granary, or more informally by the mason (or the missionaries when a mason was absent), construction could begin. This was usually a highly organized effort, and the speed of construction depended on available manpower. Overall supervision and allotment of labor was conducted by the missionary, while supervision of each major division of labor would have been in the hands of a *mayordomo* (overseer) or of the master in charge of that trade. A typical mission construction program would have something like the following components:

1. Overall supervision and direction would be carried out by the missionary himself, operating within the needs and traditions of the missionization effort. He would have insured that a basic selection of tools and supplies was brought to the site of the new mission. This would have included agricultural tools, woodworking and stonecutting tools, and a selection of hardware such as hinges, locks, and nails (Castañeda 1936:86; Montgomery et al. 1949:145). Any additional tools and hardware would have to be ordered and brought to the site by mule train, made on-site by a professional smith, or brought as personal tools by the various specialists.

2. Under the missionary, supervision of the work rested in the hands of a *maestro de albañil* (master mason) when his services were needed. When necessary or possible he was assisted by an *oficial de obra*, (journeyman mason) as was the case in the reconstruction of the church of San Miguel in Santa Fe in 1710 and the reconstruction of Mission Rosario in Texas in 1791 (Kubler 1939:16, 23; Jaudenes 1791:B03). Alternatively, the master mason could be assisted by a *mayordomo de obra*, (foreman). For some jobs the expertise of a maestro was not needed, and the work was directed by a mayordomo alone.

3. The mayordomo supervised the multitude of tasks needed to assemble the component parts of a mission at the site. He also supervised the construction of the building or complex of buildings, as described below.

4. Controlled by the mayordomo were a number of work crews involved in the collecting or manufacturing of the various items and materials needed for construction. These tasks fall into three major categories:

Manufacturers
Collectors
Collectors/transporters

"Manufacturers" included the stonemason, the carpenter, the ironworker, and the makers of lime, plaster, mortar, and other construction and finishing materials. The stonemasons carved stone blocks into the proper shape for arches, vaults, cornerstones ("quoins"), and the like. Fine carving of doorways, facades, windows, and other sculpting may have been done by specialists in this art. The carpenter made the doors, windows and their frames; the roof beams and other structural members; and additional woodwork necessary for construction and finishing. The ironworkers kept the tools in repair and made nails, hinges, locks, and other items as they were needed. The limeburners built lime kilns to process the stone supplied by the gatherers. Other workmen took the lime and mixed it with Sand and gravel also supplied by the collectors to produce the range of lime-based materials needed for the construction

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and surfacing of the new buildings. Adobe brick was made by specialists in this skill, and when needed, baked brick would be fired in kilns like those used for making lime (Cabildo 1793; Jaudenes 1791).

"Collectors" found and assembled into easily loaded piles those items which required some expertise to collect. This group included the stonecutters working in the quarry, usually under a foreman experienced in this work; and the woodcutters, who selected varieties of wood for their appropriate uses (for example, mesquite for shingles and boards) and selected individual trees for specific purposes. Care had to be taken in the selection of trees for roof beams, for example, since rot or an inappropriate shape could render a tree useless. Woodcutters also supplied the firewood which was used in great quantity by the kitchen, the lime kilns, and the smith's forge (Ibid.).

"Collectors/transporters" used carts pulled by horse, mule, or ox to haul the collectors' products to the worksite. In addition they located and hauled Sand and other materials which needed no initial processing: saplings for pegs ("treenails"); Spanish moss, sometimes used as a matting between the layer of *saviños* (peeled saplings) or of small planks above the roofbeams; and the layer of earth which formed the uppermost roof surface (Ibid.).

Storage of Materials

Once gathered, some of the materials would be stockpiled in mounds near the work in progress. For example, in the convento patio adjoining the unfinished church at San Antonio de Valero in 1793 were two mounds of mortar made of lime and Sand, amounting to "twenty or thirty standard boxes" in volume: "Hay en el patio dos montones de mescla de cal, y arena. Puden tener de 20 a 30 cajones regulares" (Lopez 1793:5813-5814). Near the granary of Valero in the same year was a pile of 150 cedar logs which had been prepared foI the repair of the roof, with 5,500 small boards of mesquite, and eighteen canales (drainspouts), also of mesquite: "Junto a ella estan amontonados 150 morillos de zedro q.e estan preparados para reparar los techos, con 5,500 tabletas de mesquite, y 18 canales de 10 mismo" (Ibid.:5814).

Stockpiling was also noted during excavations at Mission San Lorenzo in southwest Texas, north of Uvalde. In room 4 of this mission, identified by the excavators as an unroofed storage area, three piles of building material were found. There was a pile of dark clay similar to that in the adobe bricks from which some of the mission buildings were built; a mound of Sand and gravel like that used in the mortar and plaster found bonding some stone walls, and coating some wall surfaces; and limestone chips ("snecks") used as spacing and alignment wedges in the construction of stone walls and floors. In building 10, identified as the granary, a mound of pure white lime was found (Tunnel 1 and Newcomb 1969 : 9, 14, 26, 39).

Other materials would have been stockpiled in the workshop areas during the construction of the buildings of a mission. The 1772 inventory of Mission Espada refers to six large vigas, two small ones, 34 oak morillos, 21 juniper boards, and 300 mesquite logs, all stored in the carpenter's shop (Gumiel 1772b:4222).[36] Sometimes, completed items such as door and window units would also be Stored until needed, as mentioned in the inventory of San Juan in 1772 (Ibid.:429O).

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[36]The terms "viga" and "morillo" both refer to a heavy wooden structural member. "Morillo" is the more general term, referring to a log that might be used for any one of various purposes--for example, a post, lintel, or roof beam. "Viga" almost always refers specifically to a roof beam.

The Construction Support System of the Mission

Beyond the manufacturing, collecting and transporting system was the entire logistics network for the mission, which had to support the daily life of the mission and when needed, provide additional personnel for a given construction project. The network was established and maintained by the missionaries and Indians of a mission, who prepared and planted the fields; tended the herds which supplied food and raw materials for the construction; cooked the food; kept the workmen clothed; and operated the supply trains between the missions and the nearest distribution point, which by 1745 was Saltillo (Cuentas 1745:4476).

Each of the manufacturing enterprises had a workshop area, probably consisting of a temporary structure of jacal during the early stages of construction. It would have eventually been rebuilt in adobe, and later in stone. Each workshop had the tools necessary for the performance of its tasks.

Stonemasonry

The stonemason's shop would have had at least one, and usually several, of the following tools:

azadones, pickaxes
picaderas, small pecking hammers martillos, hammers
planas or *cucharas*, trowels
plomadas, plumb bobs
niveles, levels
reglas, rules or straight-edges
mazos or *martillos para sacar piedra*, quarrying sledges or large hammers
baras de fierro para sacar piedra, quarrying bars
esquadras de fierro, squaring templates (like a carpenter's square)
escoplos para la piedra, stone chisels

In addition, the mason's shop probably had a tracing floor on which to draw full-sized plans of arches, vaults and other structural components. These outlines then served as templates for the cutting of the stones used to construct these components. Such a system was a virtual necessity, since the stones forming these components could not have been cut to the correct shape any other way. The tracing floor was a long-standing mason's procedure in use throughout Europe for a number of centuries (Risebero 1979:64). Traditionally, masons responsible for basic construction were called "setters" and "wallers," while those who carried out fine decorative carving were called "freemasons" (Ibid.: 65).

The tools listed above would be sufficient for the quarrying, squaring, and rough finishing of standard building stone. Quarrying procedures in San Antonio probably resembled those in use in Florida in 1671: "[T]he quarry overseer kept the picks and axes going, cutting deep grooves into the soft . . . stone, while with bar and wedge the [Indians] broke loose and pried up the rough blocks" (McKee 1973:16).

The will of the mason Joseph Padron gives an idea of the kind of contract the San Antonio missions arranged for quarrying and masonry work. Padron, who died in 1779, was responsible for the quarrying of stone for the principal church of San Juan, begun about 1775 and never completed. In his will he reviews the contract between himself and Mission San Juan:

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> *declaro: como me tiene pagada la miss.n de S.n Juan Capistrano la cantidad de mil, y tresientos p.s en g.ros arreglados p.r el trabajo de sacar toda la piedra de la Yglesia, y adviente estar obligados mis herederos a cumplir d.ho trato hasta finalizarla, con la diferencia de q.e d.ha Yglesia se trazo mas grande q. de 10 consertado, y la sacristia esta ochavada, y nesesita mas piedra, y asi acabada d.ha obra se hade pagar lo restante a mis herederos. declaro q.e me dio la miss.n p.a sacar la piedra sinco Barras, y un azadon, todo lo q.e se hade volber a d.ha miss.n acabada la obra.*
>
> I declare that the Mission of San Juan Capistrano has paid me the quantity of 1,300 pesos in regular goods for the task of quarrying all of the stone for the Church, and advise my heirs that they are obligated to complete the said contract until the Church is finished, with the difference that the said Church is planned to be larger than was agreed, and the sacristy is octagonal, and will require more stone, and after completion of the said work it will be necessary to pay the difference to my heirs. I declare that the mission gave me five bars and a pickax for the quarrying of the stone, all of which must be returned to the said mission upon completion of the work. (Padron 1779:3)

Once the rough blocks had been hauled to the site of construction, tools such as the square, rule, level, plumb bob, and stone chisel were used to finish them. Finer carving of harder stone to produce the intricate statues and floral decoration of mission facades like those at San José would require a wider range of chisels, saws, and other finishing tools than are listed in the inventories (see for example McKee 1973:29, 30). It may be assumed from this that fine-carving tools were the personal possessions of the artiSans who used them, rather than the property of the mission itself.

Carpentry

The carpenter's shop was also equipped with a wide range of tools. In 1772, the carpenter's shop at Espada had a good sample of the variety of tools available, although it may have been better equipped than a typical shop during the early phases of construction:

sierra brazera, frame pit saw, used to cut long planks
sierras manuales, hand saws
hachas viscainas, Vizcayan (Biscay) axes in various sizes, a larger for felling trees and a smaller for cutting, splitting, and smoothing wood (Simmons and Turley 1980:70)
azuelas, adzes for dressing lumber and hollowing out log troughs
gurbias or *gubias*, gouges or chisels with a curved cutting edge
escoplos, straight-edged chisels of various widths
formon, large firmer, a broad, straight-edged forming chisel
barreña grande, large auger for drilling holes
zepillo or *cepillo*, a plane for final smoothing of beams or boards
garlopa, jack-plane, a large plane for cutting roughly flat surfaces onto beams or boards,
martillos, hammers

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tenazas, tongs
compaz, compass, used as a divider or for setting curves
fierro de moldura armado, iron grinding wheel
mollejones, grindstones for sharpening the various tools
alazena, cabinet in which most of the smaller tools were stored (Gumiel 1772b:4222)

Additional carpenter's tools are listed in the inventories of other San Antonio missions. These include the following: several varieties of moulding planes for cutting convoluted surfaces on boards or beams, which among other things produced the molded sections of the surviving colonial doors; a jointer plane or floor plane for smoothing the wooden floors found in at least two of the churches during the colonial period; and a *cartabon con codales*, a combination carpenter's square and rule. Various chisels and augers were used to make carts. In addition, Mission San José had a hand-cranked lathe in 1785.

The terminology of carpentry tools is so technical that it is difficult for one not familiar with the entire range of tasks to understand what is being described. However, it is obvious that the craftsmen were not performing their tasks with a small collection of simple hand tools.

An impression of the responsibilities of the carpenter in colonial San Antonio can be gained from the following document:

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Materiales que se necesitan para la obra, costo de ellos con el importes a que asciende la hechura de las piezas -- A saver.

	Pesos R
30 Palos de Mesquite para tres Puertas de 2 1/4 v.s de alto cada una y vara de de ancho a 4 rr.s.	*#. 15.*
12 Tablas a 1 p.o.	*#. 12.*
18 Libras de Fierro para 12 Gosnes de a pulgada de grueso a 5 rr.s cada libr.	*#. 11. 2*
Por hechura de los gosnes a 4 rr.s.	*#. 6.*
Por 100. clavos de Fierro para dichas Puertas constantes todos de 20 L.s de Fierro a 5 rr.s.	*#. 12. 4*
Por hechura de los clavos a 1 rr.l #. 12. 4	
Por construccion de las tres Puertas a 15 p.s.	*#. 45.*
Por 33 Libras de Fierro para tres chapas con tres serrojos, seis armellas, y tres arpones a 5 rr.s lib.a.	*#. 20. 5*
Por la hechura de cada chapa con cerrojo, dos armellas, un Arpon, y 4 clavos de Garbanzo a 10 p.s.	*#. 30.*
Ojo a la g.ta de m.tro Antonio: Por 30 Bigas a 3 p.s	*#. 90.*
Por 8OO. Raxas a 4 rr.s el ciento.	*#. 4.*
Por 10 canales a 1 p.o con costo de madera.	*#. 10.*
Por 6. Morillos para 30 v.s de soleras y su manefactura.	*#. 15.*
Por 2 Morillos y dos tablones para los lugares comunes a 1 p.o cada Pieza y dos p.s por la construccion.	*#. 6.*
Total	*#.289.7*

S.n Antonio de Bexar 31. de Marzo de 1801
Pedro Huizar [rubric]

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Materials which were required by the work and their cost, including the increase of the value because of labor -- To wit:

	Pesos Reales
30 posts of mesquite for three doors, each 6 1/4 feet high and 2 3/4 feet wide at 4 reales.	#. 15.
12 planks at 1 peso.	#. 12.
18 pounds of iron for 12 snipe-hinges of 1 inch in thickness at 5 reales each pound.	#. 11. 2
For the making of the snipe-hinges at 4 reales each.	#. 6.
For 100 nails of iron for the said doors containing a total of 20 pounds of iron at 5 reales each.	#. 12. 4
For the making of the nails at 1 real each.	#. 12. 4
For the construction of the three doors at 15 pesos each.	#. 45.
For 33 pounds of iron for three locks with three crossbars with hasps, six eyebolts, and three slidebolts at 5 reales each pound.	#. 20. 5
For the making of each lock with a crossbar and hasp, two eyebolts, one slidebolt, and 4 nails de garbanzo at 10 pesos each.	#. 30.
Attention: to the account of Maestro Antonio: For 30 vigas at 3 pesos each.	#. 90.
For 800 shingles at 4 reales the hundred.	#. 4.
For 10 canales at 1 peso including the cost of the wood.	#. 10.
For 6 logs for 83 feet of solera [beam along the top of a wall on which rests the ends of the rafters] and its manufacture.	#. 15.
For 2 logs and two large planks for the privy at 1 peso each piece and two pesos for the construction.	#. 6.
Total	#.289. 7

San Antonio de Bexar, March 31, 1801

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Note that several iron items are mentioned in this account. Presumably, they were sub-contracted to a smith. Although this work was not to be done for the missions of San Antonio, it is of interest because Pedro Huizar was the carpenter who carried out the work. Local legend names Huizar as the man who carved the Rose window in the San José sacristy, and has even suggested that he was the architect of San José. He was a native of Aguas Calientes, Mexico, and apparently arrived in San Antonio in the late 1770s. Apparently a carpenter throughout his life, he is first mentioned at San José in 1B82. Huizar was a close friend of the master mason Antonio salazar, whO was probably responsible for the design and construction of the church of San José (Schuetz 1980b:304-05). Pedro's son Antonio Pedro Huizar is frequently confused with him. Antonio was the surveyor who partitioned the mission lands in the partial secularization of 1794 (Ibid.:306-07).

Ironworking

In the blacksmith shop is encountered a selection of tools at least as complex as those of the carpenter's shop. Fortunately, the 1980 study by Simmons and Turley of Spanish colonial ironworking tools and methods allows the layman to understand the technical details of the descriptions available. A typical selection of tools would include:

an *ornilla*, a small oven or forge
a *fuelle con dos manguillos*, a bellows with two sleeves
two *alcribizes* or *tuyéres*, blow-tubes which directed the air pumped by the bellows into the heart of the oven to raise its temperature enough to work iron
a *yunque en su madero*, a large square anvil on its wooden base block (the anvil at Valero in 1772 weighed 175 pounds)

This group of oven, bellows, and large anvil formed the core of the smith's shop. In addition to this core complex, the smithy would contain:

a *bigornia en su banco*, a two-horned anvil on its bench
martillos, hammers, usually in two sizes
a *martillo de peña*, peening hammer
a *mazo grande*, large wooden maul or mallet
several *pares de tenazas*, pairs of flat-jawed tongs for holding plate or bar stock
tenazas redondas, curvas, or *corbas*, "bolt" tongs for holding round stock
a *taladro con broca*, a drill and bit. Some of these bits may have been taps for making threaded holes 1n metal.
terrajas, screwplates with die holes of various sizes for threading round stock to produce screws and bolts. The same term is used to mean the screwplates of a vise.
limas tabliadas, flat tapered files
limatones, coarse round files
limas de media caña, half-round files
limas de diversos tamaños y figuras, files of various other sizes and shapes
tornillos, vises of various sizes and uses
punzones de frio, y de caliente, cold punches and hot punches
cincel, cold chisel
rompadera, hot chisel

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tajadera, hardie, used to put a nick in bar or round stock so that it can be broken at a specific length. The hardie usually fits into a hole in the face of the anvil.
cerrucho de azerrar hierro, a hacksaw
escariador, reamer
chaflan, a bevelling device
clavera, nail-header for making nails from barstock
unos alicates, fine-pointed pincers or nippers
a mesa en la que esta el torno y un cajoncito, a table on which is a lathe and a small ox. The word torno could also mean a large vise, but is used by Simmons and Turley (1980:192) and at Mission San José to mean a lathe. In the context of its use at San José it apparently refers to a lathe for turning metal.
a mollejon armado con su canoa, a grinding wheel with its watertrough
a canoa grande de fragua, a large water trough for cooling or tempering heated metal

The above listings for the various workshops are compiled from the 1772 inventories of the Queréteran missions of San Antonio and the 1785 inventory of San José, the Zacatecan mission. Similar lists of tools can be found from much earlier dates elsewhere on the frontier, Such as those belonging to Juan de Caso, gunsmith with the Onate expedition to New Mexico in 1600 (Simmons and Turley 1980:23).

Only the basic tools were carried to the site of a new mission, but any competent smith or carpenter could quickly construct the more complex tools using these basics. It is best, then, to assume that the full range of tools needed for a given job would soon be assembled. Even so, prefabricated iron items such as nails and tools continued to be an important item in the annual accounts, along with bar stock of iron and steel. This would seem to indicate that at least the smiths were hard pressed to keep up with the demand for these finished items.

The above discussion has included considerable detail on the tool inventories of the various specialized artisans. Its intent is to convey definitively that these artisans were not simple, primitive workmen performing the most basic tasks, but skilled masters at their trades who worked with a full complement of tools and equipment.

Building Materials

Lime: No less important than tools on the colonial frontier were the processes used to convert raw materials into the materials for construction. Lime, a critical component of the construction process, was made by the controlled burning of limestone. Small, easily constructed ovens for this purpose have been found at San José; Espada; and at Rancho Las Cablas, the ranch for Mission Espada near modern Floresville. These small ovens would produce very limited amounts of lime and would not be useful for large projects. The missions built very large kilns for their construction projects. In 1772 the Espada lime-making complex was described as follows:

> *Ytt. tiene la Mission un orno de Piedra con su escalera necesaria de lo mismo para quemar cal, el que lleno suele rendir seiszientas fanegas.*
>
> *Ytt. un quarto de piedra techo de zacate proporcionado para guardar cal, para el gasto en el que quedan como dozientos anegas poco mas o men.s.*

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> Item: the mission has a stone oven for burning lime and the necessary stairway for the oven, which when full usually produces 600 fanegas [about 1,200 cubic feet].
>
> Item: a stone structure with a thatched roof of the proper size for the storage of lime, and being kept in it are about 200 fanegas [about 400 cubic feet] more or less. (Gumiel 1772b:4221)

Later, Valero had a lime kiln about 17 feet in diameter and 15 feet high (Lopez 1793:5814). Lopez estimated that each charge of limestone produced about 40 cubic feet of lime.

Lime was usually slaked by a controlled admixture of water in vats constructed for that purpose, and it was stored in a larger vat under a blanket of sand until it was used (Markman 1966:29). This was probably the purpose of the storage house described at Espada.

Adobe: A building material frequently used for the "interim" structures of the mission, adobe was readily available, and the brick-making process required a somewhat lesser level of expertise than that needed to cut and shape stone. Even so, adobe bricks were probably made by specialists in that job. carefully selected for their "toughness" or durability when dried, the adobe clays were mixed with grass fibers, manure, or river gravel up to an inch in diameter. These additions strengthened the brick, made it less susceptible to erosion by rainfall, and resisted cracking caused by swelling and shrinking with the rise and fall of the moisture content of the bricks. The mixing was usually carried out in a puddling pit, and probably done by foot. The production of high quality adobe bricks required some expertise in the selection and mixing of the proper proportions of the clays and additives (Tunnell and Newcomb 1969:9). The adobe was then packed into wooden forms and allowed to dry before the forms were removed (Secretaria del Patrimonio Nacional 1975:12). Examination of a number of bricks made at various times from the 1720s through the 1800s indicates that these forms were usually open frames placed on a packed, flat earthen surface. The underside of these bricks tend to be irregularly flat. while the upper surfaces tend to be mounded slightly, It is probable that a form with multiple openings was used, and each opening packed carefully. Voids or bubbles are uncommon. The bricks vary somewhat in size, but average about 18 inches by 9 inches by 5 inches in the San Antonio colonial period.

Once the forms were removed, the bricks were probably allowed to dry in place on the forming floor until set enough to be safely picked up. They were then carefully stacked in long rows and allowed to cure for some time, perhaps as long as several weeks or months. Such rows of curing bricks can be seen in many places in Texas and the southwest today, wherever adobe construction is still in use.

In contrast to the sun-baked adobe used predominantly in the early days of the missions, baked brick became important in the later colonial period, and brick was used frequently in construction. The floor of the second story of the convento of Valero was built of baked brick (Lopez 1793:5814), for example. A colonial brick-making operation was described at Espada in 1772:

> *Ytt: tiene la Mision un orno para cozen Ladrillo; y un Jacal de Palos, y tule de veinte y una varas de largo para cercarlo y guardarlo: y su puerta, y llave.*
>
> *Ytt: quedan en la Mission cozidos, y encerrados como trezientas valdosas, y diez mill Ladrillos para lo q.e gusten emplearlo.*

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> Item: the mission has an oven where bricks are baked; and a jacal of posts and tule [reeds], 21 varas [about 58 feet] long for the enclosing and protecting of the brick, with its door and key.
>
> Item: there is in the mission, baked and stored, about 300 floor tiles and 10,000 bricks to be used as desired. (Gumiel 1772b:4222)

Construction Methods and Structural Systems

Layout of Structures

The actual marking out of structures on the ground used two general approaches.[37] For simple buildings built using vernacular construction, "the church, cloister, dormitory, and other offices were laid out by pacing off the plan on the ground, stakes and mason's lines not being used at all. Such primitive methods would be normally employed for temporary structures" (Markman 1966:71). More substantial buildings received more formal treatment: "the lines [are] stretched using a square, the bigger the better, and . . . Once the foundation trenches are filled the lines [are] rechecked to see whether they have not been moved. After this has been done, the foundation is then leveled off before proceeding with the raising of the walls" (Ibid.). No doubt measuring devices such as surveyor's cords .ere also used in this second method.

Jacal

A jacal structure was the Spanish colonial equivalent of a log cabin. In the San Antonio area, the jacal construction most commonly used was of the variety termed palisado. The first step was to dig a trench, usually 9 inches wide and 18 to 24 inches deep, which outlined the walls of the building. Into the trench log posts, or palisades, were set vertically. These were commonly cedar, each about 4 to 6 inches in diameter (Ivey and Fox 1981:27, Fig. 7). The posts were cut to a length sufficient to give 8 wall height of 5 to 6 feet. Earth was then rammed back into the trench to hold the posts firmly in place, A beam, sometimes roughly Squared, was placed above the posts to form the top of each wall. Doors were simply gaps in the palisade wall, while windows were short palisades with inset framing (e.g. Kutsche et al. 1976: Fig. 6).

The palisades were chinked with small rocks in the gaps of the logs. Interior and exterior surfaces were then coated with a layer of adobe mud or lime mortar 2 to 4 inches thick, and the wall could be finished with a coat of lime plaster. Windows were sometimes given shutter closures, and wood doors could be hung in the door openings. In more humble structures burlap or leather curtains would be used to cover doors and windows. floors inside the jacal structures were usually packed earth, but they could also have a plaster or flagstone surface.

Adobe

Adobe structures were the Spanish colonial equivalent of sod houses, although the expertise required for adobe construction was somewhat greater. In the San Antonio area, adobe structures usually had

[37]The following descriptions of construction are based in part on observations made by Ivey during excavations of colonial buildings in San Antonio.

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no foundation. At best, the outline of the building was cleared of sod, and a firm, flat surface was prepared onto which the bricks were placed directly. Another method occasionally seen was the excavation of a shallow trench into which adobes were placed. Stone foundations were sometimes used for adobe buildings, although this method was not common in San Antonio until after 1800. A stone foundation had a distinct advantage: its top extended perhaps a foot above grade, protecting the bottom rows of adobe bricks from pooled water or rain splashing from canales, which could cause extensive erosion.

The bricks were laid in a variety of patterns determined primarily by the desired thickness of the wall (Tunnell and Newcomb 1969:9, 10). Bricks were mortared with adobe clay, and the joints could range from a negligible width to 3 to 4 inches. Little concern seemed to be given to "breaking the joints," or laying a brick over the joint between bricks of the course below (Ibid.:36). Apparently the adobes were seen to be convenient units of clay, mortared with a compatible clay to produce "monolithic" structures. The joints were not considered to be weak points.

Adobe walls tended to be somewhat higher than those of jacales, perhaps rising 8 to 12 feet to the underside of the roofing beams, depending on the desired effect or the use of the building. Wall thickness depended on the use of the structure and the height to which it was expected to reach. Principal walls of large buildings or those expected to be two-story structures could be a full vara (33 inches) or more in thickness, while lesser structures or non-loadbearing partition walls could be 18 inches or even 9 inches thick.

Doorways and windows were gaps left in the construction, edged with framing. Headers over these wall openings were usually several massive timbers side by side, sufficiently strong to support an additional 3 to 6 feet of adobe. Once wall construction and plastering was completed, the doorway and window frames, usually made in advance, were installed (Gumiel 1772b:4220). Roofing may or may not have been completed before doorway and window installation.

Stone

The simpler stone structures were constructed with little or no foundation, the stone being laid directly on a prepared ground surface as in traditional adobe construction. More durable structures received greater attention to foundations. when used, foundations could range from a simple round-bottomed trench filled with gravel, clay, and some lime (or with gravel and lime mortar), on which stone construction began at grade; to massive foundations carried 6 or more feet into the ground and up to 5 feet in width. Foundations of this type frequently used very large stones bedded with lime mortar or a good grade of adobe, although adobe (usually referred to as *lodo* when used as bedding) was considered an inferior material in the construction of permanent buildings (Gumiel 1772d:4275). such substantial foundations usually have carefully excavated trenches.[38]

Once above grade, walls were built with the aid of scaffolding tied with leather or rawhide strips. Corners and faces were no doubt kept vertical by use of the plumb bobs mentioned in the carpenter's

[38]An examination of the footing trenches for the church of Mission San José in 1974 by Clark showed that their base was very close to level and their sides straight. smoothly cut. and square with the bottom. The foundation was carefully laid in. with a mortar-filled space between the stone and the face of the trench. This space appeared to average less than an inch in width (Clark 1978:64-66).

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and mason's shop inventories. Mortar was transported from place to place on the scaffolding by the use of tubs and buckets. Stones were probably hauled by the use of litters, or if a stone was too large to be lifted by two men, by means of mechanical lifting.

The list of materials and expenses for the reconstruction of the convento of San Antonio de Valero as a military hospital in 1809, on the next page, gives a good idea of the provisions made for this sort of work. Note that in the item dealing with 355 cartloads of *tierra blanca* there is a bookkeeping error, and the total cost of that item should be 177.50 pesos, not 162.40 (there are 8 reales to a peso, so that 177.50 is the notation for 177 pesos, 5 reales, not 177 1/2 pesos). This document was cited because it is unusually precise in its statement of the uses to which each material or item was to be put. Most available documents of this sort dealing with San Antonio construction do, however, include some indication of the use of materials and items.

The scaffolding would probably have been left in place to be used for plastering the building. The barrels of water referred to in the above document were used for the thorough washing and wetting down of the wall before the application of the first layer of plaster. The surface of this coat was probably also checked for flatness by plumb bob (Markman 1966:34). Finally, one or two coats of fine surfacing plaster were applied. Churches and conventos were frequently decorated with floral and geometric patterns applied to this final coat on the facades and some parts of the interiors. Scribed guidelines were marked onto the surface before the application of the designs.

Stone structures had a wider range of structural techniques for wall openings than jacal and adobe buildings. Headers for doorways and windows could be wooden beams, a single stone, or a number of arch variants. Doorway and window openings in thick walls were usually splayed towards the interior, probably to maximize the amount of daylight admitted to the room. Doorway and window frames were added after plastering, as in adobe structures.

Lofts were built in during wall construction. They usually consisted of squared beams like vigas with their ends set into the side walls of a room at a height of perhaps 6 feet. These beams supported a floor of planks. Occasionally a loft had a partition wall built above or below, and usually had a wooden staircase for access (Gumiel 1772b:4219).

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List of Materials and Expenses for the Reconstruction of the Convento of San Antonio de Valero

350 cartloads of stone delivered to the foot of the works and brought from the nearest rock quarry, at 1 peso each:	350.00
355 cartloads of *tierra blanca* to make *lodo* delivered to the same place at 4 reales each:	162.40
200 fanegas of lime to cement the flat roofs, plaster and daub the walls inside and out and whitewash them at 6 reales the fanega delivered to the site:	1500.00
820 cartloads of Sand to make mortar averaging 4 fanegas each cartload and 4 reales each cartload:	410.00
520 morillos to repair the beams of the roofs and the crossbeams at 1 peso each:	520.00
16,995 tabletas [little boards] at 30 pesos the thousand:	510.00
73 canales of wood at 1 peso each:	73.00
600 days work of the master mason at 12 reales per day:	900.00
3, 600 days work of the workmen at 3 reales per day:	1350.00
12 cowhides to make leather straps and to tie the scaffolding at 6 reales each:	9.00
6 buckets of wood for taking up the mortar at 1 peso each:	6.00
12 tubs for the same purpose at 6 reales each:	9.00
100 pesos assigned to buy cordage for cables, barrels to carry water, litters, picks and shovels:	100.00
5 doors which have to be made new, with frames and doorsills, at 16 pesos each:	80.00
Total	5979.40p

(Varela 1809:208-9, translation by Ivey.)

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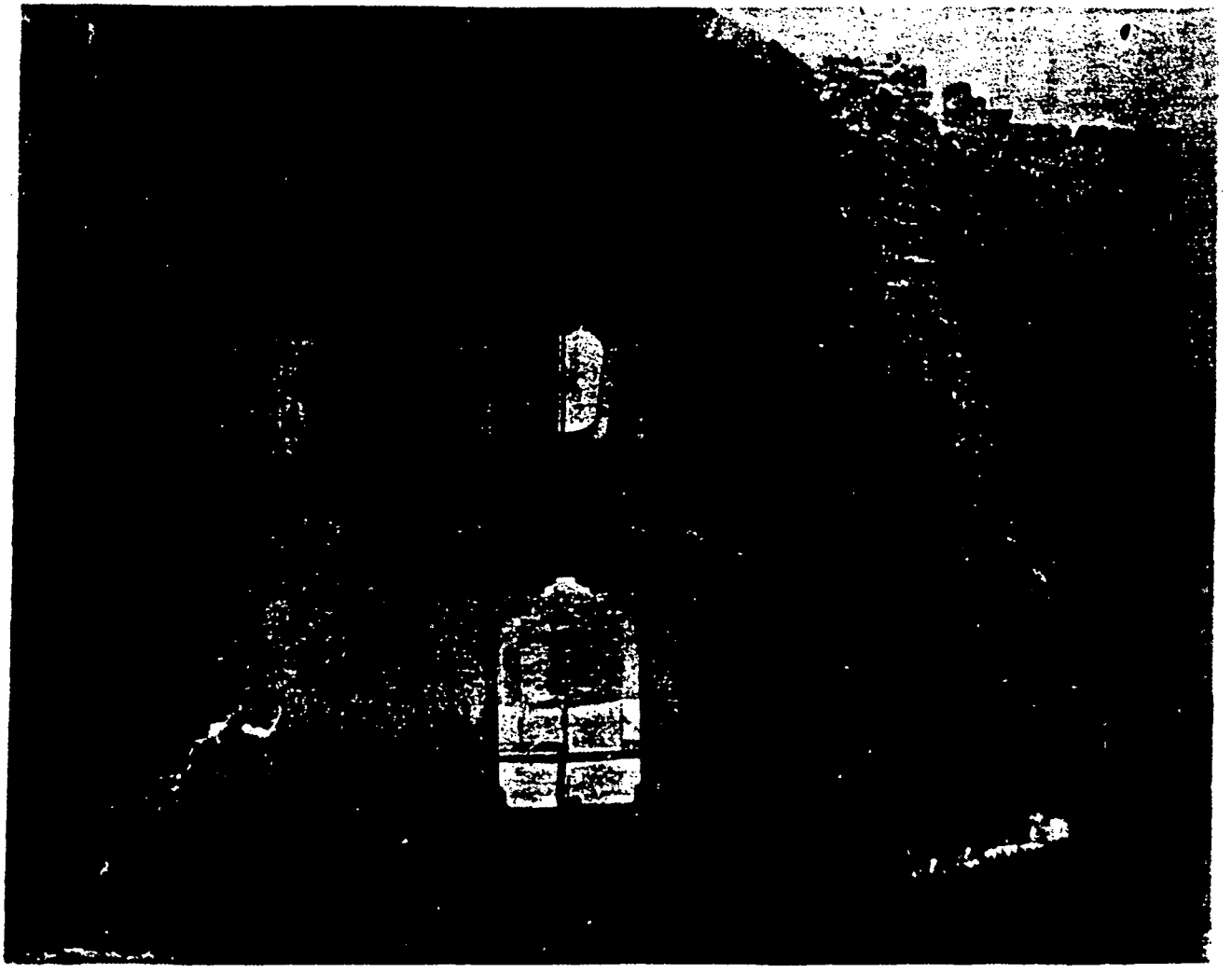

Figure 6. Details of the stonework used to construct vaults and walls in eighteenth-century Texas can be seen in this photograph of the church of San José taken in 1895. Courtesy Daughters of the Republic of Texas Research Library. (75/81)

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Each of the above structural systems could have several types of roofing, limited only by the strength of the structure.

Thatched Roofs (*Techo de Tule* or *Zacate*): These were cheap, took a short time to build, and require very little technical knowledge. on the other hand, they leaked easily and required a great deal of upkeep.

Thatched roofs were steeply pitched to increase the speed of runoff of rainwater, which reduced the amount that could leak through. Such a roof was usually either gabled or made with a shed-like single slope. The gabled variety had a triangle of *pares* (rafters) at each end of the building, connected by a *hilera* (ridge beam). The ends of the pares rested on *suelas* (wall plates) along the tops of the walls (Secretario del Patrimonio Nacional 1975:42, Fig. 53).

Smaller structures would have a one-piece hilera, while longer buildings would have a series of rafter units with ridge beams connecting each. Light rafters running from the wall top to the ridge beam supported the roofing between each rafter unit, or truss. *Contrapares* (horizontal poles) fastened to these light rafters formed a framework to which the thatching was attached. Frequently a second set of horizontal poles would be lashed on top of the thatching to aid in securing it to the roof structure. Thatching consisted of bundles of *zacate* (grass) or *tule* (a variety of reed), selected from whatever was locally available.

Principal joints were formed by fitted notches, pegging, or nails, depending on available resources and the expected lifetime of the building. Short-term structures may have been fastened by fiber or leather lashings at all joints, but buildings expected to be Used for several years would be joined with fitted notches, and perhaps nails. Lashing would rot quickly and cause the light pole framework to collapse about the time the thatching needed to be replaced.

Shingled Roofs: These could have the same shape and construction as thatched roofs, but required a greater outlay of man-hours and materials, and had a longer useful lifetime. Nails were more likely to be used for framing a shingle roof than they were for a thatched roof.

Shingles were usually made from mesquite. They could be most easily fastened with nails, but iron was so expensive that this would be avoided if possible. Alternate fastening methods were available, but these were awkward and labor-expensive. In general, the high cost of shingled roofs discouraged their use during the colonial period.

Flat Earthen Roofs (*Techo de Terrado*): These roofs were relatively long-lived for the amount of labor required, and demanded no expensive materials such as iron nails. For structures expected to be used for a number of years this was the best roofing method. The system was heavy, however, and required substantial walls to support it. In practice this meant that only adobe and stone buildings could have this kind of roof.

Principal support was supplied by vigas running across the short dimension of the structure. These would be left round, or squared. The vigas supported a layer of *saviños* (poles) or *tabletas* (small boards) placed edge to edge at right angles to the vigas, and just long enough to bridge from viga to viga. Above this was a layer of matting to seal the crevices between the saviños or tabletas. This matting was usually woven or loose grass, or *paste*, (Spanish moss, also spelled *pasthle* or *paxtle*; see for

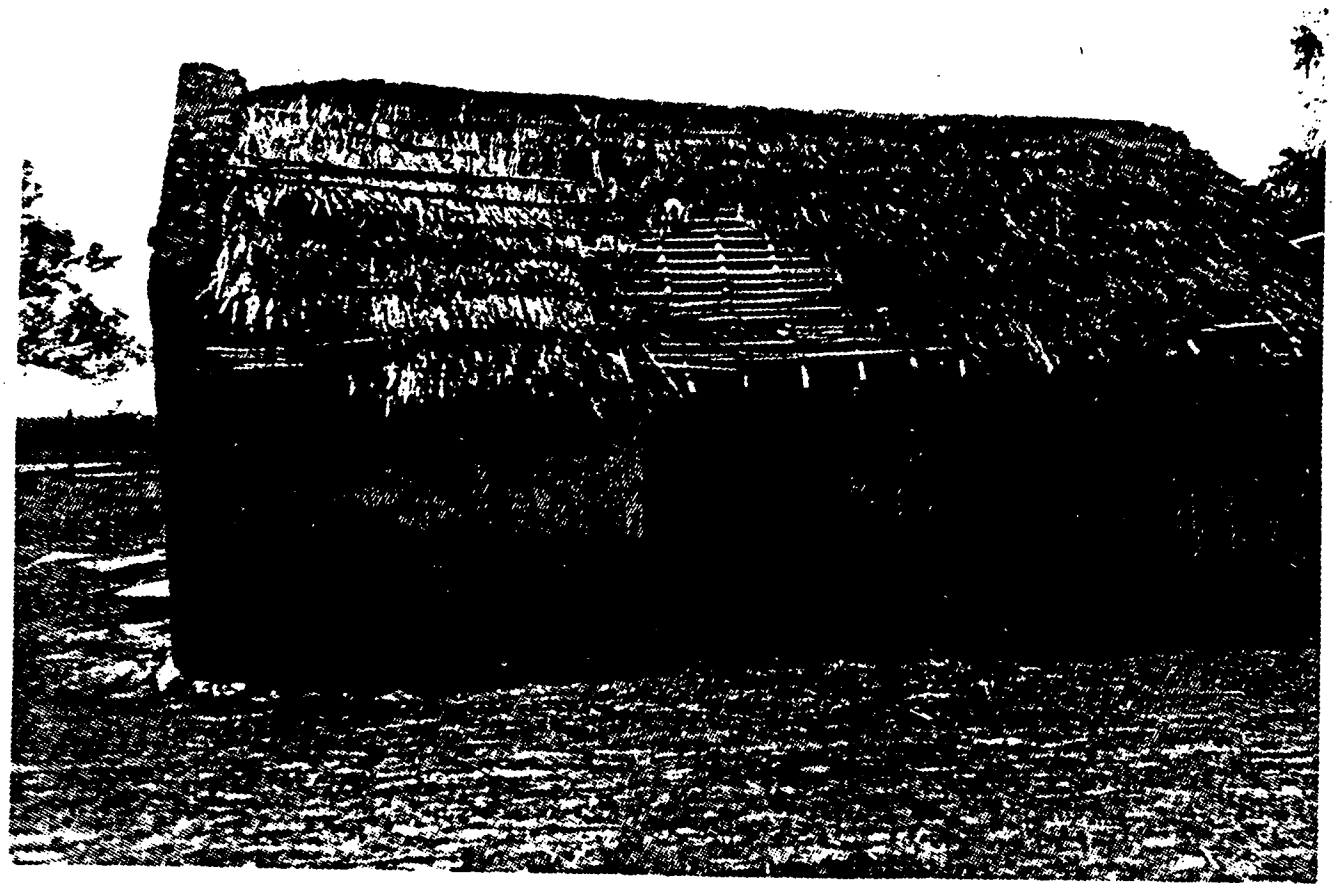

Figure 7. The structure of a thatched roof. The main beams and lighter cross-beams can be seen where the bundles of thatch have fallen away in the center of the roof. This photograph was taken in Mier, Texas, by Sam Vosper, National Park Service photographer, in about 1936.

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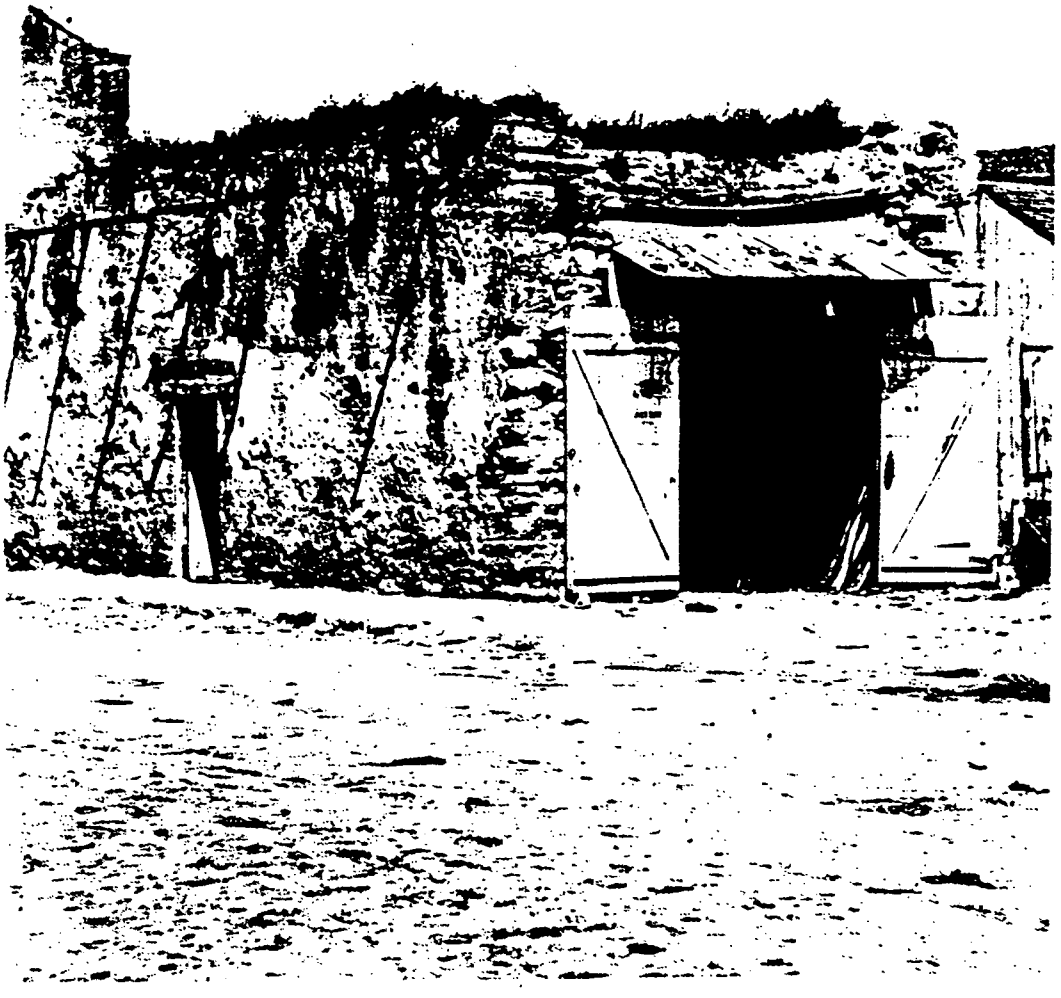

Figure 8. Cross-section of a stone building with a flat earthen roof supported by horizontal beams, or vigas. This building stood on what was Acequia Street (now North Main Street), San Antonio, Texas, in ca. 1865. Courtesy Tex Treadwellcollection. (18/83)

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example Jaudenes 1791:803). Above this was a layer of packed clay at least 18 inches thick. Its upper surface usually sloped towards one side of the building, where runoff would be channelled to canales. In both adobe and stone structures, the walls themselves would be continued above the surface of the roof, forming a low parapet (*pretil*). Where the upper surface of the roof formed the floor for a higher level, this surface would frequently be covered with *laja* (flagstone) or *ladrillo* (brick), and would have a much thinner layer of clay. Such surfacing materials were used on the roofs of several structures at Missions Espada and San Juan (Gumiel 1772b and 1772d:4215, 4219, 4287), and as the covering of the second floor Surface of the convento at San José (Musquiz 1B23:114 rev.).

Vaults

Buildings which were to be vaulted required considerably more technical knowledge than flat-earth roofs. The stresses and forces involved in a vaulted roofing system required the addition of a number of structural details to the building design, and consequently, additional steps in the construction. For purposes of discussion, the methods used to vault a transepted church like concepcion will be considered. Other structures (for example, the church of San José, or vaulted convento and granary buildings) would use somewhat simplified versions of the same procedures.

A clear idea of the complete structure to be built had to have been formulated beforehand. This included such information as the length, width, presence or absence of towers and transepts; the location of the sacristy and its doorway into the church; window locations; and the height of the various sections such as the vault of the nave, the dome over the transepts, and the towers. All this determined the actual plan of the structure on the ground, which would have to allow for the thickness of the walls necessary to support each component, the locations and sizes of buttresses and pilasters, and the doorways. These components had to be built as continuous fabric with the principal walls, or their strength would be considerably diminished. The facade plan was worked out at the same time. The carved blocks of the facade were added to the building as its walls went up, as demonstrated by the 1772 description of San Antonio de Valero, which made it clear that the facade was completed to the same height as the remainder of the walls.

Such planning may have taken the form of architectural drawings, or sometimes sketches like those for the roof of what is probably the church of Mission Refugio, illustrated above. Copies of these plans were rarely filed in any church or state archives. Markman describes such procedures in use in Guatemala from the sixteenth century up until now (Markman 1966:40).

Construction was then carried above grade, including the buttressing and pilasters. When the appropriate height was reached, preparations were made for vault and dome construction.

The first step in this work was the construction of *cimbras* (centerings) for the ribs of the vaults. For a transepted church this meant a rib above the choir loft, a second rib directly beneath this supporting the choir loft, perhaps two more down the length of the nave, and four more at the transept crossing. These four, which served as the principal support for the dome over the crossing, consisted of one over the mouth of each transept, one over the end of the nave, and one over the mouth of the sanctuary.

When the cimbra had been placed, the *dovelas* (voussoirs) were lifted and mortared into position. This was probably done in pairs from the sides inward towards the *clave* (keystone), which was placed last. Such a paired placement kept the stresses even on the cimbra and reduced the chances of displacing it.

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A single centering may have been used to build each of the high ribs in sequence, but it is more likely that they were all in various stages of construction at the same time. For example, at Valero in 1772 all the high ribs except the one over the choir loft had been built, and the low rib beneath the loft was under construction. This rib had its *salmeres* (springers) and the first and second dovelas in place (Gumiel 1977:7). These stones had to be precisely shaped so that the angles of their faces were correct for the radius of the rib. The upper and lower faces had the proper curvature, and the side faces were finished sufficiently to take the first coat of mortar after completion of the vault. such final shaping was probably done on a full-sized elevation drawing of the rib laid out on the mason's drawing floor, so that each stone could be shaped and fitted to the others before any were lifted into place.
The upper faces of the dovelas and clave were finished because they supported the dovelas of the vault and had to offer a smooth, firm support for those which rested on the rib itself. Once the ribs were in place, the vaulting could begin. In fact, the 1772 description of valero implies that as the construction of the ribs moved down the length of the church, the construction of the vaults began behind it. While construction was still continuing on the ribs near the facade of Valero, the vaulting over the sanctuary to the sanctuary rib at the crossing was already completed (Ibid.). Centering for the entire bay between ribs or between a rib and end wall could have been built at one time, or a moveable centering constructed which would be shifted after a certain number of rows of vaulting stones were laid.

There is an old story in San Antonio that some of the vaulted structures, especially the granary at San José, were built with an earthen form; that is, the entire structure is said to have been filled with a mound of earth, the top of which was shaped to the curve of the proposed vault. On this curved earthen surface the dovelas were supposed to have been laid up until the vault was completed, and then the fill was removed (e.g. Beretta 1933). This would have required an unnecessarily large expenditure of man-hours, especially for institutions as labor-poor as the missions. Such a procedure would be reasonable if the large quantity of wood necessary for centered construction were extremely difficult to obtain, but this was not the case in San Antonio. It is possible that the story is based on vault centering which employed only flat members, producing a faceted surface which was then finished to the proper curvature with a packed earthen fill. This was a rather common practice in medieval Europe and is still in use there today for small or simple vaulted structures (Fitchen 1961:30-31; Figs. 11, 20, 21). This system would make the use of movable vault centering a rather difficult procedure, one which would involve the shifting of a large quantity of dirt up and down a considerable height when the centering was moved under the next bay to be vaulted. Considering how much effort would be involved, it seems likely that curved centering was used instead.

Towers and domes were built last. At valero, the vaulting started while the towers were completed only to the height of the rest of the walls (Gumiel 1977:7, 8). Centering for the dome was a more complex process than for the vaults. The stones required a higher degree of craftsmanship, since the integrity of the dome depended on the proper angles of four of the faces of the stone rather than only two as in arches, ribs, and simple vaults. On the positive side, as each ring of stones was completed it became self supporting, so that the entire dome did not require centering at the same time.

Once the vaulting was in place, the upper surface of the stonework was covered with a thick layer of clay secured with a plaster finishing coat. This layer of earth was contoured so that rainwater runoff was channelled to stone canales built into the walls, and no standing water could remain to soak into the roofing.

Simpler structures such as granaries used the same general methods, but took considerably less planning. The granary at San José was a long building with buttressing sufficient to support the weight of the vaulting. At Espada, the granary built between 1762 and 1772 was unique among the colonial structures

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Figure 9. Centering for the construction of a vault. Although the centering in this picture was constructed for the pouring of a concrete vault to repair the collapsed roof of the granary at San José in the early 1930s, centering built by masons and carpenters working on the missions in the eighteenth century would have been very similar. Photograph courtesy Harvey P. Smith, Jr. Collection. (6/80)

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of San Antonio in the kind of materials chosen. Stone buttressing was used on the exterior of the building, but brick pilasters and ribbing on the interior. This ribbing supported a wooden vault with a layer of cement above to secure the beams in place (Gumiel 1772b:4220).

Proportionality

The plans and elevations of the formal churches of San Antonio, effectively represented only by San José and Concepción, indicate that the principles of proportion which formed such a large part of the architectural thinking of the time were applied, at least to a limited extent, in their design and construction. For the purposes of this study it will be assumed that the basic elements of proportionality were used, and that these were sufficient to satisfy the demands of structural stability and aesthetics. How much influence the more esoteric branches of these principles had on the San Antonio missions is open to question.

Conclusion: Construction as Acculturation

The effort of constructing a mission required a highly organized effort, of which the missionaries were the executives. A comparison of the development of the physical plant of a mission with the avowed purpose of the mission--the conversion of the Indians into productive, Christian, hispanicized citizens--makes it clear that the construction effort was an integral part of the conversion process.

Construction began with the erection of extremely simple, non-technical buildings which required a minimum of expertise. This would be the Indian's first introduction to European construction methods, and among his earliest experiences with organized team labor. As the simple buildings were completed, more advanced structures were begun using more technical methods. The Indian would have the opportunity to observe and to some extent participate in the physical processes of stoneworking, woodworking, smithing, and the like. Those who demonstrated some interest in or aptitude for one trade or another would be placed in an apprenticeship status.

With the completion of the stone structures of the mission, the Indian would have participated in a thorough training and indoctrination period in a major aspect of European civilization, that of construction. By this time some aboriginal citizens of the San Antonio area would have advanced to relatively high levels of expertise in one or another of these disciplines.

Such a process was without doubt familiar, predictable, and planned by the missionary. The principles of organization, planning, and community effort must have constituted as important a part of the training of Indian neophytes as their work in the fields or on the ranches. In other words, a study of the structural history of the missions is just as crucial to an understanding of the acculturation process as a study of religious teaching methods or the mission farming economy. The other aspects of the history of a mission cannot be understood without a firm knowledge of the structural context and technical expertise in which it occurred.

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Chapter 3
THE ORIGINS OF THE MISSION RANCHES OF SAN ANTONIO

Introduction

The missions of San Antonio formed a unique group in Spanish colonial Texas. Research over the last several years has begun to reveal unexpected similarities and differences between the five missions of the San Antonio area. Even more surprising has been the similarities and differences between the traditional picture of the histories of the missions and the actual events. One area which has been examined recently is the history of the ranches of the missions.

Several writers have dealt with mission ranching to a limited extent. Sandra Myers presented a very general picture of the origins of various ranching practices. Robert Thonhoff, in Drama and Conflict, attempted an initial review of the history of San Antonio River Valley ranches, but dwelt largely on their later colonial history after 1750, and added little to knowledge of the mission ranches and their beginnings. Jack Jackson has recently published an important and thorough study of Texas colonial ranching, Los Mesteños, but concentrated on the secular ranches. The origins of the mission ranches received some attention, but not in a unified manner.[1]

The present study is not intended to be exhaustive. My purpose is to explore the available information on the establishment of the mission ranches and their history up to about 1820. I hope to supply a historical framework for future studies and to suggest questions with a high potential for results, in hope that this will arouse interest in more extensive and detailed studies.

The history of the mission ranches falls easily into four major divisions:

1) Controlled cattle raising in available pasturage near the missions. This was usual for the first ten years or so after the establishment of a mission. Valero began this phase in 1718 and went to the next in 1725; San José started its herds in 1720 and moved them away from San Fernando by about 1740, and Concepción, San Juan and Espada used local corrals from 1731 until about 1745.

2) Feral Ranching. Controlled cattle-raising ended, except for small dairy herds. Ranchland use established. Growing feral herds on lands associated with specific missions began to supply the needs of each mission.

3) Legal Ownership of Ranchlands. With the expansion of private ownership, missions began to seek full legal title to the lands they had been using as cattle range. Valero, Concepción, and San Juan entered this phase in the mid 1750s, San José in the early 1760s, and Espada sometime before 1760.

4) Secular Ownership. San Antonio de Valero was made a curato and transferred from Franciscan management to that of the local parish in 1793, while the remaining four missions were converted to doctrinas in 1794. As part of this procedure, the "temporalities," those lands, buildings, and goods not needed for the operation of the church itself, were passed to the Indians of each mission or sold to the public. The four doctrinas were made curatos in 1824, but by that time most of the mission

[1]Jack Jackson, Los Mesteños: Spanish Ranching in Texas, 1721-1821 (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1986).

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ranchlands had been bought or otherwise acquired by private landowners. The last mission ranch, that belonging to San José, was sold in 1831.

Controlled Cattle-Raising Near Each Mission

Land Law and Mission Cattle Ranching

The earliest years of the cattle enterprise are not yet well-documented, but none of the missions were established with their later ranch lands included in the original grant. In fact, the language of each grant makes it fairly clear that the missions were to raise their cattle along the banks of the river in the same manner that they raised their crops. The texts of the original grants for San José, San Xavier de Najera, Purísima Concepción, San Juan, and Espada have been found, but the original grant for Valero on the west side of the San Antonio River in 1718, and any subsequent regranting required by its move to the east bank in 1719 are still missing.[2] The copies of the original title and the second grant, if it existed, on file in the records of the mission itself were lost before 1731. According to Father President Fray Gabriel de Vergara, the documents were destroyed when "the jacales of the mission collapsed in the violence of a strong uracan."[3] This was certainly a reference to the tornado-like storm that demolished most of the buildings on the second site of Valero in 1724, prompting the missionaries to move the mission to its present site.[4] Other copies of Valero's original and second titles may exist in government archives in Mexico City or in Spain, but they were sought at various times in the eighteenth century and have never been found.

When San José was moved from the east to the west bank of the San Antonio River about 1721 or 1722, it too may have received a new grant from the Crown, giving it title to the new location. If such a grant was made, it is also lost at present. The available grants, however, explicitly stated that the land for each mission along the San Antonio River was to be selected with the following criteria in mind:

1) Quote a series of excerpts from the available founding documents dealing with land use.

The several references to the use of some of the land by cattle makes it clear that some of the areas next to the river within each mission's labores were to be its pasturage. The references to the boundaries of each mission's land away from the river are very sketchy, but do not imply that they encompass the later ranch lands, and certainly do not imply that any lands distant from the river were granted principally for their use as pasturage.

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[2]Habig 1968, p. 42. The grant for San José is for the site on the east bank of the river. It is possible that the original grant for the sites of San Antonio de Valero and San José were considered sufficient for their new sites after moving across the river: however, this does not seem likely, considering the scrupulous care with which the Spanish Empire managed the granting of land.

[3]Father President Fray Gabriel de Vergara to Don Juan Antonio Perez de Almazan, May 31, 1731, 3:3563. In 1724 Valero was moved from its second to its third site, where it is today. The reason for the move is given by Fray Sevillano de Paredes: ". . . vino un furioso uracan, y derríbo todos los Xacales con notable destroso de lo que habia. Por esto se mudó la Mision á citio mas acomodado que es donde aora se halla (. . . there came a furious hurricane, and knocked down all the jacals with notable destruction of that which they had. Because of this the mission was moved to a more accommodating site where it is now);" see Sevillano de Paredes 1727, p. 38. Barker Archives **something**(where is my copy of this?).

[4]Documentary evidence suggests that the second site was located on the Hemisfair grounds near Alamo Street. (I keep thinking about all those burials in and near the Federal Building at the north end of Alamo Plaza: what if the second site was north of the third, under or near the Federal Building, instead of south? Some of the references could be interpreted to fit that.)

In fact, when the three new missions of Concepción, San Juan, and Espada were established in the San Antonio area, Fray Vergara, Father President of the Queretaran missions, reviewed the laws which defined their legal rights to land and water for Don Juan Antonio Perez de Almazan, commander of the Presidion de San Antonio de Bexar and alcalde mayor, or chief judge, of the civilian settlement associated with the presidio and the senior representative of the King in the province at the time.[5] His review is an invaluable statement of the laws directly pertaining to the relationship between missions and other landowners.[6] Far more important, though, was the associated discussion that illustrates how the law was usually interpreted. Such commentary, written by the men who actually applied the law, was very rare on the colonial frontier. Vergara established the legal relationships of the San Antonio missions for the remainder of the colonial period of Texas; his opinions about what he was doing are of the greatest significance.[7]

Because the storm of 1724 had destroyed its original grant, Valero was included in the review process. Vergara stated that according to Volume 2, book 6, title 3 of the reducciones law 8 (page 199 in his copy of the laws) of the Nuevo Recopilacion, "the sites on which are created pueblos and reducciones are to have plentiful water, land, and woods, entrances and exits, labranzas [farmlands] and egidos [community lands] of one league [about 2.6 miles] in width towards each wind, where the Indians may keep their livestock without their being interfered with by others [i.e., other livestock] of the Spanish." This law meant that each pueblo should have four square leagues, one league in each cardinal direction from the center of the pueblo (usually considered to be the front door of the church), actually granted to it by title. In Volume 2, book 6, title 1, law 1 (page 188 of Vergara's copy), the Nuevo Recopilacion provided that Spaniards or others "may not establish estancias or ranches for cattle . . . within a distance of three leagues [about 7.8 miles] of the boundary markers of the said missions." He continued, "note that the two missions of San Antonio and Concepción de Acuña are contiguous, their being situated a short distance one from the other in compliance with the order of his excellency the Lord Viceroy on the advice of the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, as contained in the dispatch of October 2, 1730[8] . . . which was approved because of the obvious hostility of the Apache nation, which prevented the placement of the missions at a great distance one from another." Because of the necessity to place the missions as close as possible to the presidio, said Vergara, and in consideration of several legal

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[5]This was not the settlement established by the Canary Islanders in 1731, but the civil settlement occupied by families of the presidial soldiers and those who catered to them that had grown up outside the presidio since its establishment on its present site in 1722.

[6]Vergara to Almazan, May 31, 1731, 3:3560-3565. A second copy of this review is in 9:1299-1310. The complete text is included in this study as Appendix II. A summary of the main points is in the "Quaderno de advertencias para los ministros de San Antonio en orden a sus indios, tierra, y ganados, etc.," 2:2794, a collection of dispatches, agreements, and other documents, made for the library of mission San José.

[7]The Canary Islanders arrived at the Presidio de San Antonio on or a day or two before March 9, 1731; see I. J. Cox, "The Founding of the First Texas Municipality," Texas Historical Association Quarterly ?(???):217-226; also Mattie Alice Austin, "The Municipal Government of San Fernando de Bexar," THAQ 8 (April 1905):277-351. Almazan laid out the plan of the civilian town from July 2 to July 11, 1731; see the typescript of his survey notes in the Bexar County Archives, "Orders from the Marques de Casafuerte, Viceroy of New Spain in Mexico City, for the Measurement of the Lands for the Canary Islanders . . ," and the translation of this by Mattie Austin Hatcher, "Interesting Historical Documents Concerning the Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar," in the Barker Archives, University of Texas at Austin.

[8]A copy of this dispatch is in the Spanish Archives of the Texas General Land Office, volume 50, pp. 14-18rev.

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provisions which he cites[9], the missions might make up for a shortfall of their legally permitted lands in one direction by the addition of lands in other directions, where possible.

Each mission, then, was directly entitled to a four square league are of land centered, if possible, on the pueblo. Each pueblo was to retain a further three leagues of vacant land around it in the four cardinal directions that would remain ungranted to others, to protect the mission herds from intermixing with the herds of Spanish settlers. This provision would eventually cause a great deal of trouble for the missions as land-hungry settlers filled up the San Antonio River valley and began to cast eyes on the huge tracts of unused land around each mission. The conflict over this land eventually forced some of it to be deeded officially to the missions, and the rest of it to be lost to civilian ranchers.

Because of these provisions, each mission effectively controlled a total of sixty-four square leagues, of which only four leagues were actually deeded to it. Since their fronts along the San Antonio River were restricted by their closeness to each other, the laws effectively gave the missions permission to use and control lands at considerable distances from the river. For example, if a mission had a front of only two leagues on the river, it could theoretically prevent civilian ranchers from using land as far away as thirty-two leagues (over 83 miles) from the river. The original grants and their subsequent interpretation in terms of the Laws of the Indies amounted to permission to create the later mission ranches, even though such a usage was not included in the original grant. Further explicit title to this land was not considered necessary by the missionaries until attempts at encroachment began on the legally-required "empty lands" of the buffer zone around each mission. At that point the missionaries protested to the civil authorities and began the process of acquisition of full title. The titles to four of the eight known mission ranches and detailed descriptions of two others are available. Of the eight, the seventh, the Concepción pasturage created in 1731, does have a clear title, but its precise boundaries and subsequent history are unclear. The eighth, Rancho San Miguel of San José, is roughly located, but its size, boundaries, and history of use are virtually unknown.

The Ranching Establishments of the Missions at the Time of their Foundation

Discuss the various mentions of raising cattle in the immediate area of San Fernando, the legal conflicts this produced. Especially, discuss Fr. Santa Ana's remarks in his letters made available by Leutenegger, and the 1745 compromise between Valero and the town.

Almazan officially deeded the lands of the three new missions on March 5, 1731, just a few days prior to the arrival of the Canary Islanders. The review of the laws concerning land use occurred about two and a half months after the establishment of the missions and the arrival of the Canary Islanders, but a little more than a month before the Villa of San Fernando and its surrounding public lands were actually laid out. In other words, the villa was laid out with the full considerations of the law governing mission lands already established in the minds of Almazan and Father President Vergara. Presumably Almazan kept these laws in mind as he surveyed the town tract. His survey notes are available, and clearly indicate that he was allowing for the presence of the missions south of the new town and just across the river to the east:

> [On the south,]
> [On the east,]

[9] I can't figure out what the citations refer to: they are all Latin abbreviations.

However, some problems arose anyway. A separate compromise agreement between San Fernando and the mission of Valero became necessary in 1745. This agreement established a working boundary between San Fernando and the lands of Valero:

> . . . recognizing forever the lands pertaining to this said Villa as likewise those that are of the side of the river to the west; and forseeing inevitable and significant difficulties that might result from the conjunction of the Villa with the said mission, [the boundary of the egido of the Villa] was placed at a distance halfway from the house of Juan Banul[10] to the mission of San Antonio; we are obligated neither to sell nor that a house might be built in the entire distance by any private person, except only some sanctuary or other such house that may not be prejudicial to the said mission of San Antonio, and in order that in the future the controversies and discords be avoided that might originate concerning the lands, at the appropriate time, all joined in unanimity and conformity, with the recognition of the precedence that the said mission has, we have made this apportionment: And proceeding from the spring that is on the east that arises in the little valley that opens out onto the plain of the buffalos,[11] on a bearing to the north, we will separate on the west the lands of the Villa and on the east those of the pueblo of San Antonio . . . ."[12]

Feral Herds at a Distance

Discuss the evidence for when the various missions began the process of shifting the cattle operation away from San Fernando. Again, Santa Ana letters, and the reports of 1745, '56, and '59. Other stuff in the microfilms, but I can't get to those, can I?

Describe the area in the rincon between the Medina and the San Antonio; illustrate with a map. This will show the egidos of San Fernando and the property lines of the missions, including San Jose, Espada, and the Concepcion pasture. Need the Giraud survey (1851?) and the Gentilz map and survey (1852--possible that I am remembering this wrong and the 1852 Gentilz map and survey is what I'm remembering) of the exidos, and the Menchaca map of 1764. Also Nava map of 1794, whatever that is.

Legal Ownership of the Ranches

The first references to separate ranching establishments at a distance from the missions are not seen until the decade of the 1750s. Apparently private ranchers and landowners of San Fernando and the presidio were beginning to petition for grants from the surrounding public lands, and this trend used the missions to begin the process of securing legal title to lands they had been using for varying lengths

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[10]Juan Banul was the blacksmith at Valero in **. He was Flemish ***. cite Schuetz dissertation and the "Artisans" article.

[11]It appears that this phrase refers to the headwaters of the San Antonio River. which were considered to be at an area now on the north side of Brackenridge Park. was meant. These springs are at the south edge of the Olmos Basin. an area that could be described as the "little valley that opens out onto the plain of the buffalos." It is possible that this phrase should read "onto the plain of the Cibolo River." but the llano de las Cibolas may simply refer to the high plains of the central Texas hill country that began just north and west of the Villa: buffalo were frequently reported as far south as San Antonio on these plains.

[12]See "Agreement between the cabildo of San Fernando and Father President Fray Benito Fernandes de Santa Ana." August 14. 1745. GLO. Vol. 50. pp. 48-49rev. An excerpt from this document is in Appendix I. no. 1.

of time. Each title and the associated paperwork usually included a short outline of the history of use of each ranch.

San Antonio de Valero
1. Rancho Monte Galvan

An even more remarkable document than Vergara's review of mission land law and its application to the San Antonio missions is the Monte Galvan Compromise of 1766 between the missions of Valero, Concepción, and San Juan. The compromise itself contains one of the most illuminating statements of ranching methods in the available colonial documentation of the missions. As a supporting document, the compromise included a copy of the original title to the Monte Galvan tract, divided between the three missions.[13]

A title may have previously been issued to Valero for the entire tract of Monte Galvan, but this was not stated. Certainly no title was available to the concerned parties as of 1755. In Urrutia's title of 1755, the portion of Monte Galvan granted to Valero was "known and acknowledged" to be the ranch of Valero for the previous thirty years (i.e., since about 1725). It was described as having these limits: "The mission of San Antonio reaches from the center [of Monte Galvan where the main corral complex was located; presently this site is occupied by Randolph Air Force Base] to the whirlpool [or "eddy"] which is commonly called the Nogal de Fray Juan [the Walnut of Brother John], and has a little more than one league to the east until it meets some hills which form a derramadero [watershed] towards the south, and from there to the Rosillo [Creek], including the unoccupied land of the Salatrillos [Creek], and its corrals running toward and up to the Cibolo; including the monte [in this case, this word means simply "scrub country," or some similar implication] and the lands up to the Guadalupe [River]." This land extended from about the area of Converse and Randolph Air Force Base to New Braunfels and McQueeny on the Guadalupe River. This title was apparently enacted so as to clearly define the lands of the three missions, since in 1755 the two new missions were establishing ranching areas which threatened to encroach on the traditional lands of Valero.

This title was not sufficient to prevent friction between the three missions. Incidents occurred, and eleven years later a new agreement was enacted between the three missions which defined their areas of principal use within their previously-defined ranches. This compromise included a clear statement of rules to be observed in the use of the corrals at Monte Galvan, which were equally shared by the three missions.

In this compromise, Valero was assigned the lands "fronting on the said Monte [of Galvan] . . . The mission of San Antonio may have its privileges below the Cibolo (excluding the inflow of Martinez Creek into the Cibolo), going around the Monte as far as the headwaters of the Rosillo [Creek], including its tributaries." Today this is rolling hill country covered with mesquite scrub. Randolph Air Force Base and the town of Converse occupy much of it.

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[13]Captain Don Toribio de Urrutia to the missions of Valero, Concepción, and San Juan, October 11, 1755, 4:5252-5253; Missionaries of the missions of Valero, Concepción, and San Juan, Compromise, October 4, 1766, 4:5250-5257. A second copy of these documents is in the "Quaderno," 2:2801-2804. The full text of these documents are included as Appendix III. For a detailed discussion of the regulations stated in the "Compromise," see "What Not To Do at the Corral: The Rancho Monte Galvan Compromise of 1766," by James E. Ivey. ***[this is not yet written--needs a good translation of the terms of the compromise before it can be.]****

Valero's utilization of the Monte Galvan corrals and ranchland appears to have fallen off for awhile after the compromise. In 1772, for example, the inventory mentioned only that the mission had a "large number" of cattle pastured in the area of the corrals, from which the pueblo took its weekly ration of beef. Valero shifted the focus of its ranching activities to the southern San Antonio River valley and a new ranch established in 1757, the Rancho de la Mora.

2. Rancho de la Mora

La Mora may have been established to make up for land lost to the missions of Concepción and San Juan in the Monte Galvan area in 1755. La Mora was established two years later, in 1757. The deed to the ranch is presently missing, but a review of its history and boundaries was included in a petition from Father President Fray José Maria Salas to the Governor of Texas in 1778. This ranch, about fifty miles down the San Antonio River, grew in importance for Valero until by 1772 it had between 4,000 and 5,000 cattle within its boundaries. In the same year Monte Galvan, only about fifteen miles from Valero, still supplied the weekly ration of beef to the mission and had "a large number" of cattle.[14]

La Mora extended from the Puertecito de Espanto Perros Creek (although Salas says the northern border is at a creek called the Horcones) to the Arroyo Blanco, presently the ****. Before the lawsuit of 1770, the southern (?) border extended to the Arroyo Las Pititas, presently La Conquista Creek, which was known as the Pitaries in the early 1800s along the west bank of the San Antonio River. Salas says that Valero cattle preferred this arroyo, and other nearby creeks called "the Arroyo of the Forks of the Hondo" and "the Arroyo de Escondido." By 1772 the Franciscans had built a central headquarters building for the ranch. The buildings were located on the high terrace above the west bank of the river about eight miles south of Horcones Creek in *** County [Need Anne's help on this; she says that Thonhoff knows where the ruins of El Mora are, or at least were.][15]

Valero's inventory of 1772 describes La Mora. "About 18 or 20 leagues [about 47 to 52 miles] from this pueblo," said the report, "the pueblo has a ranch called La Mora which, even though it is not inhabited because of the unjust hostility of the pagans [Apaches and Comanches], according to a fair estimate, has from 4,000 to 5,000 cattle. The said ranch has three stone houses of sufficient size with good wooden roofs for every comfort."[16]

Salas further states that because the cattle of Mission Rosario shared the same favorite places as the La Mora Cattle, the two herds became intermixed. A compromise stating the terms under which cattle could be taken from the southern portion of La Mora was entered into between Rosario and Valero in 1775. This compromise would contain information of great interest, but presently a copy is unlocated.[Jack Jackson mentions a compromise document in GLO Vol. 50, but I think he says it is

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[14]Valero Inventory. 1772. p. 35. La Mora is usually considered by Texas historians to have been established by Mission San Juan Capistrano because of the statement made by Fray Gaspar José de Solís in his journal in 1768 (Solís 1931: 48). Since Fray Salas was reviewing what must be considered the official. documented history of the Rancho in his petition. Fray Solís's statement must have been a simple error made by a missionary unfamiliar with the land he was describing. See Jackson. Los Mesteños. pp. 89-90 n. 8.

[15]An examination of references in the Salas petition indicates that the Blanco was five leagues south of Horcones Creek. and the ranch buildings were three leagues north of the Blanco. The Horcones can be identified as the *****.???

[16]Leutenegger. San Antonio Valero. 1772 Inventory. Special Report #23 (Austin: Texas Historical Commission. 1977). p. 35.

between mission La Bahia and someone, not Rosario. Look again at this--GLO Vol. 50 is the most likely place the Valero/Rosario compromise would be, outside of Mexico City or Sevilla.]

A second description of the La Mora lands says that it extended:

> "from its rancho, called La Mora, up the river to the west to where it enters the arroyo de Espanta Perros; from here in a straight line to the Loma de la Tuerta, following the arroyo de Santo Domingo to where the [Arroyo] de Puente de Piedra joins the Cañada de la Leona; from here to the east along the headwaters of the Cunillo and those of the Arroyo de la Escondida; in a straight line down to where it joins the San Antonio River; and from there up the river to the afore-cited rancho of La Mora."[17]

Ascisclos Valverde document seems to overlap the La Mora property, doesn't it?

Purísima Concepción de Acuña

1. "The Pasture"

The title for the San Antonio site granted to Concepción in 1731 mentioned an unnamed ranch or pasture established for Mission Concepción by Captain Almazan on the request of Father President Vergara. The pasture was described as being west of the San Antonio River, between the pass of Nogalitos on San Pedro Creek and "the pass of the arroyo at the edge of the lands of mission San José;" this seems to refer to the western boundary of the land belonging to San José, which was the Medina River.[18] If this was the case, then the distance would be from the Paso de Nogalitos to the Paso de la Garza on the Medina, about 10.5 miles. It ran east and west (actually northeast and southwest), "making a right angle from the San Antonio River (which was between the said mission [of Concepción] and the sitios which are requested) for a sufficient distance to demarcate the said sitios."[19] In 1765,

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[17]Bexar Archives, Jan. 8, 1787, need microfilm roll location of this. Also Spanish statement.

[18]Salcedo, 1809.

[19]See Appendix I, no.***. The original grant by Alamzan said: ". . . y por la parte del oeste, el Rio e ymmediata á el, por el mismo rumvo la Mission de San J.ph, de Aguayo; concediendosele assi mismo, que en tiempo de siemvras tengan salidas los ganados que tuviere dicha Mision, para la parte de poniente para pastarlos, por que nunca les sirva de perjuisio á las simenteras que se cultibaren en dicha Mission de Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion de Acuña que todo serviza en util estabilidad, y aumento de dicha Mission, no sirviendo, ó siguiendo de perjuicio a la de San Joseph, y demas vezinos . . ." don Juan Perez de Almazan to Fray Gabriel de Vergara, March 5, 1731, p. 20rev., GLO Vol. 50.

A few weeks later, Vergara described the tract: "Y por quanto la Mission de la Concepcion de Acuña tiene impedida la salida de los ganados en tiempo de siembras por la parte de lebantes a cuio rumbo tiene lo principal de sus tierras, y aver bastantes desocupadas por la parte de poniente: . . . mande se estienda su posesion por este viento, de poniente para que los ganados maiores, y menores, en tiempo de siembras, puedan librem.te, salir a pastar, por aquella parte, señalando los sitios nezesarios, para d.ho efectto, entre el paso de los Nogales [Nogalitos], y el paso del arroyo de la tierra termino de la miss. de S.n Joseph cogiendo el rumbo derecho desde el Rio de S.n Antonio (que media entre d.ha mision y los sitios que pido) de oriente a poniente la distanzia que cogieren d.hos sitios . . ;" see Vergara to Almazan, May 31, 1731, 3:3564, also 9:1304-1305.

In 1765: ". . . y las tierras que se señalaron a la Mision de la Conzepcion que son dos sitios de ganado mayor; vea V.R. la distancia que ay de el Arroyo de la Piedra asta el Palo Quemado que son los linderos de la Mision de la Espada y Villa de San Fernando y hallara V.R. será un jiron [strip] de poco mas o menos de media legua con que en este jiron solo los dos sitios de la Mision de la Conzepción tienen de largo quatro leguas poco mas ó menos: enterense aora a esta Mision las tierras necesarias para cria de los mucho ganados mayores y menores y cavallada aver si cojen el paraje de San Lucas enteramente . . :" see Padre Ximenez to Lord Special Judge Don Francisco Antonio de Echavarri, September 20, 1765, GLO, Vol. 50, pp. 83-83rev.

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during the presentation of evidence concerning Rancho San Lucas of Mission San José (apparently the ranch also called "El Atascosa"), the pasture was described as being "two sitios de Ganado mayor," running from Piedras Creek to the Palo Quemado. It was a half-league (1.3 miles) wide and four leagues (10.4 miles) long, according to the 1765 description; but the distance from the headwaters of Piedras, or Sixmile Creek (just south of East Kelly Field), to the Palo Quemado, an area on San Pedro Creek just above its confluence with the San Antonio River is only about 3 miles. The Palo Quemado is about -- miles down the San Pedro from Nogalitos Crossing, or about -- leagues (I'm thinking here that the distance between the two could be 1/2 league, the indicated width of the Pasture tract, and therefore that the Palo Quemado could be the second corner at the north end, making the "piedras creek" reference the suspect one). However, it is quite possible that either the Palo Quemado or the Arroyo de Piedras mentioned in 1765 was another creek or placename near the Medina, not the places in San Antonio. Nothing is known at present of the disposition of the pasture by Concepción after 1765.

However, there was a grant made to Padre Gavino Valdez by don Manuel Munoz, governor of Texas in 1798 that occupied the land across the river from Concepción and formed the north border of the lands of San José.[20] When it was surveyed in 1871, this grant extended from the San José acequia near the Paso de San José, where the present Mission Road bridge crosses the San Antonio River just south of Mission Concepción, southwest 6.3 miles to the Paso de Jacalitos on Leon Creek, then northeast 5.1 miles to the headwaters of Concepción Creek, then down Concepción Creek to the San Antonio River, a distance of about 1.6 miles, and down the river about 0.75 miles to the point of beginning.[21] This grant is for the central six miles of the Concepción pastureland, which ran on to San Pedro Creek to the northeast and to the Medina on the southwest. According to the interpretation of the boundaries of the egidos of San Antonio that was being applied in the mid-1800s, the Valdez grant encroached on the land of San Antonio. However, the original survey of the San Antonio egidos appears to state that the edge of the egidos runs from the Paso de Nogalitos on the San Pedro to the Paso de Jacalitos on the Leon. If so, then the Valdez grant was actually outside the egidos of San Antonio.

2. El Pasthle

quote and describe from the Monte Galvan deed and compromise, and the 1772 inventory.

1755: La Mission de la Puriss.a Concepcion, desde el centro para el sur caxa una legua que será hasta el Paso del Nogal, desde donde caminando para oriente otra legua, topará con el Salado; de donde de sur a norte habrá otra legua hasta topar con el camino de la Bahia; y esta distancia desde donde encontro el Salado, tendra como ocho leguas, siguiendo el rumbo, y sirviendole de Lindero el Nitro, o Civolo pasara el Arrollo, y le quedan libres, como quince leguas, que es distancia competente para el procreo de sus ganados, sin agravio de las dos Missiones contiguas.

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[20]In the description of the boundaries of the lands of the missions in 1809, Manuel Salcedo stated that the lands of San José extended from the San Antonio River on the east to the Medina on the west, and from Piedras creek on the south to the ranch of the Señor Curate Valdes on the north.

[21]Francis Giraud, "Survey of the Padre Gavino Valdez Grant," Bexar County Deed Records, Vol. 5, pp. 422-24. The survey, made on the 28th through 30th of June, 1871, was made because the Valdes grant overlapped the town tract of San Antonio, and several other grants made after 1800 overlapped the Valdes grant. The survey was part of a long legal process that settled the questions of ownership. This tract may have been empty in 1798 because it had belonged to Concepción before that.

1766: La Mission dela purissima Concepcion tendra por suia la entrada del Arroyo de Martinez en el Cibolo, y Cibolo para abaxo de la otra, y de esta vanda, hasta lo que no sean vertientes de los chupaderos.

1772: "This mission has a ranch or farm about 12 leagues to the east which is called el Pasthle. It has houses made of stone. They were abandoned in 1767 because of attacks by hostile Indians who took all the horses. The horses and cattle are generally kept in the summer pastures of the said ranch and its surroundings. In the year that this area was abandoned, according to the soldier Francisco Sanchez, who was in charge of the Indians, there were 1200 cattle; about 400 head were branded in that year.

To give the weekly ration of meat, which are two or three head of cattle, these are brought from Monte Galvan where this mission has rights as also missions San Antonio and San Juan Capistrano. In that ranch is a spacious corral of estanteria. Item: adjacent to Monte Galvan is another of the same [a corral].

Along the stream of Santa Clara are two more [corrals].

To enclose the oxen, cows and livestock brought from the Monte is a corral next to this mission [of Concepción].

The 1787 roundup agreement gave Concepcion rights to cattle in the central Monte Galvan area. None of the boundaries of the agreement extended into the rincon of the Cibolo/San Antonio.

San Juan

Describe from the Monte Galvan stuff and borrow from Jackson and Thonhoff where I need to outline the trouble with civil or military ranchers in the area.

By the time of the Compromise of 1755, San Juan's pasturelands were accepted to extend to the Laguna de Pataguilla in the Cibolo/San Antonio rincon. At the time the mission was established in 1731, much of this area had already been incorporated into a privately-owned ranch, probably the oldest civilian ranch in Texas.[22] Soon after Martín de Alarcon established the presidio of San Antonio on the site of present San Antonio in 1718, he gave permission to Francisco Hernández to establish a private ranch in the area. The grant, for four leagues and eight caballerías was confirmed in 1737 by Carlos Franquis de Lugo, governor of Texas. Francisco's son, Andrés Hernandez, established the first corrals and houses in the "Rancho San Bartolomé" about 1753. In 1758 Luis Antonio Menchaca claimed a fifteen-league, twelve caballería grant in the same area. The two ranchers worked out a compromise, and in it recognized the claims of Mission San Juan to the area around the Laguna de Pataguilla. This suggests that San Juan had begun using the Pataguilla pastures prior to 1753, and their precedence was being recognized by the new private ranchers. The documentation associated with the various grants indicates that the Pataguilla tract lay between Pajaritos Creek and Marcelina Creek.

1755: La Mission de S. Juan de Capistrano coxa de Lindero el camino de la Bahia, y tendra hasta los Chayopines mas de cinco leguas de ancho; y cogiendo desde el Aguila, camino de la Bahia hasta la Laguna de Patahuillos, seran como diez leguas de ancho; y desde el Civolo; esto es; desde los manantiales del Nitro, hasta S.n Bartolo, que serán como siete leguas de ancho de norte a sur; de cuya

[22]The following discussion is taken from Jackson. Mesteños. pp. 61-64.

distancia asia el or.te se podra extender no solo quince leguas, sino mucho mas: quedando esta Mission con mas, y mejores tierras, y aguas abund.tes p.a todos los ganados que tuviere, sin perjudicar a las otras. = =

1766: La Miss.n de S.n Juan de Capistrano solam.te podrá hacer su dilig.a desde las caveceras del Rosillo + (+ y sus vertientes) exclusive, hasta las vertientes, que reconocieren alos chupaderos; puesto, que esta es la principal huida de su ganado al d.ho Monte.

1772: On the seventh, eighth, and twentieth days of November,a place was made for the branding of ganado mayor, and 471 male and female cattle were branded; from where is gathered what the mission has, 1,400 head of cattle rounded up, which it was not possible to count [exactly] because [they were] very lively.

It is noted that this mission has as much right at Monte Galvan as have the missions of San Antonio de Valero and Concepción, and so this pueblo is able to remove their ganados mayores, and orejanos from the said Monte, whenever it is convenient for the Father Ministers.

San José y San Miguel de Aguayo

The ranch for Mission San José has been called El Atascosa since the publication of two different translations of the diary of Fray Gaspar José Solís within months of each other in 1931. This diary was a journal kept by Fr. Solís during a visita to the Zacatecan missions of Texas carried out in 1767 and 1768. In March of 1931, P. P. Forrestal's translation of the Fr. Solís diary appeared in Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society.[23] Four months later, in July, M. K. Kress published her version of the translation in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly.[24] The two differ in innumerable details, but the general import of the description of the ranch called El Atascosa is effectively the same. A transcript of Fr. Solís's original Spanish was made generally available by its inclusion in The San José Papers:

> "Tiene esta Misión como 10 u 12 leguas de ella un rancho que se llama el Atascoso, donde está todo lo mueble, como 10 manadas de yeguas, las quatro aburradas, como treinta aparejadas, como 1500 yuntas de bueyes para la labranza, todos los aperos para ella como rejas, arados, azadones, coas, hachas, barras y todo lo necesario como cinco mil cavezas de ganado menor . . ."[25]

Forrestal translated the description as follows:

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[23]Peter P. Forrestal, "The Solís Diary of 1767. Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, Vol. 1, no. 6 (March 1931), pp. 18-21.

[24]Margaret K. Kress, trans., "Diary of a Visit of Inspection of the Texas Missions Made by Fray Gaspar José de Solis in the Year 1767-68" Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 35(July 1931): 28-76.

[25]Fray Benedict Leutenegger and Fray Marion A. Habig, "Report of Fr. Solís," The San José Papers (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1978), pp. 138-160.

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> "At a distance of about ten or twelve leagues[26] from the town it has a ranch, known as El Atascoso, where all the stock is kept. On this ranch there are, approximately, ten droves of mares, four droves of asses, thirty harnesses, 1500 yoke of oxen for tilling the soil, 5000 head of sheep and goats, and all necessary farming implements, such as plowshares, plows, hoes, axes, bars, etc."[27]

The Forrestal translation was used by Carlos Castañeda for his description of the ranch of Mission San José.[28] Unaccountably, Castañeda gave the name of the ranch as Atascosito. Other than this variation, Castañeda's description was taken directly from Forrestal.

In The Alamo Chain of Missions by Fr. Marion Habig, the other major review of San Antonio mission history, Forrestal's translation was again used. To the translation, Fr. Habig added the information that El Atascoso was "on the Atascosa River, near present Pleasanton or Poteet."[29] Fr. Habig gave no source for this statement, but it apparently stemmed from his research into the land-grant history of the various mission ranch lands. Presumably he had found that in 1831 José Antonio Navarro of San Antonio was granted several leagues of land on the Atascosa River in the area between Poteet and Pleasanton; Navarro called this property "El Atascoso," and established his ranch there.[30] The distance from San Antonio to "El Atascoso" was about 36 miles, or almost 14 leagues. Since this was not too much larger than the distance of "about ten or twelve leagues" indicated by Fr. Solís, and the name was right, Fr. Habig made the natural assumption that the "El Atascoso" of Navarro and the "el Atascoso" of Fr. Solís were the same place.

This assumption was accepted by Robert Weddle and Robert Thonhoff in Drama and Conflict: the Texas Saga of 1776. Chapter 8 of this work was concerned with a review of the development of Texas ranching up to 1776, and was perhaps the first published attempt to outline the history of the ranches of the San Antonio River Valley in any detail. Their description of El Atascoso was a paraphrase of Fr. Habig's, with the addition of the specific statement that "in 1831, José Antonio Navarro, signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence and founding father of Atascosa County, received Mexican title to the land."[31]

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[26]A league was about 2.6 miles long.

[27]Forrestal, "The Solís Diary," p. 20. The next sentence in Forrestal's translation is: "White overseers or administrators are not needed, for the Indians take complete charge of the ranch." In the original, Solis did not actually refer to the ranch but to the mission of San José. The Spanish says: "todo esto cuidan ya los indios sin ser necesario valerse de gente de razón para que lo cuiden y administren," (all is cared for by the Indians without it being necessary to have citizens [non-Indians] for its care and administration), Leutenegger and Habig, "Report of Fr. Solís," p. 146. In the context of the entire description of San José, the statement indicates that the Indians conducted many of the affairs of the mission without direct supervision. To what extent the care of the ranch was included under Indian management is uncertain.

[28]Carlos E. Castañeda, The Mission Era: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782, Volume 4 of Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936 (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1939), p. 14.

[29]Fray Marion A. Habig, The Alamo Chain of Missions (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), p. 95.

[30]Need reference to Navarro deed here.

[31]Robert S. Weddle and Robert H. Thonhoff, Drama and Conflict: the Texas Saga of 1776 (Austin: Madrona Press, 1976), p. 153. Jackson, Los Mesteños, pp. 40-41, 94, followed Weddle and Thonhoff's acceptance of Habig's position.

There were a few annoying details in these various histories, however, that never seemed to be explained. Castañeda, for example, mentioned another ranch belonging to Mission San José called San Lucas. San Lucas also appeared in various guises in other published histories of Texas. Castañeda referred to it while paraphrasing a report on the missions of San Antonio made by Governor Manuel Salcedo in 1809: ". . . the mission [of San José] owned eleven sitios[32] in San Lucas, on the Medina River, which had been bought from the king by the padres in 1766. The deed, issued by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, was recorded in the mission archives."[33] Castañeda did not expand on this statement, nor did he indicate any connection between the 11-sitio tract called San Lucas and a previous reference he had made to San José land while discussing the "secularization" of Mission San José in 1794. Here he stated that the Indians were given "the deed to eleven sitios of land which had been purchased by the mission on November 22, 1766, from Francisco Antonio de Echevarría. It was explained that the pasture lands on León Creek belonged to them also, as well as all branded cattle and stock found therein."[34] The similarities were striking: same size, same date of purchase; was this the same land as described in 1809 by Salcedo? Who was Francisco Antonio de Echevarría? What had happened to El Atascoso between 1768, when Fr. Solís mentioned it, and 1794, when it is apparently not on the list of property distributed to the Indians?

Weddle and Thonhoff discussed San Lucas briefly. In their discussion, however, it was difficult to recognize the San Lucas described by Salcedo in 1809. San Lucas was an 11-league tract, in their version, but it was sold on November 16, 1766, and not to Mission San José. Rather, it was sold out of land previously owned by San José to a man named Domingo Castelo.[35] This, of course, is in direct conflict with Governor Salcedo's statements as reported by Castañeda. It also conflicted with the inventory of 1794, if the property described in the inventory was the same as the San Lucas land discussed by Salcedo. Obviously something was wrong somewhere: why should a simple question about the name and location of the ranch of Mission San José result in such a confusing answer?

An investigation of the original documents mentioned by the various historians revealed that the problem was indeed one of confusion, beginning with the statements made by Fr. Solís in 1768 and published in 1931. To clear up this confusion the story must begin somewhat earlier than Fr. Solís's visit.

San Lucas in the Franciscan Records

On February 9, 1764, the citizen Domingo Castelo, resident of San Fernando de Bexar, petitioned the governor of the province of Texas for title to the place called San Lucas to use as his ranch. Castelo

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[32]A sitio is the same size as a square league, or about 6.6 square miles.

[33]Carlos E. Castañeda, The Mission Era: The End of the Spanish Regime, 1780-1810, Volume 5 of Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936 (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1942), p. 407. "San Lucas" refers to San Lucas Creek, a small tributary on the north side of the Medina River about 7 miles east of Castroville.

[34]Castañeda, The End of the Spanish Regime, pp. 55-56. León Creek is a tributary flowing south into the Medina River about halfway between San Lucas Creek and the San Antonio River. The reference to it in the San José inventory may be a copyist's error, where "Lucas" was misread and written "León." However, San José's land between the San Antonio and Medina Rivers did include a portion of Leon Creek, and this phrase may well refer to that area.

[35]Weddle and Thonhoff, Drama and Conflict, pp. 147-148.

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stated that he had been an alferez in the army, stationed at Presidio San Saba, and later had served as a regidor at the Villa of San Fernando, later called San Antonio.[36]

A year later, on February 28, 1765, the Father President of the Zacatecan missions of the province of Texas and missionary at Mission San José, Fray Pedro Ramirez de Arellano, entered a protest against Castelo's claim to the San Lucas land. Fray Arellano stated that the claim was prejudicial to Mission San José, which had been keeping its cattle in corrals on the San Lucas land. Arellano added that the only other land available for use by Mission San José was the place called San Miguel, some 25 leagues (about 66 miles) away and exposed to the depredations of hostile Indians. Arellano's statement implied that the Rancho San Miguel was technically the ranch for Mission San José, that San José had no other ranch but San Miguel, and that the area called San Lucas was vacant land being used because it was so much more convenient. Rancho San Miguel was never mentioned again in any documents dealing with San José.[37]

A long court fight ensued between Castelo and Fray Arellano, who eventually won. Contrary to Weddle and Thonhoff's outline of the case,[38] title to the 11 square leagues of the Rancho San Lucas was granted to Mission San José on 22 November 1766 by the special judge for the sale of vacant lands and waters, Don Francisco Antonio Echavaria, assisted by Don Benito Gomes de Ybarburo.[39] A surveyor's description of the limits of the Rancho San Lucas was included:

> *Vista de ojos y tanteo. En veinte y sinco dias del mes de februero de este presente año de mil sete cientos sesenta y cinco, estando en el parage ó Arroyo de San Lucas termino y Jurisdicion de esta Provincia de Texas . . . en la Loma de padron que principiaron las Medidas tiene por señas lo elevada y en su cumbre forma Mesa con Monte de Abrojos y otro Arboles pequeños, y de dicha loma corriendo de Norte á Sur al paso de el Arroyo*

36-"Testimonio á la Letra de los autos de Denuncia de tierras hecha por D.n Domingo Castelo Vezino de la Villa de S.n Fernando Jurisdicion de las Provincia de Tejas: Remate y Merced que de dichas tierras que son onze Sitios de Ganado mayor. se hizo a Indios del Pueblo y Mision de S.or S.n Joséph." February 9. 1764-November 22. 1766. pp. 50-95 reverse. Volume 50. Spanish Archives. Texas General Land Office (hereafter called GLO). This is one of many extremely important documents preserved in the General Land Office. In addition to the information it contains about the lawsuit between Castelo and Fr. Arellano. this document records a great deal of material about the land law of New Spain and the methods of its ajudication. most of which has never been studied by American historians. In addition. the "Testimonio" briefly reviews the other mission ranches in the San Antonio area. thereby supplying a previously unavailable framework within which the development of the San Antonio mission ranches can be traced. That development differs from the sketch offered by Weddle and Thonhoff in many ways. and needs a great deal of work. Castelo's background is given on pp. 51-51rev. of the "Testimonio." An alferez was a junior officer. roughly equivalent to a second lieutenant. A regidor was an official in city government.

37-"Testimonio." pp. 66rev.-68rev. Rancho San Miguel may have been located at the crossing of San Miguel Creek by the Old Laredo Road. about 65 miles south of San Antonio in northern McMullen County. San Miguel is a tributary of the Frio River. The area was described briefly by Fr. Juan Agustín Morfi. who stopped there on January 16. 1778. but he said nothing to imply that Mission San José had any rights to the land: see Fray Juan Agustin de Morfi. Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico. Vito Alessio Robles, ed. (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos. 1935). p. 231: and Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi. Diario y Derrotero (1777-1781). Eugenio del Hoyo and Malcolm D. McLean. eds. (Monterrey. Mexico: Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. 1967). p. 106.

38Weddle and Thonhoff. Drama and Conflict. pp. 147-148.

39-"Testimonio." pp. 89-95. So the Francisco Antonio Echevarría mentioned by Castañeda in his discussion of the "secularization" inventory is finally identified. He was not a private landowner in the area of San Antonio who sold the land to Mission San José. but a judge in the Viceregal government in Mexico City. responsible for adjudicating questions of disputed land ownership. He granted title to the mission not as landowner but as a representative of the King.

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de los Alamos sin embargo de la Mojonera que se puso a orillas del Camino que vá para el Presidio de Rio grande en un Mesquite grueso se plantó una Cruz, y caminando por dicho camino para el Poniente asta el Arroyo de Paiahias en donde se puso Mojonera y volviendo para el Norte a el camino que viene del Cañon para la Loma alta en donde se puso Mojonera que tiene Balthasar Perez colindante y de aqui caminando a el oriente a la citada Loma de Padron en donde se puso Mojonera de piedras y todo lo comprehendido dentro de estos Limites . . . Dixo ser onze sitios de Ganado mayor, Los que se comprehenden en esta Jurisdicion y la de Coaguila . . . el Rio de Medina de ambas Provincias que las tierras que pertenezen a esta Jurisdicion constan de sinco sitios de Ganado mayor y que son al proposito para Agostaderos que aunque ay plan es no gozan de riego alguno por no aver aguas competentes que el ojo de agua de San Lucas se seca por tiempos y es poco util que las tierras que comprehende la Jurisdicion de Coahuila consta de seis sitios de Ganado mayor y que son de la misma especie que las otras y al mismo proposito de Agostar y se le dio para sentro de unas y otras tierras una Loma poco elevada a margen de dicho Rio de Medina que quasi la circunvala un mediano Arroyo . . . . Bernave Carabajal = = de as.a Alberto Lopez = = de as.a Carlos Ignacio de Uraga, Nicolas Carabajal[40]

Survey and computation of area. February 25 of the present year of 1765, at the place or creek of San Lucas, at the limits of the jurisdiction of the Province of Texas . . . the measurements begin at the Loma de Padron, which is identified by a hill the summit of which forms a mesa with a woods of thistle and other small trees; from the said Loma [the boundary of this tract] runs from north to south to the ford of Arroyo de los Alamos[41] without obstruction, where a monument was placed at the edge of the road which goes to the Presidio of the Rio Grande, on a thick mesquite a blaze in the form of a cross was made; and following the said road towards the west to Patahuia Creek where a monument was placed; and turning towards the north, [from there] to the road which leads from Cañon,[42] [then] to the Loma Alta, where a monument was placed for Balthasar Perez, an ajacent landowner; from there continuing toward the east to the said Loma de Padron where another monument was placed. The total contained within these limits . . . I declare to be eleven sitios de Ganado mayor; of those which are in this jurisdiction and in that of Coahuila . . . the Medina River [passing] between the two Provinces, the lands which pertain to this jurisdiction consist of five sitios de Ganado mayor, which are considered to be for pastureland, because although it has level areas it is not possible to irrigate any part of it because of the lack of sufficient water, because the spring of San Lucas is presently dry and is of little use;

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[40]"Testimonio." pp. 73-74.

[41]"Cottonwood Creek." now called Elm Creek. probably so called because Alamos was misunderstood by Anglos. unfamiliar with Spanish. as Olmos. A similar twist of names occurred with the present San Gabriel River. originally the Arroyo San Xavier. In eighteenth century Spanish this could as well be spelled Arollo San Gabier. The next step is obvious. The statement that San Lucas is "at the limits of the jurisdiction of the Province of Texas" refers to the use of the Medina River as the boundary between the provinces of Texas and Coahuila. described in more detail later in the survey.

[42]This is the placename usually associated with the mission of San Lorenzo. near the small town of Camp Wood. described in Curtis D. Tunnell and W. W. Newcomb. Jr.. A Lipan Apache Mission:San Lorenzo de Santa Cruz. 1762-1771. Bulletin of the Texas Memorial Museum. no. 14. The Texas Memorial Museum. Austin. Texas. 1969. The Cañon road probably ran from Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz. in the canyon of the Nueces River (el Cañon). southeast about 35 miles to the present site of Uvalde. and then east down the general route of Highway 90 and the Southern Pacific rail line to San Antonio.

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> the lands which are in the jurisdiction of Coahuila contain six sitios de Ganado mayor and are of the same sort as the other [sitios] and also considered to be for pastureland; the approximate center of the two sections of land is a hill of low elevation beside the said Medina River and half encircled by a medium-sized creek . . . Bernabe Carabajal, assisted by Alberto Lopez, Carlos Ignacio de Uraga, and Nicolas Carabajal.

This was the ranch described by Fr. Solís on April 5, 1768, a year and five months later.[43] Why did Fr. Solis call the ranch "El Atascoso" rather than San Lucas? It is possible that he made an error here, one of several he made during his journey. For example, on March 16, 1768 he passed through the ranch of La Mora, which he remarked belonged to Mission San Juan Capistrano.[44] Weddle and Thonhoff indicated that this ranch had belonged to Mission Espada before 1778, but did not give the source of this information.[45] Both of these statements were erroneous; La Mora had been the second ranch of Mission San Antonio de Valero since the ranch was established in 1757.[46]

It is more likely, however, that Fr. Solis was calling the ranch by its popular name. The place where the main corrals and buildings were located was probably not on San Lucas Creek by 1768, but in the larger valley south of the Medina crossed by the small tributaries forming the headwaters of Atascosa Creek, the general location of the "approximate center of the two divisions of land" mentioned in the 1767 deed. The area had the placename "el Atascoso," and is referred to by that name in several documents of the period.[47] Today a small town called Atascoso still exists here, although just east of the boundaries of the ranch. It is apparently not named after the river, 5 or 6 miles to the south, and must represent the survival of the old placename. In other words, Rancho San Lucas and Rancho El Atascoso were the same ranch.

Espada

Because Espada's ranch buildings and livestock were better documented than any of the others, it will be discussed in more detail. From 1731 until at least 1737, Espada obtained needed cattle from the Queretaran missions of the Rio Grande, implying that the cattle of the mission were still few in number until about 1740.[48] As of June 12, 1745, however, the mission had 1150 catle, 740 sheep, 90 goats, 31

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[43]Kress. "Diary of a Visit of Inspection." p. 51.

[44]Ibid.. p. 48.

[45]Weddle and Thonhoff. Drama and Conflict. p. 148.

[46]Fr. Jose Maria Salas to the Governor of Texas. August 25. 1778. volume 4. legajo 5 (1775-1780). pp. 164-175. Archivo de la Secretaria de Gobierno. Saltillo. Coahuila (Saltillo Archives). in Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library Microfilms. Our Lady of the Lake University. San Antonio. Texas (hereafter called OLLU). This document. a petition by Fray Salas for the return of a large part of the land of La Mora to the ownership of Mission San Antonio de Valero after its sale as part of the great breakup of mission ranches during the lawsuit of 1770. contains a complete outline of the history of the ranch to 1778.

[47]Need to enter locations of such references in Bexar Archives. when Fox and Hinds gives them to me.

[48]Habig 1968. pp. 202. 204.

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horses, and 32 oxen, indicating that ranchland belonging to the mission was probably in use.[49] It can be assumed, then, that Espada began large-scale ranching activities in ca. 1740.

Espada was apparently in the process of acquiring legal title to the Las Cabras land in 1765. In testimony recorded on September 20, 1765, concerning the application by San José for title to the ranchland called San Lucas, Bernabe Carvajal stated that the land applied for at San Lucas by San José, combined with the land of Espada, would not amount to much more ranchland than that already held by missions Valero, San Juan, and Concepción. The terms of the statement implied that the state of ownership of Espada's land was in the same uncertain condition as that of San José's land, which was stll in litigation.[50]

The earliest available description of Espada's ranchlands was recorded as part of the 1770 lawsuit between the citizens of San Fernando de Bexar and the missions of the San Antonio River valley:

> . . . and on the part of the mission of Espada, it occupied the lands on the banks of the Medina River from the pass of the road from the Rio Grande up to the pass of Costales; and from this pass up to the labor of don Martin de Peña (adjoining the Medina River); the land which is occupied by Juan Joseph Montes and by the said Peña occupies the banks of the San Antonio River; and from the corner of the labor of the said Peña up to Parrita Creek the banks of the San Antonio River are occupied by the lands of the Rancho of Espada, named Las Cabras; and from the said creek of Parrita up to the Puertecito of Espanto Perros; from the Puertecito of Espanto Perros up to Blanco Creek the banks of the San Antonio River are occupied by the lands of the Delgados . . .[51]

This description indicates that the original ranchlands of Espada extended much further north and west along the south bank of the Medina River than they did later.

Fray Juan Morfi, in December 1777, identified the boundary markers of Espada's ranch at the crossing of the road from the Rio Grande over the Medina River: "A little further along . . . on the right of the road are seen some rocks on which are painted some crosses to indicate the boundary of the lands of the Mission San Francisco de Espada."[52] By this date, however, Espada had apparently lost its claim to this portion of its ranchland.

Don Rafael Martínez Pacheco, interim governor of Texas, stated the effective limits of the ranch:

> The mission of Espada may round up its aforesaid cattle from its rancho, called Las Cabras, within a direct line up the San Antonio River to the division between the rancho of Calvillo and that of Peña; from here to the headwaters of Padre Mariano

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[49]Ortiz, 1745, 9:1271.

[50]GLO, Spanish Archives, Vol. 50, p. 81.

[51]Valverde March 9, 1772, 3:3605-3606. The Delgado ranch was called San Cristóbal de Espanta Perros (Jackson, Los Mesteños, p. 385. The boundaries of the Delgado ranch given here are approximately those of the ranch of La Mora given by the 1787 roundup agreement.

[52]Fray Juan Morfi, Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico, translated by R. E. McDonald *****Use my copies of the published Spanish text: check the two versions and revise this translation.***

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> Creek and Picoso Creek; from here in a direct line to Lucas Creek; from here to Santa Figenia Lake; from here in a direct line to the headwaters of the Los Gatos [Los Cortes Creek?]; from here in a direct line down to the Lake of Las Animas; and from here upriver to the same ranch of Las Cabras.[53]

The land along the south bank of the Medina River west of the Montes and Peña ranches was no longer considered part of Rancho de las Cabras. This change was probably the result of legal action that made this property available to the general public sometime after 1772.

The last available description of Rancho de las Cabras was made by governor Manuel de Salcedo in 1809:

> The lands belonging to the mission [of Espada extend] from [the pass] of Chayupines as far as la Parrita Creek, for the entire bank of the River San Antonio, bounded on the east by the lands of the Delgados [Rancho San Cristobal de Espanto Perros]; on the south extending to the Atascosa River, from the west toward the east as far as the Rancho de Peña [Rancho San Yldefonso de Chayopin], Peña Creek serving as the boundary.[54]

There are obvious difficulties with the directional statements, but the landmarks themselves are recognizable from the earlier descriptions. Salcedo added that this description was based only on unofficial documents and popular opinion, because no title with official boundaries was available. The actual deed for the Rancho de las Cabras property is still unavailable.

In 1756 the cattle of the ranch numbered 700, and there were 1950 sheep and 103 horses.[55] Again, no ranch was specifically mentioned. Not until 1762 is there a mention of a ranch or its buildings. In this year, 1272 cattle, 4000 sheep and goats, 156 horses, and 9 burros were on the ranch. It was described as having "un casa de piedra," a house or structue of stone, where the families lived who worked the ranch, and where the necessary tools and equipment were kept.[56]

In 1772 all the Queretaran missions in Texas were turned over to the Missionary College of Zacatecas, and the Queretaran friars in turn assumed responsibility for the Jesuit missions in Sonora. The Jesuits had been forced to give up their missionary work in New Spain in 1767, and Queretaro was given the administration of their missions in the Pimeria Alta and Baja on July 8, 1767.[57]

As part of the transfer of the missions from Queretaran to Zacatecan, a complete and detailed set of inventories and descriptions of the four Queretaran missions of San Antonio was compiled. The inventory for Espada draws a precise word picture of the ranching facilities of the mission and its ranch:

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[53]Don Pacheco, January 8, 1787, BA 18:7.

[54]1793 -- Disposition of final mission properties of Missions Concepcion, San Jose, San Juan, and Espada, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 1800-1819, pp. 221-226, typescripts in the Barker Archives, University of Texas at Austin.

[55]Ortiz 1756 vol. 1.

[56]Dolores 1961, p. 259.

[57]Bringas 1977, p. 38.

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> The mission has on this river at a distance of eight leagues [about 21 miles] a ranch for the protection of the herdsmen from the hostile Indians. It is enclosed by a wall of stone of a vara in width [about 2.8 feet] and three varas in height [about 8.3 feet]. The said wall has a length, or circumference, of one hundred fifty eight varas [about 438.8 feet]. Item: it has two entrances with their gateways and gates, one towards the river and the other towards the plain. Item: it has on the inside four jacals of wood and thatch . . .[58]

The inventory lists all the tools and other items in the ranch buildings that were the property of the church. One of the houses was used as a chapel, with "a table for an altar, a platform under the table, and a small picture of St. Francis." The ranch had "an adequate corral of nailed and tied timbers, and four bull-pens of the same material with their barricades and gates for the large livestock and horses."[59]

The inventory of 1772 lists the animals at the ranch:

Horse Herd	
First, 281 breeding mares	
Two-year-old fillies:	51
Stallions for the aforesaid:	81
Two-year-old colts:	57
Two-year-old female mules:	15
Two-year-old male mules:	17
Young female and male mules to be branded:	41
Colts and fillies to be branded:	156
Burros which are mesos or mestizos:	8
Gelded burros:	3
Mules of age:	7
Domesticated Mules:	18
Ten female burros with their caballo padre	
Six small branded burros	
Domesticated male working horses:	75

Pigs

First, 12 sows with three male pigs; an allotment of about twenty pigs kept separate for the Ranch.

Small Livestock

The flock or sheep herd:	1,100
The Vaciada:	1,621
Goats:	22

[58]Gumiel 1772. 15:1371-1373: a second copy slightly different from this is in 10:4224-4226.

[59]Ibid. 15:4224.

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Large or Bovine Livestock at the Ranch

First, eight oxen	
Nursing cows (or milk cows):	150
Cows not nursing:	1,050[60]

In addition to the corral complex at the ranch, there was a small farm planted with fifteen almudes (about two bushels) of corn for the use of the ranch. This labor was fenced with branches or poles in the manner called tixera (scissors).

The ranch, its corrals and buildings, its herds, and the people who lived and worked there, all were one end of a supply system, the other end of which was Mission Espada. The corrals and livestock-handling arrangements at Espada, then, are the complement of those at Rancho de las Cabras. In 1772, "next to the mission there is a corral of posts, nailed and tied, of a size for oxen and nursing cows; its bullpen [with] barricades and gates. Item: another [corral] of the same [materials], more capacious, for enclosing cattle. Item: a small corral of posts, and in it a horse stable of the same material with its manger and roof of thatch."[61]

Elsewhere in the same inventory is the listing for "a small corral in which is enclosed sixty-eight goats, large and small, which are available for the restocking of the meat herd, and fourteen remain. Item: two gelded hogs being fattened are penned in their corral of wood, with a water trough."[62]

In addition, Espada had a herd of 75 domesticated horses and one domesticated mule "for its necessary chores,"[63] and forty yoke of oxen "for the cultivation of the fields . . . not counting others which have run into the woods, and 20 nursing cows."[64] The inventory adds that the total number of cattle owned by Espada, as estimated by those knowledgeable in this matter, "ought to be something more than three thousand head."[65] A total of all the figures from the various documents results in 733 horses, 99 mules, 27 burros, 34 pigs, 2621 sheep, 90 goats, 88 oxen, and an estimated 3000 plus cattle held by Espada.

What were these large numbers of animals for? Cattle and other livestock were valuable only insofar as they provided materials of use and worth. Horses, of course, provided transportation from place to place, and the means for the ranchhands to monitor and collect the other livestock. Sheep provided wool and meat, and goats supplied milk and meat. Pigs were meat sources, and mules and burros were riding and pack animals. Cattle supplied oxen for the heavy plowing. They also produced hides for all the necessary, innumerable leather goods used by the Spaniards; tallow and fat for lighting, lubrication, and soap; horn for carving and other uses; and, of course, meat. At Concepción during the early 1780s,

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[60]Ibid., 15:4224-4225.

[61]Ibid., 15:4220-4221.

[62]Ibid., 15:4220-4221.

[63]Ibid., 15:4225.

[64]Ibid., 15:4223.

[65]Ibid., 15:4221.

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four to six cattle were slaughtered per week for about 150 Indians.[66] Espada had a total of 174 Indians in 1772, and therefore would have been using about six cows per week, or something more than three hundred cattle a year for meat.

The Lawsuit of 1770

About 1770, when the missionaries of the Queretaran missions in the San Antonio River valley had begun preparations to turn the missions over to the Colledge of Zacatecas, a conflict arose between the San Antonio valley ranchers and the missionaries that would directly affect the future of the mission ranches. The full documentation of this legal battle is not presently available. Enough pieces of the legal papers, and references to the events exist, however, for a general outline to be formed of the terms of disagreement and its final outcome.

Apparently the secular ranchers felt that the mission ranches took up too much of the river valley, leaving insufficient good pastureland for the expanding civil ranching industry of the San Antonio area. The 1772 inventory of Espada, for example, remarked that Espada was attempting to claim twenty-four square leagues of land (sitios de ganador major) for its ranchlands. This claim was before the Lord Special Judge of Lands and Water as of 1772, and the question had not yet been decided "because of the unjust opposition of the [Canary] Islanders."[67] Since the recognized boundaries of Rancho de las Cabras includes something over forty square leagues of land, this must have been a claim for an additional twenty-four leagues. It is likely that the missions were attempting to acquire title to all the land that they had some technical control over, based on the grants of 1731, rather than title only to the lands they were using. The "unjust opposition" referred to in the Espada inventory was apparently the countersuit entered by don Vicente Alvarez Travieso and don Juan Andres Travieso, representing the citizens of San Antonio to protest the size of the mission ranches.[68] In this document, the Travieso brothers stated that the missions were claiming a total of 116 square leagues (about 784 square miles) of additional land for their ranches. They alleged that, if allowed, this acquisition would put virtually all the land of the San Antonio River valley and its tributaries in the hands of the missions, leaving none for the expansion of the ranches of the Villa of San Antonio.

The file of suits and countersuits came before don Diego Antonio Cornide y Saavedra, Special Judge of Sales and Distribution of Unappropriated Royal Lands and Waters. He reviewed the case: "By a document dated June 12th of this current year [1770], an appeal was made to the royal audiencia of New Spain on the part of the missions. On the 12th of July [1770] a decision was rendered by the president and the oidores denying the appeal asked for and ordering the papers in the case returned to me for execution." On August 12, 1771, the Special Judge ordered an inspection and assessment of all the mission lands, and a report returned to him within sixty days.

Governor Juan de Ripperda, on February 20, 1772, suspended execution of this order "until His Excellency, the Viceroy . . . considers it wise to order me to carry it out." According to the available documents, no further action was carried out. Nonetheless, some similar suit on the part of the Canary

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[66]Leutenegger 1976. p. 19.

[67]Gumiel. 1772. 15:4225.

[68]don Viente Alvarez Travieso and don Juan Andres Alvarez Travieso. "Land Claims: Protest of Vicente and Juan Andres Alvarez Travieso Against Claims of the Missions of San Antonio." Spanish Material from Various Sources. Barker Texas History Center. the University of Texas at Austin.

Islanders succeeded at about this time. ****Problem here. I have a photostat file of a set of things enacted in 1770 that reads a lot like all this, but doesn't seem to be the same thing.[69] Also, Fray Asisclos Valverde began his investigation of the actual extent of the mission ranches on March 9, 1772, about the right time if Ripperda received orders to continue with the survey.[70] And, in the Quaderno de advertencias, 2:2792-2808, on frame 2799 is listed "1771. Decreto del S.or Juez Privativo de tierra y agua D.n Diego Ant.o Cornide y Saavedra. p.a q.e en el reconocim.to de tierras y aguas de la missions y Presidio é Villa de S.n Fern.do se asocia.ra [not sure of the spelling of this word in the text] el Gov.or de esta Prov.a con el comissionado anterior de estas mismas diligenc.s" What is the real series of documents and the real final judgement? This is a critical question, because the actual ownership, land use, and everything associated with it after 1771 was determined by what really happened in this case. I have a summary of the Travieso documents, but it does not seem to be a summary of the Travieso documents I have from GLO Vol. 50, pp. 25-28rev. This must be sorted out before this paper can be finalized; it is the most important single topic to be included in the final paper. **Include some part of Jack Jackson discussion on this; need to acknowledge his work here, too.****

In 1778, Fray José Maria Salas of Valero petitioned governor Ripperda that he be granted certain lands which had once been in use by Valero's Rancho de la Mora, but which had been granted to private citizens in 1773. Salas reviewed the entire sequence of events whereby Valero lost the use of this land. According to his testimony, in 1770 the Lord Special Judge of Lands and Waters determined the effective limits of the Rancho de la Mora, which were considerably smaller than those which were, according to Salas, in actual use. After this legal determination, the land south of the new limits of Rancho de la Mora were granted to Felipe de Luna and Joaquin de la Garza in 1773. Because they never fulfilled the necessary terms of occupation required for full legal ownership (in the Spanish system of land tenure), Salas petitioned in 1778 for title to this land to be given to Valero, since it had always been used by the cattle from the ranch. His petition was granted, and the land was returned to the holdings of the Rancho de la Mora in 1778.[71]

The petition by Salas makes it clear that the Special Judge of Lands and Waters determined the effective limits of all the mission ranches of San Antonio about 1772, and those lands found not to be in actual use were made available for distribution to secular ranchers. For Espada this decision resulted in the complete loss of the land west of the Montes and Peña ranches and the opening up of the northern portion of the land south and east of the Peña ranch to settlement by private ranchers on a leasing basis. Valero lost five square leagues of the La Mora ranch, *****

****Concepcion, San Juan, San Jose lost nothing? Valero lost nothing of the Galvan lands?*****

Rebuilding at Espada's Las Cabras

By 1762 a casa de piedra had been built at the ranch. This phrase probably referred to the stone wall enclosing the jacal buildings on the site. This wall was described in more detail in 1772. The inventory said that it was 158 varas in circumference, or about 438.8 feet. The actual measurement of the interior

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[69]Expediente of don Diego Antonio Cornide y Saavedra. June 12, 1770. with acknowledgement by Ripperda dated September 2. 1770, GLO, Vol. 50, pp. 25-28rev.

[70]Fray Asisclos Valverde. March 9. 1772. 3:3600-3628.

[71]Salas 1778. vol. 4 (legajo 5), 1775-1780. pp. 164-175. Archivo de la Secretaria de Gobierno, Saltillo, Coahuila, in the microfilm collection of Our Lady of the Lake University. San Antonio, Texas.

circumference of the earliest stone enclosing wall at the ranch was 439.2 feet, a difference of about five inches. This serves as both a confirmation of the identification for this earliest form of the wall as the wall standing in 1772, and striking evidence of the accuracy of measurement that could be achieved by colonial surveying methods.

After 1772, when the college of Zacatecas took over the administration of the missions, a major change in the plan of the ranch occurred. The period of this change was probably concurrent with major rebuilding at Mission Espada, which was carried out after about 1775, the same period as reconstruction in most of the missions of San Antonio. It is likely that all the mission ranche structures were renovated or upgraded at this time; unfortunately, only the Las Cabras ranch buildings have been found and excavated. Mission San Juan began construction on a new church in ca. 1775, and the plan of this building included an octagonal sacristy similar to the various octagon-derived structures built at Las Cabras.

The renovation of Las Cabras, then, was part of a general Zacatecan effort to upgrade the more secular aspects of the mission system, even though this was at the expense of the formal missions churches. Construction on these stopped about 1780.[72]

At Las Cabras, the renovation took the form of a sequential building program. The first construction involved the changing of the northwest face of the hexagonal ranch compound to an acute angle. After the construction on the new wall in this area was completed, a hexagonal bastion ws added to the corner. Probably at the same time, a bastion of the same size and shape was added to the obtuse angle on the southeastern corner of the compound, and a stone chapel building with a semi-hexagonal apse was constructed on the northeastern face of the compound. The archeological evidence indicates that these bastions were filled with earth on the interior, and served to create a gun platform for musketry or a small swivel cannon, protected by a chest-high parapet of stone. The bastion was probably entered by a wooden stair or short ladder. The two bastions had a clear line of fire along the north, west, south, and southeast faces of the compound, but would have left the northeastern face of the compound without direct covering fire. To provide this, the chapel probably had a musket position on its roof. An addition was built onto the southeastern wall, extending it to the northeast far enough to enclose the front of the chapel within the compound, forming a churchyard at the front door at the same time.

The chapel was built onto the existing wall and northeastern corner of the original fabric, and plastered on the inside. Although no traces have yet been found, it is likely that the interior of the chapel had decorative paintings on the plaster.[73] In 1879, a description of Las Cabras indicates that some of the walls, probably those of the chapel, stood to a height of fifteen or twenty feet, while the original compound walls were only about eight feet high in 1772.

About the same time, four stone rooms were built into the northeastern corner of the compound, against the north wall and the chapel wall. The rooms and chapel were roofed with beams supporting a flat earthen roof. Crenelations, forming protective positions with firing slits, or embrasures, would probably have capped the chapel and both bastions.

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[72]For a more complete discussion of this, see Ivey and Fox, 1983.

[73]No excavations have yet been conducted inside the chapel. Such excavations must be avoided until money and expertise are available to stabilize the wall plaster as it is uncovered. Without such action, the plaster would weather off the walls within a few months or years.

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The Croix Regulations of 1778 and the Aftermath

The myth of decline. Especially, note that the Croix regulations were not enforced for some time after they were first announced, I think because the local ranchers, including the missions, asked for a period of grace that kept getting longer. I worked this out somewhere; where is the set of notes on this? Actual enforcement did not begin until well into the 1780s, if then. The claims that the Croix regulations contributed to the downfall of the missions can't really be supported because of this; also, look at the provisions themselves: what would actually happen to the missions when the laws were enforced?

Handing the Ranches Over to the Locals

The important thing here is to clarify that the land grant outlines on the General Land Office maps are not the outlines of the ranches as they were used.

Espada's Rancho de las Cabras

Sometime before 1778, don Ignacio Francisco Xavier Calvillo petitioned the governor of the province of Texas for title to "a piece of land where I maintain my livestock." He apparently received no action on this petition, and resubmitted it on May 17, 1778.[74] He specified that he was asking for "a ranch at the place called 'el paso de las mugeres,' between the Rancho de las Cabras and the Rancho del Challopin." Although there is no grant on file for this land, Calvillo's petition was approved, because from this time on he appears as a landowner among the ranchers of the San Antonio River valley, and in a further petition submitted Januar 19, 1809, he referred to the fact that he had "possessed . . . a ranch known as 'Paso de las Mujeres' . . . for about thirty-five years," or from about 1775, probably the date he began to use the land north of the ranch buildings of Las Cabras.[75]

Calvillo was granted full title to two sitios (two square leagues) of pasture in 1809, land which may have included the Rancho de las Cabras buildings. The available file ended with a simple cover letter from Manuel Diaz, alcalde of Espada, stating that he was sending "the document which discloses the chain of title for the land in question," and requesting that the document be returned "when this transaction has been completed so that I may file it in the Archives" of Espada. This was apparently done, since no claim of title is included. However, other documents in the files indicate some details of the history of Calvillo's ownership. For example, an earlier document was submitted by Fray Pedro Noreña, "apostolic priest and administrator of the said mission" of Espada, who had "examined the petition of Ygnacio Calvillo . . . I declare that the said Calvillo occupies the aforementioned 'Pasa de las Mujeres' which belongs to the ranch of this mission, with the permission of my predecessor the very reverend Father Fray Juan Botello." José Flores, the Sindico Procurador of San Fernando de Bexar at the time, reported that the property had been "establecido por el interesado en calida[d] de prestamo por ser tierras mercenados a la Micion de San Franc.o de la Espada [confirmed to the interested party

[74]Ignacio Calvillo to the governor of Texas. May 17, 1778. GLO Vol. 50. p. 187. The first petition was mentioned in this later petition filed in 1778.

[75]Ignacio Calvillo to the governor. Bexar County Archives. Mission Records. no. 36.

(Calvillo), in the form of a loan from the land granted to the Mission de San Francisco de la Espada]."[76] That the land was granted as a loan indicates that, although the new ranch limits of ca. 1770 permitted secular ranchers to acquire mission land, the missions still had some control over some of the land. In a parallel case, the subdeacon don Manuel Sambrano on January 26, 1809, petitioned for four sitios of pasture around his ranch called La Purísima de las Animas.[77] He stated that "although in another time, this land was settled by the Mission Espada, it was abandoned about twenty years ago," or about 1790. This probably refers to the secularization of the mission lands in 1794. The residents of Espada Pueblo objected to the land being granted to Sambrano, but their claim was overruled by governor Salcedo on March 4, 1809, and the land was granted to Sambrano on March 20, 1809. Obviously, some of the ranch lands of Espada were still being disposed of in 1809. Calvillo's original claim, however, dates to the early 1770s, and appears to derive from a different set of legal and economical considerations altogether, rather than the disposal of secularized mission lands as occurred after 1794.[78]

There can be no doubt that Calvillo was considered a legal landowner by all parties prior to 1809. In the long and detailed set of agreements reached among the cattle ranchers, religious or secular, on January 8, 1787, Espada's territory for rounding up cattle was described ****add the 1787 boundaries to the other mission discussions as well*** as "from its ranch, called Las Cabras, in a straight line up the San Antonio River to the line between the rancho of Calvillo and the rancho of Peña." On November 8, 1791, an official listing of ranches was prepared for governor Manuel Munoz.[79] Calvillo was listed as the "dueño del de Ntra. Señora de Guadalupe de las Mugeres," in the section of the report headed "siguen los que se hallan Sin Gente y con Vienes [there follows those ranches which are without people and with improvements]."

Calvillo, then, was a legal landowner, operating a ranch leased from part of the ranchlands of Espada beginning about 1773 or 1774, a procedure permitted by a legal decision against all the missions made sometime between 1770 and 1772. Calvillo apparently maintained no permanent ranching facilities on the property, but did have "improvements;" probably corrals, and perhaps the equivalent of bunkhouses for the men he would have periodically sent to round up his livestock. Calvillo himself, and his extended family, continued to live in San Fernando de Bexar until about 1790, when he moved to Mission San Juan.[80]

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[76]Bexar County Archives. Mission Records no. 36.

[77]Bexar County Archives. Mission Records. no. 37.

[78]Courtenay J. Jones and Anne A. Fox. Archaeological Testing at Rancho de las Cabras. Wilson County. Texas. Third Season. Archaeological Survey Report no. 123 (San Antonio: Center for Archaelogical Research. The University of Texas At San Antonio. 1983). pp. 3-14.

[79]Arocha 1791. BA 21:872.

[80]Courteney Jones has suggested that the documentary evidence for Calvillo's ownership of the Paso de los Mujeres ranch land implies that Espada had successfully reaquired the land from Calvillo circa 1794. similar to the reaquisition of a portion of La Mora by Salas in 1778. Certainly the Las Cabras documentation is patchy enough to permit such a move by the mission without it being in the available record. As more documents are found in the future. Jones's suggestion should be kept in mind so that such a manuever on the part of the mission would be recognized. if it happened. See Courtenay J. Jones and Anne Fox. Archeological Testing at Rancho de las Cabras. Wilson County. Texas. Third Season. Center for Archeological Research Survey Report no. 123 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio. 1983). pp. 5-6.

The remainder of the Espada ranchlands, including the Las Cabras buildings, continued in use by the mission through 1787, and probably until the secularization of the mission's property in 1794.[81]

By 1809, Calvillo was living on the ranch, and there was an extensive complex of structures and a relatively permanent staff of small-farmers.[82] This group of buildings was located about 5.12 km northe of Rancho de las Cabras on the west bank of the San Antonio River.[83] Some of the farmers lived permanently on portions of Calvillo's land, while others lived in San Fernando de Bexar and periodically visited their farm plots. These farmers rented from Calvillo, or share-cropped.

On April 15, 1814, Calvillo was murdered by his own granson, Ignacio Casanova, during a raid on the ranch buildings by Casanova and a group of others, including several Indians. A chest containing a quantity of money was stolen during this raid, and several of the jacal buildings of the ranch were set on fire. This misfortune for Ignacio Calvillo was of great benefit to historians, because the constabulary in San Fernando carried out a detailed inquiry of the murder, and the testimony of most of the people present in or near the Calvillo ranch buildings at the time of the raid was recorded.[84] Fifteen persons were interviewed, and the fifty-five pages of descriptions of their activities before and during the day of the murder relates a fascinating and detailed look at the life and organization of a ranch during the last years of the Colonial period.

The testimony states that eight laborers were present who worked farms on the land of the ranch. Three of these were small-farmers who had an arrangement with Calvillo for the use of his land for the growing of their own crops. The other five worked for the ranch itself. The ranch had a mayordomo, or foreman, who had been a tailor in San Antonio before he moved to the ranch. The foreman and the five ranchhands lived in the ranch compound itself, as did Calvillo and his wife. They had two houshold servants, man and wife. Living in the compound on a temporary basis were Ignacio's daughter, Maria Calvillo, and her physician. Visiting at the time of the murder was a pastor under the subdeacon Manuel Sambrano. The laborers who worked the fields leased from or share-cropped for Calvillo did not live within the compound, but usually referred to themselves as "sleeping in the fields." This document reveals the intricate relationships between landowners, laborers, and small-farmers during this period. Whether such arrangements were traditional in the valley, and whether the missions worked within these same traditions, cannot yet be answered.

Maria Calvillo and the Calvillo Ranch

After Calvillo's death, the history of the ranch is vague for a number of years, until his daughter Maria del Carmen applied for a new title to the land in 1829. The intervening fifteen years have a number of gaps. Maria had married Juan Lucas Gavino de la Trinidad Delgado in ca. 1781. They apparently lived in San Fernando de Bexar next door to Ignacio Calvillo, probably on his solar, or town lot, through 1804. In ca. 1810 she, and perhaps Gavino, moved into a house in Mission San Juan, and in 1811 they

[81]Bexar Archives, microfilm roll 18, frame 7; see also Jones and Fox, 1983, p. 4.

[82]Jones and Fox 1983, p. 6; Bexar Archives microfilm roll 47, frame 805, census of January 10, 1811.

[83]GLO Spanish Archives Vol. 31:99, February 17, 1834.

[84]Bexar Archives, microfilm roll 53, frames 686-714, Basave, May 1, 1814.

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were both living at her father's ranch.[85] About 1813 Gavino and Maria separated, apparently because of the political strife that became chronic in San Fernando de Bexar at that time. Later, in 1833, Maria stated that "her husband . . . died trying to defend the present government system."[86] In 1814 she stated that "she had left her spouse when the soldiers of the King entered into this city."[87] She moved back and forth betweem her house in San Juan and her father's ranch and was living there in 1814, when he was murdered. Soon afterwards she returned to San Juan, where she remained

In 1823 Maria received title to her solar in Mission San Juan, and in 1828 she applied for a new title to her father's ranch, the old title having been taken from her, she said, "together with the chest; . . . during the time of the Spanish government."[88] She moved to the ranch permanently soon afterwards, and was living there in 1832 when she applied for additional land for her ranch.[89] In October, 1835, J. H. Flores of the first squadron de Campeones de Libertad requisitioned three fanegas of grain and a cow from Maria at the ranch in the name of the Commanding General of Bexar.[90]

In 1844 Maria began to sell pieces of her ranch, and in 1845 she made out a will leaving her property to her two children, Antonio Duran and Maria Concepción Gortari.[91] She stated in the will that she had been married to Gavino Delgado and had two children by him, both of who were dead as of 1845. It is uncertain whether Maria Gortari and Antonio Duran were her illegitimate children. Supporting the idea that one or both were adopted is a note in the 1804 census stating that she had one adopted child, age 12. This was probably Juan José, a mestizo.[92] In the census of 1811, Maria Concepción Gortari is specifically stated to be adopted. In 1845 she indicated that ther daughter Maria was "emancipated," presumably meaning that she was legally an adult, while her son required a guardian, and was therefore somewhat younger than the fifty-three years that the 1804 census indicated he should have been.

Local tradition in the San Antonio River valley offers a closer look at Maria's life: "She was a great beauty who forsook her husband and took over the personal management of her ranch, aided by various

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[85]Jones and Fox, 1983, p. 6; Bexar Archives microfilm, roll 47, frame 805, census of the residence of Santa Cruz y Paso de las Mujeres; Bexar County Archives, Mission Records no. 6, December 27, 1823.

[86]GLO Spanish Archives, vol. 31:75, June 26, 1833. Courtenay Jones notes that Gavino Delgado did not die in 1813, as Maria Calvillo states, but in 1825, of "a pain." See Jones and Fox, 1983, p. 7, and San Fernando Archive, Camposanto Burial Records, 1825, #1252.

[87]Bexar Archives, microfilm roll 53, frame 686.

[88]BCDR vol. 2:375-78, August 28, 1828. This may have occurred at the time of her fathers murder in 1814, when a chest containing money was stolen from her father's ranchhouse.

[89]GLO Spanish Archives vol. 31:75, June 26, 1833.

[90]DRT Library, Smith Collection, J. N. Flores, "Receipt given to Maria Calvillo for the purchase of corn, fodder, and a steer by J. N. Flores, Calvillo Ranch, Dec. 30, 1835." A fanega was about 1.59 bushels.

[91]BCDR, vol. B2:316, September 3, 1844; vol. J1:68, August 10, 1851; see also Wilson County Deed Records, vol. 71:185-95.

[92]Jones and Fox, 1983, p. 6; San Fernando Archives, marriage records, 1811, #108.

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lovers. Although she bore her husband two children, she willed her estate to two other children fathered by her paramours."[93]

Maria died on January 15, 1856, at the age of 91.[94] She had witnessed the major part of the cultural change in Texas, from the missions as viable institutions when she was a child, through the Mexican War of Independence and the Texas Revolution, to the entrance of Texas into the United States when she was 80. She died as the stresses and disagreements between the northern and southern states of the Union began to move towards the Civil War.[95]

The remainder of Rancho de las Cabras was granted to Manuel Barrera in 1833.[96] He acquired a section he called El Rancho de las Cabras Viejas; the deed records indicate that he acquired a portion of the Espada ranchlands mentioned as containing "the ruined sheep ranch."[97] No ruins have been reported immediatly south of Las Cabras, but the area has yet to be surveyed carefully.

San José's Rancho San Lucas

Rancho San Lucas, or El Atascoso, remained in the hands of Mission San José until the conversion of the mission to a doctrina in 1794.[98] At that time the ranch was placed in the hands of the Indian families of Mission San José. Itemized in the inventory of lands and goods of the mission to be transferred to the Indians was a copy of the legal decision giving title of the Rancho to the mission, comprising a total of 49 pages. The title was described fully, including the dates of the final rulings, the names of Echavaria and Ybarburo, and the description of the ranch as "onze sitios de Ganado Mayor."[99]

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[93]Maguire 1972, p. 10. ***Full citation from Jones and Fox 1983 biblio***

[94]San Fernando Archives, Burial Records, 1856, #1227.

[95]The ownership history of the Calvillo property after 1844, especially the tract on which the ruins of Las Cabras stands, is admirably summarized in Courtenay and Fox, 1983, pp. 9-12.

[96]GLO Spanish Archives Vol. 41:9, November 29, 1833.

[97]Jones and Fox, 1983, p. 7.

[98]This is usually called "partial secularization" in histories of Texas. For a discussion of the change from misión to doctrina, see Fray Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas, Friar Bringas reports to the King, Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, ed. and trans. (Tucson: the University of Arizona Press, 1977), pp. 13-15.

[99]"Ynventario de los bienes de Temporalidad de la Mision de S. S. José. . ." Governador D.n Manuel Munoz and Fray José Manuel Pedrajo, July 30, 1794, Saltillo Archives, volumes 1-7, frame 1578, OLLU. This is a microfilm copy of a set of photostats made of the manuscript copy of this inventory in the Saltillo Archives. The Saltillo manuscript is missing a page. The page was lost before either of the page numbering counts were marked into the manuscript, so its lack has apparently never been noticed. Fortunately a second manuscript copy of the inventory exists in the Spanish Archives of the Texas General Land Office, vol. 50, pp. 96-108, including the missing section. This page is very interesting because it contains references to buildings in the plaza of Mission San José. There is no other known documentation of these structures except archeological work carried out in the 1930s by H. P. Smith.

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Immediately after the item describing the deed in the inventory, the ranch itself was transferred to the Indians. It was again described as 11 sitios, including a shack on Leon Creek.[100] Since the present Leon creek was well outside the boundaries of San Lucas, this was probably a copyist's error for Lucas Creek. The transfer included all the livestock on the ranch, which had not been counted and was not listed in the inventory in any other way. The phrasing of the itemization implied that a large number of cattle and horses were known to be present on the ranch. This indicates that Mission San José was not as poverty-stricken in 1794 as some historical studies have suggested.

The ranch continued to be operated by the Indians of San José until 1833. It was described by Governor Manuel Salcedo in 1809 as being "at San Lucas near the Medina River."[101] The ranch was sold to Padre Refugio de la Garza on January 16, 1833. The transfer included survey notes which were a close copy of the original 1767 survey. The persons selling the land were stated to be naturales de la extinguida Mission de S. José, "natives of the extinguished mission of San José," and "sole heirs to the 11 sitios of land granted to their ancestors by the Spanish Government".[102] Padre Garza sold the land to John McMullen on July 24, 1834.[103] Again the survey of 1767 was used as the legal description of the land. McMullen sold pieces of the ranch over the next few years. Probably the most important sale was of the portion west of the Medina River to Henri Castro on August 22, 1844.[104] This transfer included a plat and field notes which followed the boundaries used in the original Spanish colonial survey notes, but gave them in the form used by Anglo surveyors, using geographic bearings and distances:

> Beginning at the top of Padron Hill; Thence S 9°W 15,190 varas to the crossing of Cottonwood Creek. Thence with the meanders of the Pita Trail or road to the crossing of sd. road on the Rosales Creek. Thence N 19°W 36,000 varas to a pile of rock set forth as a corner of this survey. Thence N 72°E 19,000 varas to top of the Loma Alta. Thence S 70°E [should read S 78°E] 12,200 varas to the place of beginning. . . James B. Collingsworth, dep'ty surveyor, by order of District Court of Bexar County. John James, surveyor. . . John C. Hays, County Surveyor of Bexar County.

The portion transferred to Castro was incorporated into Castro's colony, which prior to this did not reach eastward to the Medina. The city of Castroville was built on part of this land.[105]

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[100]Munoz and Pedrajo, "Ynventario. . . de S. S. José," frame 1578, OLLU.

[101]Governor Manuel de Salcedo to Bernardo Bonavia, June 19, 1809, p. 224, in the transcripts of the Audiencia de Guadalajara, 1800-1819, pp. 221-226, Archivo General de Indias, Barker Texas History Center, the University of Texas at Austin, Texas.

[102]Antonio Garcia et al. to Padre Refugio de la Garza, January 16, 1833, no. 311, Land Grants and Sales, Bexar County Archives, Office of the County Clerk, San Antonio, Texas (hereafter called BCA).

[103]Padre Refugio de la Garza to John McMullen, July 24, 1834, no. 442, Land Grants and Sales, BCA; a copy is also in the Bexar County Deed Records (hereafter called BCDR), vol. E2a[Spanish], p. 36 rev.-37 rev.

[104]John McMullen to Henri Castro, August 22, 1844, vol. B2, p. 293, BCDR; finalized November 24, 1844, vol. C2, p. 5, BCDR.

[105]Audrey G. Goldthorp, Castro's Colony, M. A. thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, June, 1928, p. 88.

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The landgrant called "El Atascoso," made in 1831 to José Antonio Navarro, did not include any part of the San Lucas/El Atascoso ranch of Mission San José. Navarro apparently named his property after the river on which it was established, unintentionally creating the subsequent confusion among historians.

The outlines of the San Lucas/El Atascoso ranch were recorded on several maps showing land grants in Bexar and Medina counties, part of the records of the Texas General Land Office. Here it was named the "McMullen Grant," with no reference to San Lucas or to Mission San José.

So it was that through an odd sequence of events the ranch of Mission San José was lost to history. The legal history and descriptions of the ranch were filed away under the name San Lucas, and its association with Mission San José was lost to recent historians by a copyist's error, changing the namesake creek from Lucas to León. The boundaries of the ranch were marked on maps in the General Land Office, but because they were given the later name "McMullen Grant," their association with San Lucas was lost. Fray Solís mentioned the popular name "El Atascoso" for the ranch of San José in a journal that received the attention of historians in the early decades of this century. Since all the other evidence about the ranch was filed under names with no apparent connection to the mission, the ranch was erroneously assumed to be the same as the landgrant in the same general area and using the same name established by José Antonio Navarro in 1831. Now that the confusion has been sorted out, the available information can be assembled into a far more detailed description of the ranch than was previously possible. More important, it is very likely that other references to the ranch exist in the archives, but have never been picked out because of the name difficulty.

The Ranches in 1809

Concepcion: Los limites de la Concepcion son por el sur el paso del Nogal a distancia de una legua, desde donde caminando para el Este otra legua se encontrará con el Salado, desde cuyo punto Norte Sur havra otra legua hasta el Camino de la Bahia, y esta misma distancia desde donde encontró el Salado, tendrá de ancho como ocho leguas siguiendo el rumbo, y sirviendole de lindero ó Sibolo para el Arroyo le quedan libres como quince leguas.[106]

La Mision de San Josef mantiene en calidad de bienes de comunidad onze sitios de ganado Mayor que se hallan en San Lucas sobre el Rio de Medina los que compró á S. M. quando los Padres Misioneros corrian con las Temporalidades segun consta por el Testimonio que existe en el Archivo de la Mision de las Diligencias que se practicaron al efecto el qual les fue embiado de Mexico por orn. de aquella Real Audiencia en el año de 1766 . . . Sus limites son desde el centro de ella para el Sur al Arroyo de la Piedra, para el Norte el Rancho del Sor. Cura Valdes, para el Oriente el Rio de San Antonio y para al Poniente hasta el Rio de Medina.

The odd thing about this is that San José owns all the land between the Medina and San Antonio Rivers on the northeast and southwest, and from the egidos line from the Paso de Nogalitos on the San Pedro to the Paso de Jacalitos on the Medina, to the confluence, except those lands along the egidos that belong to Valdes, and those lands along the San Antonio that belong to Espada. San José's land, therefore, did not adjoin its ranchlands along the Medina.

[106]Manuel de Salcedo. June 19. 1809. Archivo General de Indias. Audiencia de Guadalajara. 1800-1819. pp. 221-226: 1793--Disposition of Five Mission Properties i.e. Ms. Concepcion. San Jose. San Juan. and Espada. in the collections of the Barker Texas History Center. the University of Texas at Austin.

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La de San Juan tiene por limites desde el fondo de ella Camino que sale á la Bahia mas de cinco leguas de ancho y cogiendo desde el Aguila Camino recto á la Bahia hasta la Laguna de Pataguillos diez leguas, y desde el Sibolo en los manantiales hasta San Bartolome siete leguas de ancho. Los Españoles tienen Casa en la Mision, y en la Lavor tierras para sus sembrados en calidad de arrendatarios [renters, tenant farmers].

La de San Fran.co de la Espada tiene por linderos desde el fondo de ella la presa por el lado del Norte; por el Poniente hasta la punta de la Laguna, por el Sur hasta el Atascoso Camino de Rio grande, y por el Oriente desde la punta de la Laguna hasta el rancho de Luis Perez: Las tierras pertenecientes a dicha Mision desde los Chayupines hasta la Parrita por toda la orilla del Rio de San Antonio, lindando por el Oriente con las tierras de los Delgados; por el Sur llegan hasta el Atascoso, desde el Poniente para el Oriente hasta el rancho de peña sirviendo de lindero la havrita de Peña. Todo lo expresado consta solamente p.r papeles simples ó p.r publica voz, y nada p.r titulos de posecion. Los Españoles tienen tambien en la Espada Casa y tierras de Laborio en calidad de Arrendatarios.

The land within the rincon between the Medina and the San Antonio was divided between San José and Espada, but the place names are not familiar enough for me to figure out the actual edges of the two. Espada's land appears to have adjoined the northern limits of its ranchlands south of the Medina. The limits of the two territories of San José and Espada within the rincon need to be established.

Need some tracking of the sales of the other ranchlands to private owners, such as the Monte Galvan and El Pasthle lands. La Mora? Jackson and Thonhoff between them will allow some sort of statement about La Mora, Galvan, Pasthle, and Pataguilla.

The La Mora ranch was sold to Erasmo Sequin. Monte Galvan core areas sold to Rodriguez, the Rancho de las Hermanas, and possibly Gortari. Check on these in Jackson and Weddle and Thonhoff.

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Chapter 4
STRUCTURAL HISTORY OF THE
SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS, 1720-1827

Introduction

The missions of San Antonio were established and built within the context of the development and methodology described in the preceding chapters. The present chapter will review the history of construction at each individual mission during the colonial years to about 1780. The period from about 1780 to final secularization and the breaking up of the missions into private land-holdings will be discussed in Chapter 4. The sources of information upon which this review is based are scant. Some familiarity with these sources, and especially with their limitations, is necessary in order to Understand the method of presentation of the structural history of each mission. Presentation of the structural history of each mission.

First of all, it will be recalled that the four missions within the National Historical Park were originally established and operated by two different Franciscan missionary colleges, those of Querétaro and Zacatecas. The two colleges seem superficially to be virtually identical, and in fact the college of Zacatecas was established by that of Querétaro in 1707. However, in practice the two colleges demonstrated a number of differences, at least as far as their methods of keeping records. A series of formal reports on the condition of the Querétaran missions is available, each following the same general format. Such formal reports are presently not available in any number for the Zacatecan mission, San José; in this case, letters and diaries constitute the principal records. Formal inventories are available for all the missions, but again there are distinct differences. The major Querétaran inventory showed far more concern for spatial arrangement and dimension than the various Zacatecan inventories, although both went into detail about furnishings and supplies in the rooms inventoried. The result is that the spatial layout of San José is somewhat more difficult to reconstruct than those of the Querétaran missions.

The Querétaran missions reached their peak of development as missions by 1772, when they were transferred to the care of the College of Zacatecas. San José, that with the departure of the Querétarans in 1772 became the Father President's mission for all Texas missions, was in the process of building a new church and rebuilding the convento. From about 1775 the Franciscans began planning for the eventual secularization of the missions. They shifted emphasis from the religious structures of each compound to the more secular. Churches were finished in one form or another as best they could be, but wheat mills and granaries were built new. Additional housing was constructed at the southern missions, reflecting shifts in the populations of the San Antonio River Valley.

The change in priorities transformed the missions. By partial secularization in 1794, the two southern missions had been changed almost beyond recognition; the new church and rebuilt convento of San José were completed, anticipating that this mission would become responsible for the other three and would keep its resident missionaries the longest; and Concepción, falling between the currents of change at the other missions, began to stagnate.

All four missions were inventoried during the partial secularization of 1794, but there was a considerable difference between the amount of detail recorded at each one. San José was thoroughly inventoried, while the ex-Querétaran missions as a whole received noticeably less attention. The final secularization inventories of 1823-24, and the subsequent appraisals in 1827, although they pertain primarily to the period covered in the next chapter, contained critical information for working out the plans of the missions in the colonial years. They are all quite good, but not all the missions have a full set of these

records available. For a detailed discussion of the early documents, see Appendix IV, "Documentary Sources 1720-1824."

Physical Information

In addition to the written records, each of the four missions preserves a second set of data in their physical remains, both above and below ground. The surviving structures vary considerably in their ratio of original structures vary considerably in their ratio of original construction to later renovation and reconstruction, and in the level of our knowledge of below-grade structural details.

Archeology at the four missions has not been conducted within any specific research guidelines. The majority of the work was prompted by salvage or mitigation considerations, contributing only secondarily to knowledge of construction history. However, most of the work was carefully done and the structural information thoughtfully appraised. Although some of the conclusions reached by various investigators have been questioned or discarded in this study, the present report would not have been possible without the efforts of all the researchers over the past fifty years.

As a rule, the three Querétaran missions have a higher percentage of their subsurface remains known. The core information at San Juan and Espada is made up of measured drawings of subsurface investigations made by Harvey P. Smith in 1933. Smith recorded stone walls, but ignored adobe walls and traces of jacal wall trenches. He did not fully trace all the walls he found, but only recorded fragments as far as he traced them, and made no attempt to record any information about the apparent temporal relationships of these walls.

Subsequent work by Mardith Schuetz at San Juan considerably upgraded our information about the details of the archeological remains at that mission, and added much chronological information. The combination of Smith's original information, Schuetz's subsequent expansion of that information, and recent documentary research is sufficient to work out a developmental sequence for the mission with good agreement between all the sources.

Since Smith's contributions, little of significance has been added to our knowledge of Espada. However, this mission seems to have followed the least complicated development of the four missions, and Smith's plans are sufficient to reconstruct its structural history with some confidence.

Smith's work at Mission Concepción was limited principally to the area south of the present church and convento. Concepción did not follow a developmental sequence like San Juan and Espada, and by good fortune the area in which Smith did work contained information critical to the understanding of this anomalous sequence. Subsequent excavations by Scurlock with the Texas Historical Commission, and Ivey with the Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Texas in San Antonio, were sufficient to fill in the data that Smith missed. These excavations, along with documentary research conducted by Ivey, are sufficient to permit a structural history of Concepción in approximately the same detail as those for Espada and San Juan, despite the lack of the 1824 secular inventory.

Mission San José presents greater difficulties in regard to archeological work. The greatest problem is that the measured drawings of the foundations actually found by Smith are not available, if they were made at all. All that is available are the reconstruction drawings. If these follow the methodology used by Smith at San Juan and Espada, then they incorporate a number of structural details added by Smith to the original foundations. At Espada, for example, he added an entire gate fortification to his plans

of intended reconstruction where no such structure existed. In other words, there is no way to tell Smith's own ideas from actual structural traces in the reconstruction plans.

The various reconstruction plans made by Smith, and rough-pencilled planning sketches apparently based on field measurements of foundations, do give us some information about wall traces other than those beneath the present reconstructed Indian quarters. Based on these drawings, Smith never carried out a comprehensive program of foundation tracing in the plaza itself, as he did at San Juan and Espada. The result is that we have only a random scattering of foundation fragments located in the plaza, and no coherent pattern can be made of them. Subsequent archeology has added some further details in these areas, but still, no significant pattern has been revealed. Because of this, far less is known of San José's full plan than of the other three missions, resulting in a somewhat more uncertain structural history.

Methodology

An intensive review of the available historical documents has been conducted for all four missions. This information has been compared to evidence from archeology and from a detailed examination of the surviving fabric of the mission buildings. In many cases, the combined evidence of document, archeology, and surviving fabric leave little room for doubt regarding any given structural event. Where alternative explanations are likely, an attempt has been made to indicate the choices, and the reasoning which led to the conclusion. Throughout the research, the amount of information that was readily visible on the structures themselves, simply waiting to be seen and recognized, was a constant surprise. It has to be admitted that the deductive process was very enjoyable in its own right. No murder mystery, however well written, could rival the devious twists of plot that came up during the course of this research.

Based on the three principal sources of information, a narrative of the construction history of each mission has been worked out. The 1772 inventories of the Querétaran missions, the 1785 inventory of San José, and the 1823-1827 appraisals were the most critical documents in this process. The 1772 inventories were not available in Texas until the middle 197Os, and the appraisals, although available, were virtually unknown. without these records, it would be nearly impossible to reconstruct the full plans of the missions and the history of their construction. The research and reconstruction carried out before these documents were available was the best that could be expected, working with insufficient evidence. Harvey P. Smith, for example, recreated an acceptable visual image of San José using the few authentic details he had access to. It would be easy to find fault with a number of fine points in his restoration of San José, but these shortcomings are easily excused when the kind of data he had to work with is taken into consideration. Fr. Marion Habig offers a second example of what can be accomplished without the key documents. His Alamo Chain of Missions is the prototype of the present Historic Structures Report, and is an excellent compilation of the history of structural changes carried out at the missions. Even though a number of his conclusions are not agreed with here, his immense effort and clearly stated results are essential to the present study.

The history presented in this chapter is far from conclusive. It, too, is the best that can be done with the available documents. It is hoped that the work will continue; that the structural events described will be reevaluated as new documentary and archeological evidence becomes available. No one will be more pleased than the authors when new conclusions become necessary.

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Conclusions: Similarities in Mission Development

It is clear from the review of the structural histories of the four missions in this study that each followed a unique course of development. What is not clear are the similarities. Espada and San Juan, in spite of the visible differences in plan caused by construction in the later eighteenth and the nineteenth century, are strikingly similar in their original layout and the development they followed. Concepción and San José are also very similar in a more abstract way. These similarities will be reviewed briefly.

San Juan and Espada

The convento compounds at both missions were originally laid out as rectangles oriented almost exactly on true north. Both were virtually the same size: 45 varas (about 125 feet) north to south by 50 varas (about 139 feet) east to west. The cells of the fathers were on the west side, and were about 80 feet long. A row of workshops and storerooms formed the south side of each compound.

The enclosed pueblo of each mission was built on its north side, and the west wall lines of the pueblos were oriented about nine degrees east of north. The north walls were approximately east and west, and the east wall of Espada was oriented about nine degrees west of north. What little evidence there is for the first east wall of San Juan follows about the same angle. At each mission, an enlargement of the pueblo occurred in ca. 1780, extending the east side of the compound.

At each mission, the granary became the church, although at Espada, none of the attempts met with much success. Espada apparently never built a porteria: San Juan built one but closed it again before 1772. Both missions built refectories, and both converted them to other uses during the 1760s.

The changeover from an enclosed convento to an open one, as happened at Concepción, shows up even at these two southern missions. Their enclosed convento compound eventually became opened to the pueblo.

These similarities must be attributable to planning at a higher level than that of the individual mission. It is likely that they are the result of decisions made by the father president or his superiors.

Concepción and San Jose

Concepción and San José show similarities of a different nature. When Concepción was established on the San Antonio River in 1731, San José already had a permanent stone church with transepts, one bell-tower, and a flat earthen roof.[1] Its stone convento was already well begun, and was also laid out with a length close to 125 feet. Concepción built a temporary adobe church, and a stone convento oriented east and west like that of San José rather than north and south like those of San Juan and Espada; the size of this convento, however, was very close to the 125 foot dimension used at the

[1]The descriptions of the first church at San José indicate that it strongly resembles the churches built in New Mexico in the previous century. Although it is never stated explicitly, the San José church almost certainly had a transverse clerestory window, typical of the earlier missions. This is the most effective way of building a viga-supported roof at the crossing between the nave and transepts: some of the missionaries of Texas had probably worked in the New Mexico missions at one time or another, and most had certainly seen clerestories on flat-roofed churches in northern Mexico.

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southern two missions. In about 1740 it began work on the permanent church. This was larger than San Jose's church, and was to have transepts, two bell-towers, a vaulted roof, and a dome at the crossing of the transept. A room was built above the sacristy to serve as the office for the Father President of the Querétaran missions of Texas, and communicated with the church by a tribune high in one of the transepts.

Concepción's church was approaching completion in the early 175Os. San Jose's convento was virtually complete by that time, and apparently consisted of a central row of rooms with an arcade on the south and a second row of rooms or arcade on the north, and one second story cell for the father president of the Zacatecan missions of Texas. Concepción abandoned its first convento and began construction on a new building extending south from the front of the church. The new convento consisted of a central row of buildings, with an arcade on each side but it was vaulted like the church.

For unknown reasons, construction on the vaulted convento of Concepción stopped by 1759, and the buildings were completed with flat-roofed structures on a slightly different plan. In the mid-176Os, San José demolished its first stone church, and in 1768 began the construction of a church intended to have transepts, two bell-towers. a vaulted roof with a dome at the transept crossing, and a much more ornate facade than that of Concepción. It was planned to be considerably larger than the Concepción church, with a tribune for the father president. At the same time a complete renovation of the convento was undertaken, resulting in a much larger and more ornate building.

Meanwhile (ca. 1768), plans were being made to merge the Querétaran and Zacatecan missions under Zacatecas. Very soon thereafter, the new church of San José underwent a drastic reduction in length, and the transepts were removed from the plan.

The pattern of changes at the two missions appears to be directly related, originating at the level of the father president or higher. The obvious conclusion is that the two colleges were engaging in a process of one-upmanship, competing to see who could build the more impressive headquarters.

All four missions have fairly clear structural histories in the period from 1740 to 1824. Virtually nothing is known about the period before the beginning of the enclosure of the missions, starting in 1740-50. A glimpse of these early days can be seen at Concepción, where we are fortunate enough to have found the first adobe church, but no information on the many other structures is available, including the extensive Indian villages.

These were the formative years for the missions. a more thorough knowledge of how the missionaries dealt with problems encountered at the new sites would greatly increase our understanding of the later development of the missions. For example, the plan of San José before it was enclosed would probably tell us why the mission had the shape and layout it did when records became detailed enough for us to work out the locations of buildings. The same can be said of the other three missions. The origins of each plan are rooted in the first years on the site.

Most of this information will probably have to come from archeological investigation. It is unlikely that vital descriptive information about the missions in their first one or two decades is awaiting discovery in some archive. An awareness of what remains to be found on the part of scholars dealing with the American Southwest, and on the part of present and future personnel at San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, is the surest guarantee of retrieving critical information.

The San Antonio missions were begun during a period of reawakening interest in the northern frontiers of New Spain. They embodied solutions to problems peculiar to the central Texas area, and to old problems encountered in New Mexico and northern Mexico. A comparison of the missionary efforts in Texas and New Mexico, covering planning methods, construction, indoctrination of the Indians, and ways of dealing with political influences, would shed a great deal of new light on these areas and their histories. Such work might record changes in the field techniques of the missionary fathers, and point out the need for a comprehensive history of the Franciscan movement on the northern frontier, including administration, management, finances, supply, and architecture. McCloskey's history of the Querétaran college (1955), largely a review of the events associated with its formation and activities, does not take such a comprehensive view.

A number of questions about individual missions in the San Antonio group after 1740 remain unanswered. For example, the location and plan of the church of San José still has not been definitely determined. The evidence offered in this study is not entirely satisfying or convincing. Further archeological investigation and examination of extant structural remains are necessary before the history of the church and convento of San José before 1785 can be written with full assurance.

The narratives have raised a number of historical questions which could be resolved by a careful study of available documents. Many of these documents contain information which has either been overlooked or misunderstood. As is alwayS the case, the researcher must know the question before he can recognize the answer. Hopefully, the questions have been outlined with sufficient detail that future historical research will be able to see the answers when they are encountered.

Many areas remain to be considered. The present study stops, at the outer walls of the missions, but the complete mission system itself extended for many miles beyond them. No full understanding of the missions and their development can be achieved without an understanding of fields, planting, irrigation, cultivation, and harvesting; of the processing and storage of food and other raw materials; and of the

mission supply system. We have only the most rudimentary knowledge of the ranches outside the immediate vicinity of the; missions, and herds of livestock that were vital to their existence. Material recently available from the archives of Querétaro and Zacatecas confirms our ignorance,but little has been done to begin to cure this condition. A beginning has been made in excavations at the Espada ranch headquarters (Rancho de las Cabras), in the historical research of Robert Thonhoff and that of Jack Jackson on the cattle industries of the San Antonio River Valley in colonial times.

In addition to the subsistence and supply of the missions is the entire question of the details of their administrative system. For example, we still cannot write a complete list of the missionaries who worked at each mission, much less the lay brothers who assisted them, or the trained personnel who formed their professional staffs. Higher executive decisions of the colleges had sweeping effects on the missions at intervals, but not much is known about how the decisions were made or who made them. Intensive historical research will be necessary to illuminate such policy decisions, and we are just now beginning to see how they might have affected the history of the San Antonio missions. This is a forward step, The future of mission studies in San Antonio is likely to be an exciting world.

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Chapter 5
STRUCTURAL HISTORY OF SAN JOSE
Y SAN MIGUEL DE AGUAYO, 1720-1827

Introduction

San José was founded on February 23, 1720 (Valdes 1720 in Leutenegger and Habig 1978:28-42). The location of the original site is not certain. but recent archeology indicates that it may have been adjacent to the present site of Mission Concepción, established eleven years later. The histories of San José and Concepción influenced each other from the beginning, largely because of their proximity. San José set the pattern for the location of the other missions of the San Antonio Missions National Park. It is necessary to consider briefly the history of San José's movements before beginning the analysis of structural history on its present site.

The question of the locations and even the number of locations of Mission San José is a difficult one. The presently accepted story of the movements of San José is told succinctly by Fr. Habig in The Alamo Chain of Missions (1968:83-117). Habig says that the first site was on the east bank of the river and a little to the north of its present location (Ibid.:85). Between 1724 and 1727 it was moved to the west bank and south, and established on a lower terrace of the river. This move may have been prompted by the effort to establish another mission, San Francisco Xavier de Najera, between San José and San Antonio de Valero (Ibid.:86-87). Between 1739 and 1749 it was moved to its present location, perhaps because of unhealthful conditions at the lower site (Ibid.:88).

A number of documents have become available which permit a reevaluation of the evidence that forms the basis of Habig's narrative. They indicate that the sequence of events should be somewhat altered. The two most important points of this alteration are that Mission San José probably had only two sites, rather than three -- the original site of its foundation, and its present location- - and that it was probably moved from the original site to its present location in 1721, about a year after its founding, rather than in ca. 1740. A detailed discussion of this question is presented in Appendix I.

San José Before 1755

No good descriptions of San José are available from the time it was established on its new site until 1755. Between ca. 1721 and 1755, the first versions of the present church, convento, workshops, granary, Indian village, fields, and acequia system were constructed. The pattern discussed in Chapter 2 was probably followed, as it was followed at the other missions of this study: the church, convento and other buildings were first built in jacal; then in adobe; and finally, construction of permanent stone structures started.

This construction proceeded at the same rate as at the other missions. The Indian village was laid out like a small town in the traditional manner, with houses facing streets. Work on a stone church, convento, and granary probably began in the mid-172Os, and by the first brief description in 1744, the first stone church and convento were complete.

San José Church 1:

Church 1 was the iglesia de terrado (church with a flat earthen roof) described by Espinosa in 1744 (1964:758). None of the early documents indicates the relationship between the convento and this church, but it was a standard practice for these to be adjoining structures. Examination of the present

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structure of the church and convento of San José indicates that a portion of church 1 survives today, incorporated into the walls during the renovations of the 176Os and 177Os. It was located on the site of the present church, although offset towards the south perhaps half the width of the present church. A discussion of the evidence for this conclusion is presented in Appendix II (see Appendix 1, San José, sheets 16, 18).

This earlier church is well described. Mariano de los Dolores y Viana said:

> Tiene una Yglesia como de 35 baras de largo, siete de ancho, con su cruzero y alto correspond.te en la que estan quatro Altares. . . .
>
> [The mission] has a church about 35 varas [about 97 feet] long, 7 varas [about 19 feet] wide, with transepts of proportional height, in which theIe are four altars. . . .(Dolores y Viana 1755:5245)

Dolores y Viana added that the chuIch had a belltower with four bells, two large and two small.

A reference in 1757 to the replacement of roofing vigas confirms that the church had a flat earthen roof supported by vigas, not a vaulted roof. No reference was made to a dome over the transept crossing, and only a vaulted roof could support a dome. It is possible, however, that the building had a clerestory window like the flat-roofed seventeenth and eighteenth-century churches of New Mexico. The material from which the church was made was never stated, but the survival of a section of its end wall in the present buildings demonstrates that it was of stone.[1] A number of the altar furnishings, images, and other items inventoried in 1755 continued in use at the church even through later reconstruction, and were apparently still in use in church 2 in 1785.

The Convento:

Prior to 1755, only a very few brief references to the convento are available. In 1744 Espinosa stated that there was a "vivienda para los religiosos," a dwelling for the missionaries (Espinosa 1964:758). considering that the first stone church had been completed by that year, it is likely that the convento was also of stone, and was a core portion of the present building. In 1749 Fr. Ignacio Ciprian said in passing that there was a "convento con claustro serrado con su porteria, "a convento with an enclosed cloister with its entranceway (Ciprlan 1749 in Leutenegger 1978:98). The lack of any references to a second story in these statements probably indicate that none had been built until after 1749.

It is likely that San José's convento was constructed as a series of units, probably beginning next to church 1 and growing eastward.

Some information about the appearance of the convento in these early years is available in the descriptions and from archeology. The building was probably only one story high until some time between 1749 and 1755. Ciprian indicated the presence of a corredor on the ground floor in 1749 (see Appendix 1, San José, sheet 16).

[1]The belief that this church was built of adobe derives from an incorrect translation of Espinosa's phrase "iglesia de terrado," taken to mean "a church made of earth" rather than "a church with a flat earthen roof."

For some period of time the San José convento probably had an enclosing wall, creating a convento compound. Evidence for such a phase can be seen in Fr. Ciprian's statement that the convento had a "claustro serrado con su porteria," an enclosed cloister with a main entrance (Ciprian 1749 in Leutenegger and Habig 1978:98), and in Fr. Dolores y Viana's statement that the convento "tendia como 150 baras en circuito, con su claustro bajo," had a circumference of about 150 varas (about 416 feet) with a cloister on the ground floor (Dolores y Viana 1755:5247). Assuming a wall along the south side of the convento where the present garden wall now stands, and measuring along the exterior of the building excluding later construction, the convento has a circumference of almost precisely 416 feet. This close agreement with Dolores y Viana's estimate prompts us to accept the present convento and garden with an enclosing wall along the south side of the convento in the 1740s and 1750s.

Espada's convento took about 30 years to reach its full extent, 1731-1762, and Valero took approximately the same length of time. We may assume from this that construction on the stone convento of San José began in ca. 1725 or earlier. If the work proceeded along the general lines seen at Espada, then the first structures were probably one or two rooms long. The arcaded corredor along the south sides of the San José convento would not have been added until after the main block of rooms had reached completion. The lack of a master mason capable of arcaded construction in San Antonio before 1741 indicates that the corredors were built after that year. Their presence in 1749 indicates that the ground floor had reached its full pre-1775 extent by that year.

The convento would have ended at the point where the present easternmost rooms make an L-shaped extension south from the main body of the building. Structural evidence and the descriptions indicate that all these eastern rooms were added later in the history of the convento during the reconstruction of ca. 177O.

The 1755 inventory of the convento began with the introductory statement that it consisted of a first-floor corredor and thirteen rooms. Two oficinas, a cell, and a kitchen on the lower floor, and another cell on the second floor were then described (Dolores y Viana 1755:5247-5248). The 1757, 1785, and 1823 inventories of the second story cell and an associated balcony built in 1757 indicate that it did not change significantly from 1755 through final secularization. This, in turn, shows that the first floor room beneath it could not have changed during the same period, since its walls were part of the second story cell. The partitioning of the remainder of the first floor prior to the reconstruction of ca. 1770 cannot be determined from the inventory, but probably could be retrieved by archeology. The remaining eight rooms mentioned by Dolores y Viana as being in the convento may refer to such rooms as the porteria, the stairwell, a ruined room mentioned in 1757, possibly a latrine, and other rooms presently unknown. The second story contained only one cell, and had no corredor.

The Pueblo, Acequia and Fields:

Few details about the other components of the mission are available before 1755. The scanty references indicate that the acequia had been completed by 1724, and the fields were producing well.

The description of the mission in the founding document for the first site of San José in 1720 may be considered a description of the actual layout of the mission on the present location a few months later (in fact, mission and civil authorities may not have prepared a new founding document, since there is nothing in the original that was peculiar to the first site). The mission was set up around a plaza with blocks and streets marked out on each side, so that the blocks each had a front of 120 varas (about 330 feet). On the north side, a site was selected for the church with enough room for the cemetery and

convento. Sites were also selected for the other necessary buildings of the mission and the houses of the Indians. These elements marked out on the ground in 1721 influenced the growth and change of the mission throughout its life, and are still locked into the plan of the reconstructed mission compound of today.

In 1749 Fray Ignacio Antonio Ciprian said that the houses of the Indians were of stone, arranged along the streets in such a way as to make the mission "a veritable fort (Leutenegger and Habig, 1978:97-98)."

San José, ca. 1760

The Church

The Franciscans carried out a full refurbishing of church 1 in about 1756. The work was briefly described in the 1757 addendum to the 1755 inventory. Here Marmolejo said that the church and sacristy had been whitewashed and painted since 1755, a new retablo built over the main altar, the pulpit painted, and new window frames added to the sacristy and the window of the choir loft. He also remarked that a new floor and two new vigas had been put in the church, indicating the possibility that the church had a wooden floor (Marmolejo 1757:5251).

The Convento:

The 1757 addendum stated that the convento was whitewashed and painted, and a flagstone floor put into the corredor and porteria on the ground floor. There was no corredor on the second level. A previously unusable room had been renovated since 1755 with the addition of five new vigas to its roof, new wooden window gratings, and a new floor, and was serving as an oficina and refectory. In the cell on the second floor the balcony, a cupboard and a bookcase were built (Marmolejo 1757:5252). These are of interest because the balcony, bookcase and cupboard are easily identifiable in the 1785 inventory.[2]

The Workshops and Granary:

San José's workshops were not placed in a single, approximately square compound adjoining the convento as at Espada or Valero, but in two major groups. One of these was associated with the troje (granary), which is still standing in the north corner of the San José compound; the other was associated with the convento (see Appendix 1, San José, sheet 16).

The Granary:

The earliest description of a granary at San José is by Fr. Dolores y Viana in 1755:

> Troje. Tendra como treinta baras de largo y siete de ancho con dos corrientes y su granero, en la que avia como 150 faneg.s de maiz. . . .Yt. Una medida de media fanega y un almud.

[2]Marmolejo describes this construction in some detail, including the size and the materials from which the items were made.

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> Granary. It is about thirty varas long [about 83 feet] and seven wide [about 19 1/2 feet] with two corrientes and its granero, in which they have about 150 fanegas [about 7 1/2 tons] of corn. . . .Item. a measuring scoop of 1/2 fanega and one almud scoop. (Dolores y Viana 1755:5249)

A granero was probably a bin or compartment for the storage of a particular kind of grain or produce. A corriente may have been a chute of some sort, or the phrase dos corrientes could simply refer to two common doors. Puertes corrientes, or common doors, are referred to frequently in the 1823 appraisal, for example Musquiz 1823.

Some provision for the separation of stored material had to be made, since the stored supplies formed seed stock for the next planting as well as food supplies for the mission, and the mixing of corn and beans was not likely since the two were planted in separate fields. In addition, mixing would have made it very difficult to maintain an inventory of the supplies. Large volumes of each were involved; this can be seen in the addendum of 1757:

> La Troxe. Quedan en ella como 1500 faneg.s de maiz, 50 de frixol un Poco de Algodon escarmenado, y mas de 100 calabazas.
>
> The Granary. In it there is about 1500 fanegas [about 76 tons] of corn, 50 of beans [about 2 1/2 tons, a little combed cotton, and more than 100 calabashes [pumpkins, gourds, or squash.] (Marmolejo 1757:5254)

It is unlikely that 76 tons of corn and 2 1/2 tons of beans were just dumped on the floor of the granary; bins or partition structures must have been used to separate these and other stored goods. No evidence for the storage of these supplies in sacks has been seen, but it is likely that bags were used as part of the storage system.

The granary of 1755-57 was an early version of the granary of 1785, the same structure that stands at San José today. The sizes are correct as the exterior measurement for a structure with a length of three of the four bays of the present granary, as described by Fr. Solis in 1768: "troxe de bobeda de piedra y cal de tres cañones," a vaulted granary of stone and lime of three bays (Solis 1768 in Leutenegger and Habig 1978:144). The width of 19 1/2 feet is somewhat narrower than the present width of about 22 feet, interior measurement, but probably not significantly so. In colonial terms, the difference was only one vara.

The three bays of the 1755 granary were apparently the northern three bays of the present granary. An examination of the west wall of the granary, the only original long wall surviving since the east wall was rebuilt in the 1930s, indicates that the south bay was built after the northern three.

The Carpenter's Shop:

Associated with the granary were the carpenter's shop and the blacksmith's shop. Construction had begun on two buildings intended to be these shopS in 1755, and in the inventory of that year they were listed as incomplete. They were extensively damaged in a severe storm which occurred sometime between October of 1755 and August of 1757 (many of the other repairs which are listed in the 1757 addendum may have been the result of this same storm).

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Of the two, the building for the carpenteria can be identified with some certainty. In 1755 Dolores y Viana described the intended plan of this structure:

> Carpinteria. Esta tendra como 12. baras de largo, y un Portal con su techo, todo de piedra.
>
> Carpenter's shop. This will be about 12 varas in length [about 33 feet], and a portal (an arcaded porch or corredor) with its roof, all of stone. (Dolores y Viana 1755:5250).

Both this entry and the one for the blacksmith's shop had a marginal note stating "se caio y reedifico," it fell and was rebuilt (Ibid.), presumably during the storm of ca. 1756.

In Marmolejo's addendum written in August, 1757, he indicated that the carpenter's shop had been rebuilt:

> Carpinteria. Derrivo un temporal el portal, y se hizo nuebo, con quatro pilares fuertes de piedra; techo de buena madera con ormigon, y se blanqueo p.r dentro y fllera.
>
> Carpenter' s shop. A storm demolished the portal, and it was rebuilt with four strong pillars of stone; roof of good wood with cement, whitewashed inside and out. (Marmolejo 1757:5255-56)

The carpenter's shop itself was built against the east side of the granary at its north end. The portal was apparently a corredor with four arches, extending eastward from the shop a short distance. It was probably a covered work area for the carpenter, with the shop intended to store items needing protection from the weather and from petty theft, such as tools and finished furniture.

The Blacksmith's Shop:

As was the case with the carpinteria, the blacksmith's shop was started in about 1755, damaged in the storm of ca. 1756, and rebuilt by 1757:

> Fragua. Esta sera de ocho b.s . . .
>
> Forge. This is to be of eight varas [in length; ebout 22 feet]. . . . (Dolores y Viana 1755:5249)
>
> Fragua. Se hizo nuevo de 12 b.s de largo, con casa para el Herrero y su familia, techada de Zacate . . .
>
> Forge. It was rebuilt, 12 varas [about 33 feet in length, with a house for the smith and his family, with a thatched roof . . . . (Marmolejo 1757:5256)

It is possible that the 12 vara length given in the 1757 addendum mistakes the 1755 length for the carpenter's shop for the 8 vara length listed for the blacksmith shop, since the two are listed together. The blacksmith shop could, therefore, still have been 8 varas or 22 feet long.

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The Weaving Workshop:

This workshop is first described in detail by Dolores y Viana in 1755:

> Esta pieza tendra como Quarenta b.s es de piedra, con su portalr dos piezas en los extremos con sus puertas . . . .
>
> This building is about forty varas long [about 111 feet]; it is of stone, with a portal; two rooms at the ends with their doors . . . . (Dolores y Viana 1755:5250)

The location of the weaving workshop is not stated in any of the early inventories. In order to put the building in its place on the pre-1760 plan of the mission, evidence from later documents will be reviewed here.

The inventory of 1785 indicates that the weaving workshop was a total of 60 varas (about 166 feet) long, consisted of three rooms and a corredor, and was next to la casa. The phrase "la casa" usually meant the convento (see for example the description of the tribune above the sanctuary, which "cae al corrcdor de la casa", opens onto the corredor of "the house"). The obraje, then, was on one side of the convento.

The location of at least a portion of this workshop is specified in the documentation of sales from the Mexican Government to Juan Martin Veramendi. In the appraisal of December, 1823, the description of the east row of houses of the San José compound listed a section of single wall 37 1/2 feet long apparently extending south from the northeast corner of the compound, and then a roofless building 69 1/2 feet (25 varas) long and approximately 11 feet wide, interior measurements (Musquiz 1823:115). Additional information from other deed records indicates that there was a gap of unstated size between the section of single wall and the 69-foot building.

In the addendum to the appraisal, which lists property sales, Juan Martin Veramendi is named as the buyer of most of the convento as well as the 69 1/2 foot roofless building on the east wall of the compound (Musquiz 1823:116 rev.). In the deed transferring the property, the building appears as "the ruined walls of the structure which served as the obraje," 69 1/2 feet long (BCAMR:89). It was bounded on the north by the callezuela q.e corre por tras de la Iglesia (the little street which runs behind the church), and on the south by the plaza, which apparently meant that there was a gap on the south where the east gate had been, The property was sold by the heirs of Veramendi to the Church in 1854-59 (Heirs of Veramendi, August 31, 1848, BCDR M1:512; Heirs of Veramendi to John Twohig, November 22, 1854, BCDR M1:513; Heirs of Veramendi to J. M. Odin, October 19, 1859, BCDR H2:262, 264).

If the south end of the ruined obraje was at the north edge of the road running east-west across the plaza, as it must have been, then the total length of the obraje when complete could not have been longer than about 145 feet, the distance from the north side of the road to the northeast corner of the compound. The statement that the building was 60 varas or 166 feet long in 1785 must therefore be erroneous. If the number should have been "cinquenta" rather than "sesenta," the length of the building would have been about 138 feet. This would have made it end at the wall of the row of rooms along the north side of the compound. some portion of the building had been demolished to make the opening for the "little street" behind the church, leaving a structure about 69 feet long to be sold later. This probably was made up of the portal and the southern room mentioned in the 1755 report. If so, then the northern room was about 35 feet long. The portal was probably about the same size as that

on the carpenter's shop, or 40 feet. This leaves the length of the SOuthern room as 35 feet, the same as the northern room.

The documents indicate, then. that in 1755 the weaving workshop was just east of the convento. At that time it was 111 feet long, consisting of three rooms: the portal, about 40 feet long, a room about 35 feet long at the north end of the portal, and a second room of the same size at the south end. Walls were about a vara thick. The two rooms were used for storing the raw material and processing it. The weaving operation itself could take place in one of the rooms or in the corredor when the weather was appropriate.

The Pueblo:

The first clear descriptions of the appearance of the pueblo appear in the reports of the 1750s. The reconstructed pueblo of Mission San José which can be seen today is completely different from the picture presented by these descriptions. From its establishment on the west bank in about 1721 through ca. 1760, the pueblo of San José was an open village arranged in blocks or rows on streets. It had no enclosing wall or defenses other than the houses themselves. The earliest detailed description of this layout is in the Dolores y Viana inventory of 1755. He refers to the pueblo as the "rancheria," a word commonly applied to Indian villages or occupation areas in Central and East Texas:

> Esta se compone de 84 casas de piedra en forma de calles . . . .
>
> This is made up of 84 houses of stone [laid out] in the shape of streets . . . . (Dolores y Viana 1755:5249)

In 1757 Marmolejo adds:

> Se hizieron 12 casas de piedra y techo fuerte de madera encalabas p.r dentro y enfarradas p.r fuera, con su ormigon en los techos, y se compone cada ..a de sala competente cocina con su chimenea y corredor con pilares de piedra . . . .
>
> 12 houses were built of stone and a strong roof of wood, whitewashed on the inside and plastered on the exterior, with concrete on the roofs, and each one made up of a sala of sufficient size, a kitchen with its chimney, and a corredor with pillars of stone . . . . (Marmolejo 1757:5253)

As of 1757 these 12 houses were the only Indian quarters at San José which had arcaded corredors along the front.

Marmolejo's statement is usually taken to mean that 12 additional structures were added to the 84 already existing in 1755, for a total of 96 houses. It will be assumed here that the verb hacer was used in the sense of "to complete," or "to bring to a new state or condition" (Velasquez 1973:355), and that MaImolejo was speaking of rebuilding or completing 12 of the previously existing 84 structures mentioned by Dolores y Viana. If this is accepted, then we have no difficulty with the report of Governor Barrios written nine months later in 1758, which described the mission as an open village with 84 houses, not 96 (Barrios 1758 in Leutenegger and Habig 1978:131).

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Barrios' description is hard to interpret because it is poorly punctuated and written in a military jargon. He reported that the mission had 84 stone houses with flat roofs and embrasured parapets. Each house consisted of a room and a kitchen. There were four groups made up of 18 houses each, which accounts for 72 houses. Each house or each group of 18 houses was formed around an interior patio; probably the former. The casas reales, or government building (presumably the offices of the Indian governor of the Pueblo), faced the church across an area 222 feet on a side, which was used as the cemetery and the parade ground. This 222-foot square appears to have formed the main plaza of the mission village. The remaining 12 houses, along with the carpenter's shop, the granary, and the weaving workshop, formed four other plazas in addition to the main one. There is no indication that these 12 remaining houses had enclosed patios, and they might have been the twelve mentioned by Marmolejo a few months before. No military quarters are described by Barrios: he uses the word quarteles to refer to the Indian quarters. Much of the confusion among historians about Barrios' description stems from his use of several different words, all of which seem to refer to "squares" or "blocks, " which in turn have been taken to mean the four plazas mentioned later in the description. Barrios' description needs a careful, intensive retranslation.

Habig suggests that the houses were arranged in rows along the present wall lines, except that there were two rows on the south. This would make four blocks of houses, one along the east wall line, one along the west, and two on the south. One of these would be on the south wall line, and the second would be along a street further north in the present plaza. Each block would have had 18 houses, and each house had an enclosed area serving as its patio. The 12 houses remaining may have been along the north side of the present compound, north of the convento (Habig 1978b:51). Such a hypothetical plan does not conflict with the known archeology of the mission, and permits a logical line of development into the later enclosed mission. The rectangular structure discovered by Smith in the present plaza becomes the most likely candidate for the casas reales (Clark 1978: Fig. 1). With the enclosure of the mission in 1758-1768, the second row of houses along the south would have been removed, leaving three blocks of 18 each, or a total of 54 houses, as described by Mariano in 1785. Such an assumption implies that the 12 houses, which may have been on the north side of the mission, were also removed at this time, only to be rebuilt later in the 1800s.

Habig's suggested layout of the pueblo is very speculative. A more intensive interpretation of Barrios' description and further archeological investigation will be necessary before an accurate plan of the mission compound in the 17505 can be drawn.

Regardless of the details of the mission plan, it is clear that it underwent major changes between 1758 and 1768. About this time, the other missions were also converted from an open village to an enclosed defensive compound, probably because of increased hostilities with the Apache Indians. The change produced the enclosed layout of Mission San José described in the reports of 1768 and afterward, which is the plan familiar to us today.

San José After 1760

The Second Stone Church of San José:

The iglesia de terrado continued in use through the late 1750 (Barrios 1758 in Leutenneger and Habig 1978:133). A reappraisal of the needs of the mission, an anticipation of the upcoming transfer of Querétaran missions to the management of Zacatecas, and the example of the completed church of concepcion prompted the Franciscans to replace the old church in the 1760s.

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Antonio Salazar

[note that it is possible that another man designed and began San Jose. Salazar cannot be shown to be in San Antonio before 1779, and somebody was building the church at San Juan and the bastions and other buildings at Las Cabras sometime in here. How does the timing work out?]

Antonio Salazar was an Indian or mestizo from Zacatecas, born about 1733. He apparently trained in Zacatecas, and may have designed and carved the side portal of the church of San Agustin in that city. He apparently arrived in San Antonio in about 1766 or 1767, brought to design the present church of San Jose.[3]

He first appears in the surviving records in 1779, and lived at San Jose through at least 1794, when he was in his sixties. Salazar was in charge of the construction of the present church from at least 1779 through its completion in about 1782, and probably from the beginning. He was certainly responsible for the redesign that shortened the building, removed the transepts, and created the sacristy and its splendid window. Was also responsible for the final changes that deleted the second bell tower and substituted the false parapet in its place.

Salazar probably had a tremendous influence on the mission architecture of the San Antonio area, since after 1772 he would have been the master mason for all of the missions of Texas. Responsible for the redesign and rebuild of the granary at Espada in 1772? The redesign and rebuild of the Espada church in 1777 or so? The incomplete church at San Juan? If he did this last one, why didn't he get it finished? The conversion of the granary at San Juan? Design of the chapel and the bastions of the fortifications at Las Cabras, that are so like the unfinished church at San Juan? What about Valero during these years? Salazar became primary mason for all San Antonio missions as of the end of 1772 when the Zacatecans took over the Queretaran missions. This was planned from at least 1769 and perhaps earlier. Beginning in the late 1770s, planning for the secularization of the missions, with the necessary cutbacks on mission structures investment.[4]

Talk about the steps of the design process at San Jose, the construction of the church, and the construction and decoration of the convento, using my stuff from the HSR. Mention that this is on the same level of redesigning and rebuilding as that seen at San Gregorio de Abó in 1640-1650.[5]

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[3]Antonio Salazar's presence at the San Antonio missions can be proven only after 1779. His presence earlier is conjecture by Schuetz. However, some master mason was working in San Antonio by 1767, designing and building the present church of San Jose. Salazar's longtime association with San Jose and the certainty that he directed construction of the building after 1779 makes it very likely that he was indeed the originator of the church. Richard Garay has data from San Fernando church records that will add to this about when he was in town. He may have been intended to replace Gonzales or Losoya. Could be, however, that Gonzales continued working at Valero but also worked on San Jose designs in 1767, beginning construction there in '68. When Valero taken over by the Zacatecans, Gonzales transferred to San Jose construction. Then Salazar later, some date to be found.

[4]Salazar could also have been the designer of the church at Rosario with its strange arch. When was the church at La Bahia built? Who would have designed it?

[5]Many of the architects mentioned in this paper had professional lives before and after their work in Texas. Architectural historians should be able to trace them and locate their work in other cities of the northern frontier of New Spain besides San Antonio, Texas.

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Need info from Richard Garay before this goes much further, but should write it out as best I can so he can see where it is going and what, exactly, to look for. Give him major credit in the first footnote so that people know it is his research as well as Schuetz's work that supplies the data. Also mention John Leal's work in translating the San Fernando and Valero records if they produce what I hope they will.

Church 1 was torn down beginning in about 1765. When the site was cleared, new foundation trenches were excavated, and foundations laid in them. By the time the winter of 1767 began the foundations had been completed and above-grade construction on the new church was ready to begin (Solis 1768 in Leutenneger 1973). At the time of the laying of the cornerstone of the present church in 1768, Solis stated that there was no actual church building in the mission. Instead, some of the arches of the porteria of the convento had been closed and was serving as a temporary church (Solis 1768 in Leutenegger and Habig 1978:145).[6] The removal of church 1 was necessitated by the need to construct new church approximately on the site of the old. If the site had not been needed for the new church, then the old church would have continued in use while construction progressed on the new, as happened at Concepción in the 175Os. Instead, all but the east wall of the old church was removed and services were shifted to the porteria section of the corredor of the convento for a few years.

It is possible that the demolition and reconstruction of the church of San José in the 1760s and 177Os was prompted by the completion of the church of Concepción in late 1755. The new Concepción church (the only completed principal church in San Antonio at the time), with its dome, painted facade, and high vaulting, was undoubtedly much more impressive than the simple flat-roofed church of San José. There is a continuing suggestion of architectural rivalry between the two missions, perhaps because each was the headquarters of its respective college in Texas until 1772. The removal and reconstruction of most of the principal church of San José is the only known example of such an action in Texas. Only one other mission on the northern frontier is known to have been rebuilt in a similar manner: San Gregorio de Abo, in southern New Mexico, was largely torn down and enlarged in the 1640s, apparently to make it as large and impressive as its neighboring mission, Nuestra Señora de Purisima Concepción de Quarai, completed a decade before.[7] The renovation of San José may have been the result of a similar rivalry between the headquarters missions of the Querétaran and Zacatecan colleges in Texas.

Construction on the above-ground walls of church 2, the present church, began with the end of the freezing weather of winter. On March 19, 1768 Fr. Gaspar Solis participated in a ceremony blessing the first stones. He described the circumstances in his diary:

> Bendije los cimientos y primeras piedras para la iglesia que se comienza a hacer en esta Mision, la una puso don Hugo Oconor, y la otra yo. . . .

---

[6]The term "porteria" is defined as: 1) the lodging for the guardian of the doorway or gateway; or 2) in a large structure, the complex consisting of the entrance doorway or gateway and the construction which contains it (Secretario del Patrimonio Nacional 1975:352).

[7]See James E. Ivey, "Excavations at San Gregorio de Abo, Salinas National Monument, New Mexico, 1987," manuscript on file at the Southwest Regional office, National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

> I blessed the foundations and first stones of the church on which construction has started in this mission; Don Hugo Oconor placed one stone, and I the other. . . . (Solis 1768 in Leutenegger and Habig 1978:140)

Fr. Solis stated that the intended dimensions were 50 varas (about 139 feet) by 10 varas (about 28 feet) (Leutenegger and Habig 1978:140). Solis also indicated that the building was intended to have transepts (Ibid.). In addition, the 1785 description indicates that the low northwest tower was to have been built like the one at the southwest corner, but was never completed. Instead, says Mariano, three false wooden cannon were placed here in a simulated gun position, apparently the present parapet on top of the north tower (Mariano 1785:5268).

The various statements indicate that as originally planned, the present church of San José was to have been 139 feet long and 28 feet wide across the nave, with transepts and two belltowers. Compare this with Concepción, slightly over 86 feet long and 21 1/2 feet wide, also with transepts and two belltowers. No dimensions of the church of San José are given in the 1785 inventory, but in the 1824 inventory it is said to be 27 varas (about 75 feet) long, 9 varas (about 25 feet) wide and 14 varas (about 39 feet) high. Habig, interestingly enough, states that the present interior length of the church is 86 1/3 feet, the length of Concepción (Leutenegger and Habig 1978:209). The actual present dimensions are 100.5 feet by 25.75 feet interior dimensions (the distance from pilaster face to pilaster face cross the nave is almost precisely 25 feet), by approximately 36 feet from the present floor surface to the soffit of the vault of the nave. Concepción's interior height is slightly over 28 feet. The error of about 25 feet in the length of San José as given in 1824 is unexplained, but may have been a copyist's error, where 27 varas was written instead of 37 varas, which would have given a length of about 102 feet. As it stands the building has no transepts; a tower base the height of the nave at the northwest corner capped with a parapet with three arched openings; and a single belltower at the southwest corner.

It will be assumed, then, that during construction there were a series of revisions of the plans, resulting in the elimination of the transepts and a subsequent redesign of the sacristy, the shortening of the church by 39 feet, and finally, the stopping of work on the north belltower when it reached the height of the nave vault. The plan and location of the present sacristy must have been designed at the time the transepts were eliminated from the plan before their construction above the foundations started, because the sacristy is located in the area where the south transept would have been. The planned length of the building was probably shortened at the same time. Supporting evidence for this was seen in archeological work inside the present sacristy by Anne Fox of the Center for Archeological Research. This revealed that the sacristy foundations abut the church foundations rather than being tied in to them. The above-grade fabric is bonded construction, indicating that the foundations were constructed at different times, but the above-grade fabric was built at the same time. Filled trenches seen in the west end of the sacristy may have been the emptied foundation trenches of the proposed transepts. If the inferred position of the first stone church relative to the present church of San José is correct, some burials within the first church should have been in the area of the present sacristy, or traces of their removal.

The combining of the two mission chains into a single system under Zacatecas in 1772 would have effectively stopped the architectural rivalry between Concepción and San José. At least in part, this could explain the reduction of the new San José church to a somewhat less magnificent but more economical design. The church was originally designed, probably in the first years of 1760, to completely overshadow the church of Concepción. By 1768, when the foundations were well along, the likelihood of departure of the Querétarans and the combining of the missions was influencing missionary policy. At that point the desire for a church more magnificent than anything the Querétarans had built became

superfluous, and the design was simplified. The most probable time for the change in ground-plan of the new church would have been between the beginning of work on the foundations in about 1766 and the beginning of above-grade construction in 1768. In other words, the shortening of the new church, elimination of the transepts, and the redesign of the sacristy probably occurred in 1767.

The stopping of construction on the second belltower at nave vault height was probably prompted by the Franciscans revising their priorities a second time in the late 177Os. Planning for the secularization of the Texas missions within the College of Zacatecas apparently began a few years before 1780, when they presented their first formal request to the viceroy of New Spain. Evidence of similar changes is seen at all the missions.

The Convento in 1768:

The porteria mentioned in 1755 and 1757 became the temporary church in ca. 1767 with the demolition of the old "iglesia de terrado," church 1. At San José, the term porteria was used somewhat differently than at the other missions. A formal entranceway with a porter's lodge was part of the convento complex at Valero. At San Juan a formal entranceway with a porter's lodge was built, but the porter's lodge was almost immediately converted to a hospederia. At Concepción the word "porteria" was associated with both the corredor and one of the convento rooms.

The porteria at San José was usually referred to as distinct from the corredor, and may have been the corredor-like room outside the door of the present sacristy. The convento apparently had the same general outline on the ground as today except for later additions. The corredor on the first floor was called the claustro in 1755, and both it and the porteria were given a new flagstone flooring between 1755 and 1757 (Marmolejo 1757:5252). The flagstone flooring of the corredor was still present in 1823 (Musquiz 1823:114 rev.). "The porteria in use as the church" apparently refers to the area which is presently two arches of the cloister in front of the east door of the sacristy. In 1785 only one arch was open in this area, the other having been filled earlier. The outline of another door may still be seen through the west wall of this room, south of the sacristy. This may have been the doorway from the earlier sacristy of the first stone church into the same porteria.

Of the remainder of the convento, Solis says only that "la vivienda suficientisima en todas las oficinas necesarias," (the convento is more than sufficient in regard to workshops).

The Church in 1778:

The church was nearing completion in 1778 when Fray Juan Morfi arrived in San Antonio for a visitation. He stated that the church had a large and beautiful nave of three vaults and a very pretty dome, although, he added, it was decorated with unnecessary moldings. The stone used in the construction was from the quarry at Mission Concepción. While construction continued on the church, services were being conducted in the sacristy. The church and sacristy, said Morfi, could be the parochial church of a large city; they "have no equal in all of New Spain (Morfi 1935:227- 28)."

The church was completed after 1778 and before 1785. Father Alto Hoermann stated that the church was finished in 1782 (1932:28). when he arrived in San Antonio in the late 1850s, a few people who had helped build the mission church were still living, and undoubtedly, some whose parents had been involved in the work. He indicated that this date of completion was based on the testimony of such

people. D. R. Woods, who visited San Antonio in 1846, reported that the church bore the date of 1782 (Woods 1846:13), and an anonymous observer in the same year reported that the bells surviving in the church tower were inscribed "Seville, 1782" ("Notes from My Knapsack" 1854:177). A completion date of ca. 1782 is probably correct.

The Convento and the Reconstruction of 1770-1780:

In conjunction with the rebuilding of the church, the Franciscans carried out a major renovation of the convento. The work began in ca. 1770, and resulted in a reconstruction at least as complete as the Benedictine rebuilding in the nineteenth century (see chapter 6). The alterations and additions to the convento began during the final stages of construction of the present stone church, as it rose above the height of the first floor of the convento (see Appendix 1, San José, sheet 17).

A close examination of the convento supplies a general idea of this reconstruction (for a detailed assessment of the physical evidence for the ca. 1770 reconstruction, see Appendix III). A portion of the east wall of the first stone church was left after the demolition of the church because it formed part of the west wall of the convento, which was one story high at this end. The wall stood to some height above the convento walls joining it. The doorway from the new second story corredor onto the tribune within the new church was cut through this higher section of wall, and built out to the proper outline with brick.

All the interior walls other than those beneath the second story cell were removed. The main outside walls of the convento were built up to the height of the second story cell, and the entire building then given a first coat of new plaster. After this coat was applied, the crosswalls for the first and second story rooms outside the second story cell and its ground level counterpart were built into the convento, and a new stairway of two flights with a landing against the north wall built into one of these rooms. The corredor at the second level was also built. A row of three rooms was added to the east end of the convento on the ground floor, extending south, and a section of corredor on the west side of this extending from the original corredor. As part of this construction, a tenth arch was built on the east end of the arcade line of the original corredor. This arch extended across one of the new rooms, dividing it roughly in half (see figure 16). This arch supported a flying buttress at the end of the new second floor arcade. Other than the flying buttress, no second floor construction was built over these rooms. The porteria and part of the original sacristy wall also continued in use. No second story was added above the porteria (see figure 17).

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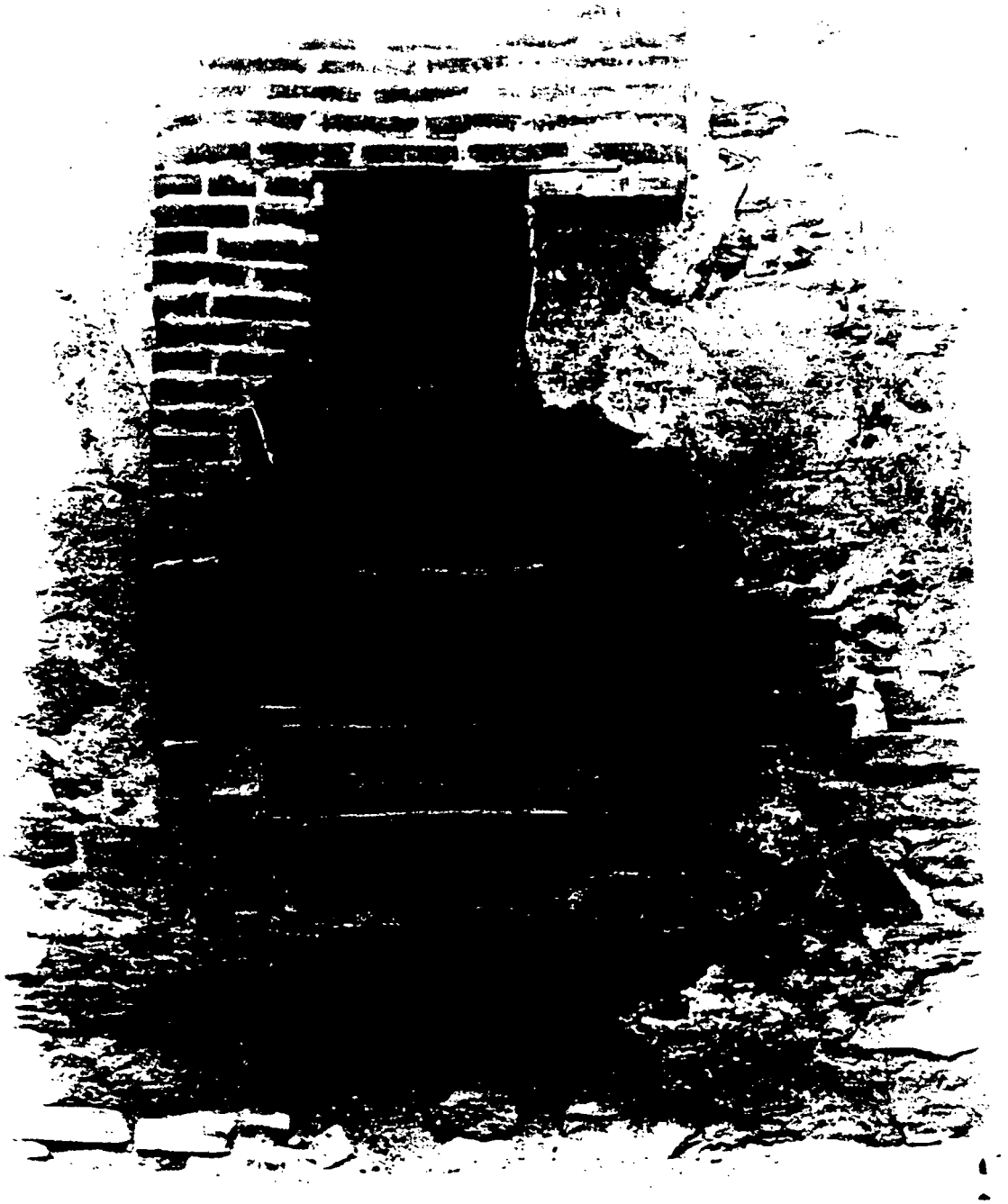

Figure 10. The tenth ground-level arch at the east end of the corredor of the convento of San José. The arch remained open through the appraisal of 1824; in the early 1860s the Benedictines built an oven into the opening. The arch supported a flying buttress on the second level; the Benedictines covered the buttress with masonry. The oven is presently within the kitchen at the east end of the convento; modern repairs have concealed the arch. Courtesy of Texas Parks and Wildlife. (16/84)

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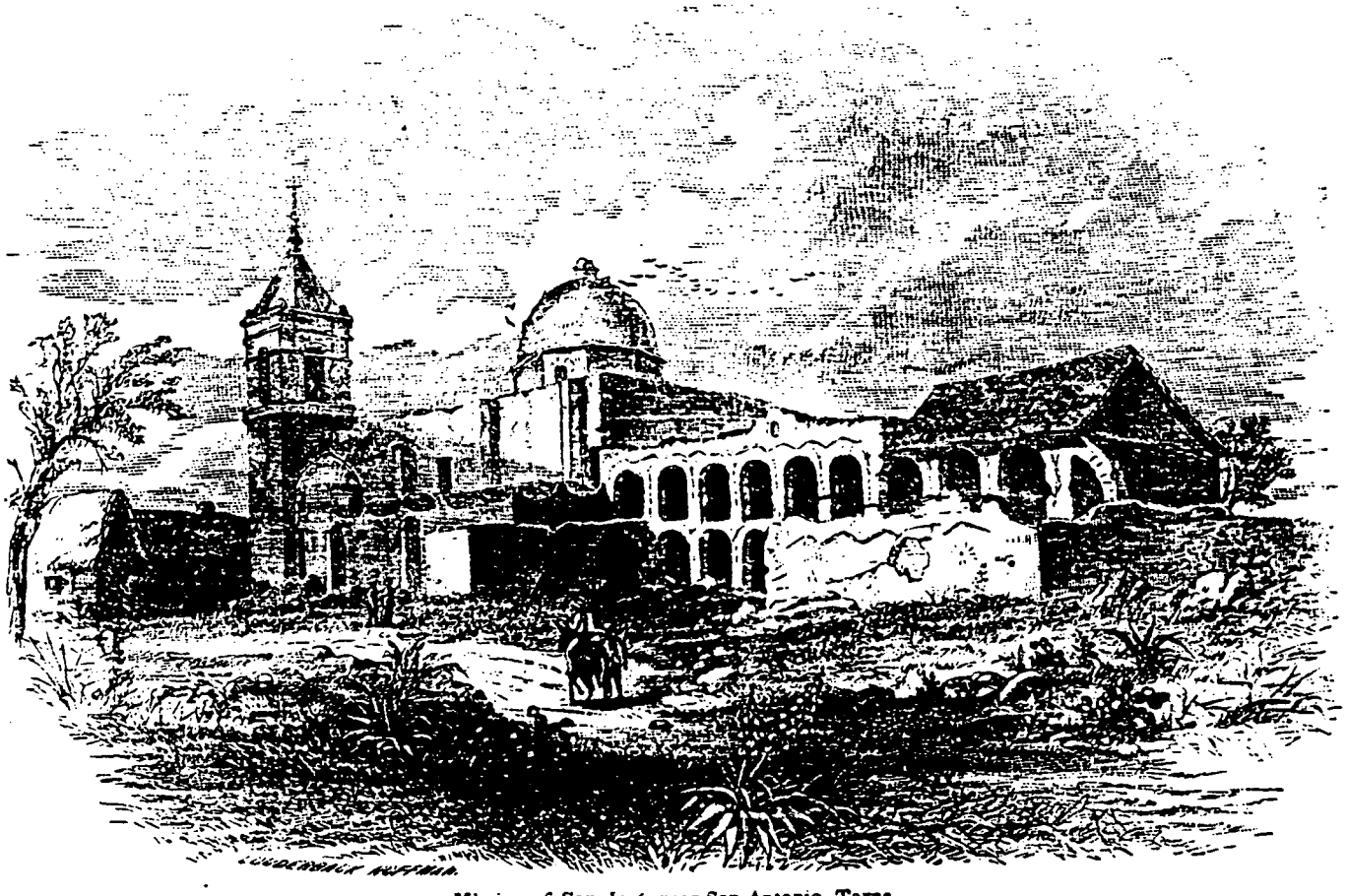

Figure 11. An etching of San José made by Louderback and Hoffman from a sketch by William H. Emory in 1857. The flying buttress is visible at the east end of the corredor on the second floor of the convento. Beyond the church on the left, the granary can be seen with a thatched roof. At the far left a thatched building extends eastward from the granary. Drawing courtesy of the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (12/84)

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At the same time, the north row of rooms was apparently removed, and the doorways filled or, in some cases, converted to windows. The floors and roofs were built, and finally the interior was painted with whitewash and wall decorations added in two second story rooms, one first story room, along the arches of the corredors, around the tribune door, and in the stairwell.

The Convento in 1778:

In 1778 Morfi found the convento finished (1935:227). It had a first and second story, with two corredores. According to Morfi, the upper corredor opened out onto the flat roof of the first floor rooms:

> La habitacion de los religiosos tiene alto y bajo, con dos corredores muy capaces; el superior comunica a una azotea que les proporciona gran desahogo. . . . Desde esta azotea se puede cazar sin riesgo, con comodidad y buen suceso; pues vi en una labor inmediata tanto pato, ansar y grulla que, como dije, cubrian el terreno, y tan cerca de la casa, que era imposible se errase el tiro.
>
> The habitation of the religious has an upper and a lower floor, with two very spacious corredores; the upper [corredor] communicates with a flat roof which is very pleasant. . . . From this flat roof one can hunt without risk, with good and sufficient success; so many ducks, geese and cranes live in a nearby field that, so to speak, they cover the earth, and they are so close to the house that it would be impossible to miss the shot. (Morfi 1935:227)

Whether the last was a usual activity of the missionaries or a passion peculiar to Morfi we cannot say. On the flat roof had been raised "dos cuadrantes verticales muy bien construidos y formados con una especie de piedra gredosa," two very well-constructed vertical sundials made of a kind of chalky stone (Ibid.; see figure 18). The area described was the roof over the one-story rooms added to the east end of the convento.

The remainder of the convento received brief attention. There were sufficient cells for the missionaries and for guests, and a kitchen and refectory. In addition to the oficinas comunes, the community storerooms, of the mission, there were others specifically for the use of the missionaries. The stairway was described in more detail. The bannister was made of the same stone as were the roof quadrants and there was a statue of Saint Joseph in a niche on the landing (Ibid.).

The Pueblo After ca. 1760:

Fr. Solis' diary gives the earliest information about the new compound arrangement:

> . . . . esta fabricada en cuadro perfecto de piedra y cal, cada lienzo es de 220 varas, en cada lienzo su puerta, en las esquinas contradictorias su torreon, cada uno guarda sus dos lienzos las habitaciones de los indios estan fabricadas contra la muralla de sinco a seis varas de largo, de ancho quatro, dentro de la qual tienen su cocinita de quatro varas de largo, su chimenea, sus troneras que caen afuera para defenderse de los enemigos.

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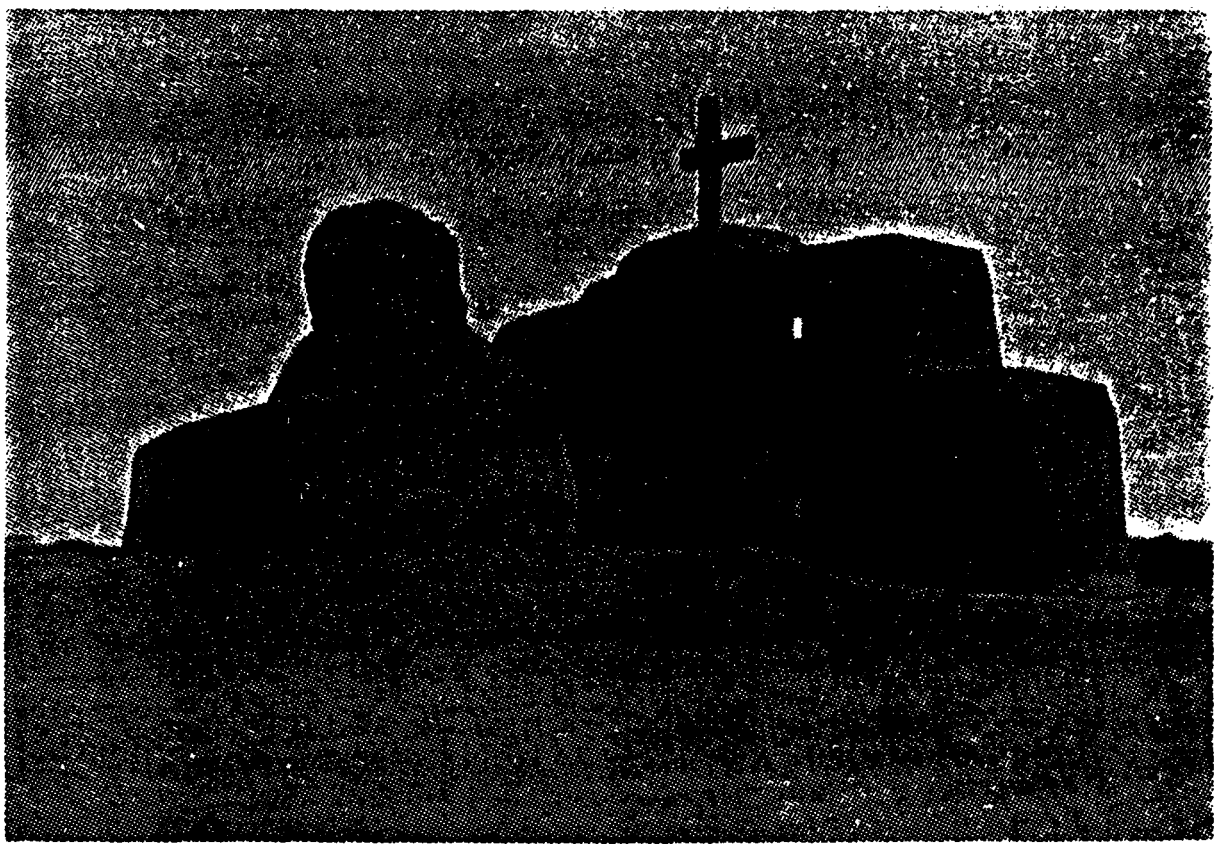

Figure 12. The quadrants or sundials on the roof of San José may have looked like this eighteenth-century sundial on the wall of the church of San José de la Laguna, in Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico. See also the sundial over the gateway of the Uribe House in figure 23. Photograph courtesy Lynn Adkins Battle.

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> . . . . it is built in a perfect square of stone and lime; each side is 220 varas long [about 609 feet]; a gateway in each side and in opposing corners a tower [or bastion], each one guarding its two sides. The habitations of the Indians are built against the main

enclosing wall, five or six varas in length [about 14 or 17 feet] and four wide [about 11 feet], within which they have a small kitchen of four varas length, its chimney, [and] embrasures which open to the outside for defense from the enemy. (Solis 1768 in Leutenegger and Habig 1978:144)

This description could be taken to mean that the houses had a total length of 14 to 17 feet with a divided kitchen; or that the house consisted of two rooms, one 14 to 17 feet, and another 11 feet, used as a kitchen and entered from the first. Allowing for the usual 2 feet of wall thickness, and for the fact that the houses were in contact and shared one wall, the second arrangement would give a total building length of 29 to 32 feet, the size indicated in later inventories.

Additional information about the pueblo was recorded by Morfi in his diary:

> Esta mision tiene una plaza de doscientas dieciséis varas en cuadro, con cuatro puertas y, en ellas, cuatro torreones o baluartes. . . .
>
> This mission has a plaza 216 varas [about 598 feet] square, with four gateways and, in them, four towers or bulwarks. . . . (Morfi 1967:103)

In the published version of this diary, Morfi expanded somewhat on this description, presumably from memory:

> . . . . es una plaza muy hexmosa de doscientas dieciséis varas en cuadro, con cuatro puertas iguales en los cuatro lienzos; sobre cada una se levanto un baluarte para defenderla y en su cubo o hueco de las puertas se hicieron troneras de uno y otro lado, que corresponden a las casillas laterales desde donde puede hacer fuego a cubierto la fusileria, en caso de que los enemigos hayan abatido las puertas. Tiene a mas de esto, en frente de la iglesia, una quinta puerta levadiza, que es la que sirve ordinatiamente. . . .
>
> . . . . it is a very beautiful plaza 216 varas [about 598 feet] square, with four similar gateways on the four sides; a bulwark has been built above each one to defend it, and in the cubical fortification or hollow of the gateway are embrasures on each side, which are equivalent to sentry boxes from which muskets may be fired from cover, in case the enemy had torn down the gates. In addition to these, there is a fifth gate in front of the church that can be raised, which is the one usually used. . . . (Morfi 1935:226)

The adjective levadiza means "that can be lifted or raised" (Velasquez 1973:409), and indicates that this gateway was closed by a gate which was raised and lowered like a portcullis, rather than hinged doors opening laterally.

Solis referred to torreons "in opposing corners, each one guarding its two sides." Since no one else described corner bastions at San José, he might actually have been attempting a poorly-worded description of the torreones o baluartes spoken of by Morfi in some detail. In this interpretation, each corner bastion would be located on an exterior corner of a gateway, and the dos lienzos would be the face of the exterior wall and the face of the gateway entrance on that side. The two bastions, one at

each side of the gateway, would then be described as en las esquinas contradictorias, a rather odd phrasing in Spanish. Contradictoria means something like "in opposition" or "face to face" in this context.

The two long sides of the San José compound are 598 feet on the east side and 614 feet on the west, exterior measurement, or 216 and 222 varas respectively. Solis gives a measurement of 220 varas; Morfi of 216 varas. Both took the compound for a perfect square, assuming incorrectly that any one side would be equal in length to the other three. The north and south sides were each about 490 feet long, or about 177 varas.

The Church in 1785:

San José as we know it today was almost completely built by the time of the inventory of 1785. In that year Fr. Josef Agustin Falcon Mariano made a detailed description of the mission, and with the aid of further spatial information taken from the inventories of 1786, 1794 and 1824, a clear picture of the mission can be achieved.

All the windows of the church contained glass except the one for the choir loft, and almost all had alambreras (wire grills). The church facade was described as a "portada tallada y mui buena, con seis estatuas talladas de la mlsma piedra," a very well-done carved entranceway with six statues carved from the same stone (Mariano 1785:5264).

Within the church to either side of the main entrance were the doors into the rooms in the bases of the towers. The rooms were in "uno de los cuvos. " A cuvo is any large cubical object; in this case, the body of the tower. The doors opened beneath the choir loft. Each of the two cuvo rooms had one window with glass and a grill.

The nave was made up of three bays separated by ribs west of the dome; a larger bay of the same length as the width of the church beneath the dome, from which the planned transepts would have opened; and finally, the bay containing the sanctuary at the east end of the church. The first bay at the western end contained the choir loft. Each bay had shallow side vaults intersecting the main vaulting at right angles. The soffits of the lateral vaults, however, were about 3.5 feet lower than that of the nave vault. These side-vault sections are called lunetos (Secretario Patrimonio Nacional 1975:72-73). The vaulting of the nave was described as vobedas pintadas ("painted vaults"), apparently indicating decorative painting on the intrado surfaces (Mariano 1785:5263). Large windows were set into four of these side vaults: two in the bay before the dome, and two above the sanctuary. All four apparently contained glass, but only the two north-facing windows had alambreras. The dome is referred to only in passing. It previously had an iron cross as a weathervane, but this had since been removed and was being kept in the sacristy (Mariano 1785:5268).

The church had a wooden floor, at least outside the sanctuary. In an area beneath two of the bays of the vaulting this flooring had gone bad, and was covered with a shag carpet in poor condition, worked with an undescribed pattern. Such a wooden floor is not particularly unusual: Concepción had a similar floor in 1772.

The area of the sanctuary was separated from the nave by two steps of stone (Maynes and Diaz de Leon 1824:5570), and a comulgatorio de reja de fierro (communion railing of iron grillwork). Within the

sanctuary was the principal altar consisting of a table on a platform, both of wood. The stone steps are still in place across the mouth of the apse. The description of this altar and its furnishings is very detailed in the inventory. A great part of it concerns the large and ornate retablo above the altar. The attachment points for the retablo can be seen on the east wall of the church in late nineteenth century photographs (see figure 19).

A second altar had also been set up in the church. It was apparently in the nave, and had a considerably less complex retablo structure with it. It also had an altar table and platform of wood. Associated with this altar were the banca para los justiciales (bench for the officials of the pueblo), where periodic meetings were held as part of the governing process of the neophytes, and a second confessional in poor repair. This altar was probably located against the north wall opposite the entrance to the sacristy.

The communion railing probably ran from pilaster to pilaster across the mouth of the sanctuary, at the top of the two stone steps. In the south wall of the church just west of this railing was the sculptured doorway into the sacristy, with a carved wooden door. Above the sanctuary on the south wall of the church was "una trivuna de rejas de palo y con puerta con llave que cae al corredor de la casa" (a balcony-like walkway with a railing of wood, and a locking door which opened into the corredor on the second story of the convento) (Mariano 1785:5277; Maynes and Diaz de Leon 1824:114 reverse). The doorway itself survives today, and fragments of the wooden corbel which supported the western end of the walkway were still visible in a large rectangular socket in the south wall at the eastern edge of the pilaster next to the sacristy door in the 1880s and 1890s (185/82). This structure and the retablo and altar were undoubtedly smashed when the dome and vault fell in 1868. A tribuna is defined by Adams and Chavez as "a gallery in a church for the musicians, or for persons of high rank" (1956:363). Mission Concepción also had a tribuna built into the church from an adjacent second floor room, and the evidence indicates that in both cases the tribuna was for the use of the Father Presidents of the Zacatecan and Querétaran missions of Texas, who usually had their offices at these two missions (see for example Habig 1968:234-256, 272-273).

The western entrance into the church had carved doors without keys, but only two drop handles of different sizes, The belltower had four arched openings each with a railing of wood "like a balcony" (Mariano 1785:5267). It had five small bells of various sizes. In order to climb to the bell tower, there was a vaulted spiral stairway with large steps of oak up to the choir; from this point up were stairs of logs. The tower had an iron cross with a weathervane.

The sacristy is described briefly in the 1785 inventory. It had a ceiling of three painted vaults, two doorways of sculpted stone with carved wooden doors, and a large sculpted window with an iron grating, glass, and an iron grill. This was undoubtedly the "rose" window. The second, small window at the west end of the sacristy was not described, and was apparently added between 1785 and 1824.

The Convento in 1785:

The 1785 inventory by Fray José Maria Salas supplied many details passed over by earlier descriptions. The convento, he said, was a large two-story structure adjoining and to the rear of the church. There were nine rooms downstairs and five upstairs, and a lugares comunes (latrine). The structure had three corredores on the first floor, one of nine arches and one on each side with one arch each. On the second floor was a single corredor of nine arches. All the rooms had doors with keys except the latrine and one room on the second floor which opened into the principal celda (cell). The 1785 inventory

Figure 13. The sockets of the supports that held up the great retablo above the high altar of San José can be seen on the interior of the east wall of the church in this photograph, made in 1877. Courtesy of the San Antonio Museum Association. (162/82)

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listed the contents of the various rooms, but not their dimensions. Only eight rooms were described, four downstairs and four upstairs (see Appendix 1, San José, sheet 17).

On the first floor, the four rooms described by Salas are as follows: 1) a dispensa, or supply room, containing only cooking supplies; 2) an oficina, or storeroom; 3) a kitchen; and 4) a room with no specified use, containing a large table. This may have been the refectory.

On the second floor were: 1) the main cell with its balcony, containing among other things the library and records of the rather President of the Zacatecan missions of Texas; 2) the trascelda (alcove to the main cell), which was a bedroom and storage area--this is probably the room mentioned by Salas as opening into the main cell; 3) another cell on the opposite side of the main cell; 4) the huespedes (guestroom).

Using the final inventory of 1823, several of these rooms can be located.[8] On the second floor, the guestroom was the first room adjoining the church, and the next room east was the stairway. A group of three rooms were east of the stairs. The middle room was the main cell, but it is uncertain which of the other two was the alcove and which was the second cell. On the first floor, the kitchen was the middle room in the series of three at the east end of the convento, the room divided by the arch supporting the flying buttress on the second floor. This was called a "double kitchen" in 1823, and may have been considered as two rooms by Salas in his initial count. The 1823 inventory does indicate that the room south of the kitchen was the refectory, and therefore possibly #4 of the ground loor rooms listed by Salas. The supplies mentioned in the dispensa were probably for the kitchen, in which case it may have been the room north of the kitchen at the east end of the convento.

The stairway was again the second room east from the church. The latrine mentioned by Salas may have been in the eastern end of the room east of the stairway. A flagstone-covered drain crosses this room today, and was apparently found in place by Smith. This extends from the area of the well in the convento patio, beneath the convento and out under the north wall. One of the deeds for property along the north wall refers to a caño (drain or sewer) passing through the wall in this area in 1859 (BCDR H2:258). This may have been the water supply for the convento latrine. Because of the slope of the ground in this area, the direction of flow of water through this drain was apparently towards the north, from the convento to the acequia. Considering the quantity of goods stored in it, the oficina was probably the second room east of the stairway, the only other large room on the ground floor. This leaves two lower rooms with no assigned use. Both may have been oficinas comunes (community storerooms) and may not have been inventoried because their contents were considered the property of the Indians of the mission, not of the missionaries. Such a policy of listing only those goods specifically for the use of the fathers seems to have been consistently applied at San José through all the inventories. This was apparently a Zacatecan policy; the Querétaran inventories liSt goods in all storerooms, regardless of the persons for whom they were intended.

[8]The room uses discussed here are based on the plan of the convento before the mid-nineteenth century reconstruction by the Benedictines, not the present plan.

The Convento in 1786:

The description by Fr. Lopez in 1786 supplies a few additional details about the convento:

> En el Angulo, o lienzo de Poniente [Oriente], separadamente de la vivienda de los Yndios una Calle de por nedio, estan la vivienda para el Ministro, Yglesia y Sacristia y dha vivienda consta de las piesas necesarias ala Avitacion del Ministro Cozina y oficinas de Comunidad: es toda de Piedra y cal con buenos techos de terrado, la dicha Avitacion en Alto, y todo con bella disposizian y Arte. La Yglesia que con la Sacristia esta contigua a dha Casa de modo que por esta se entra a una desente tribuna que esta en el Presviterio de dicha Yglecia.
>
> In the corner or side [of the enclosing wall] on the west [should read east] separated from the houses of the Indians with a street between, is the convento for the minister, the church, and sacristy; and the said convento consists of the necessary rooms for the minister's lodgings, a kitchen, and storerooms of the community. It is all of stone and lime with good flat roofs, [and with] the said lodgings on the second floor, all of good layout and design. The church with the sacristy adjoins the said convento in such a manner for it to be entered by a decent tribune which is in the sanctuary of the said church. (Lopez 1786:3 rev., 4).

Workshops and Granary:

In 1785 the granary was described as follows:

> . . . . en un angulo una troxe de boveda, de largor como quarenta varas, y como ocho de ancha, con dos puertas y una ventana, una media para medir mais y un almud.
>
> . . . . in one corner a vaulted granary about forty varas long [about 111 feet] and about eight in width [about 22 feet] with two doorways and one window, a half [fanega; about eight-tenths of a bushel] for measuring corn, and an almud measure. [12 almudes make up one fanega] (Mariano 1785:5262)

In 1794 the description was almost identical:

> . . . . una troxé de Boveda con quarenta Varas de largo y ocho de Ancho, con dos Puertas y serraduras correspondientes. . . .
>
> . . . . a vaulted granary forty varas long and eight wide, with two doors and corresponding locks. . . . (Munos 1794:107)

In 1823 further details appear:

> Una pieza de boveda con el nombre de Troxe de 40 varas de largo, 10 1/2 varas de ancho, 7. d.has de alto, con 7. albortantes a los costados de afuera, que la sostienen, construida a piedra y mescla, y en concideracion al mal estado en que se halla se abaluo en. . . . 1.000 [pesos].

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> A vaulted room called the Granary, 40 varas long, 10 1/2 varas wide [about 29 feet], 7 varas high [about 19 1/2 feet], supported by 7 flying buttresses at the sides of the exterior, constructed of stone and mortar, and in consideration of the poor condition it is in, evaluated at . . . 1,000 pesos. (Musquiz 1B23:116)

The flying buttresses were apparently added between 1793 and 1823, perhaps because the granary showed signs of settling and cracking along the vault.

The measurements given in 1785 and 1793 correspond well to the exterior length and the interior width of the present granary, while the 1823 measurements of the granary are all exterior.

The Carpenter 's Shop:

No detailed description of the carpenter's shop is available for the period from 1757 to 1785. By that year the shop had this appearance:

> A un lado de d.ha tro.e esta la carpinteria, tiene un corredor de treg arcos, y dos quartos a los lados, con sus puertas y llaves, el un cuarto es avitacion de uno de los carpinteros, el otro sirve para guardar la herramienta, y algunos maderas.
>
> At one side of the said granary was the carpenter's shop; it has a corredor with three arches, and two rooms at the sides, with their doors and keys; one room is the residence of one of the carpenters, the other serves to protect the tools, and some timbers. (Mariano 1785:5262)

This seems to have been the same building, with the addition of a second room for the carpenter's house. The four pillars mentioned in 1757, which would have formed four arches, were reduced to only three in 1785. Apparently the fourth arch was filled and the space behind it converted to the carpenter's house. The workshop contained six doors without frames and four small windows. Tools listed include a grindstone and a lathe, both operated by sihueñas (cranks). (Ibid.).

In 1793 the carpenter's shop appears as follows:

> La carpinteria, con su corredor de tres Arcos, una sala con un pequeno quarto . . .
> .
>
> The carpenter's shop, with its corredor of three arches, a sala with a small room. . . . (Munos 1793:107)

This is apparently the same set of buildings referred to in 1823, adjoining the granary:

> 1. Una sala contigua a la Troxe de 13 varas de largo, 5 1/4 varas de ancho, techo de morillos, inutil, una puerta a la plaza, inaltralada, una ventana con rejas de madera
>
> 2. Un quarto de 6 1/4 varas de largo, 5 de ancho, una puerta, una ventana, techo de morillos inutil. . . . una pared intermedia a la sala y quarto anotados de catorze y media varas de largo. . . .

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> 1. A sala contiguous with the granary, 13 varas long [about 36 feet], 5 1/4 varas wide [about 14 1/2 feet], a roof of beams, unusable, a door to the plaza, immovable [?], a window with a grating of wood. . . .
>
> 2. A room of 6 1/4 varas in length [about 17 1/2 feet], 5 in width [about 14 feet], a door, a window, an unusable roof of beams. . . a wall intermediate between the sala and room recorded at 14 1/2 varas in length [about 40 feet]. . . . [Musquiz 1823:115]

By 1823 the three-arched south wall of the portal and its roof had collapsed, but the remainder of the structure was similar enough to be identified. This is the group of buildings which Harvey P. Smith rebuilt in the 1930s along the north wall and on the east side of the granary, which he called the "prefecture." It is called the "soldier's quarters" in Habig (1968:101), and is frequently referred to as the "Spanish Residence" in Park literature today. The name "prefecture" apparently derives from Fr. Alto Hoermann's use of the word in The Daughter of Tehuan, meaning the office or residence of a prefect--a person of authority in the Catholic Church or in the military. In the novel, this group of buildings is the residence of the Captain of the Spanish troops stationed at San José.

The name "Spanish Residence" is a free translation of casas reales, a term generally applied to a building housing government offices. This was used for anything from City Hall on up to the provincial Governor's residence and headquarters. In New Mexico it was also used for "a building owned and maintained by many Indian pueblos for the accommodation of officials, merchants, travelers, or others who had reason to spend any time in the pueblo, and as a place in which to transact business with them" (Adams and Chaves 1956:352-53). The building adjacent to the granary was considered to have been the casas reales of the mission, based on the Governor Barrios' description in 1758. Habig translates the term as "soldiers' quarters," and indicates their location as the rooms next to the granary on his map (Habig 1968a:92, 101; 1968b:51-52). Barrios' description, however, refers only to "las Cassas Reales haciendo fronte ala Iglesia," the casas reales facing the church (Leutenegger and Habig 1978:132), and adds that a cemetery of more than 80 varas on a side (about 222 feet) lies between the casas reales and the church. These statements have usually been interpreted to refer to the present layout, where the church, with a cemetery in front, faces towards the granary and associated structures. By this logic, the structures associated with the granary would be the casas reales.

There are two difficulties with this interpretation. One is that the church referred to by Barrios is not the present church, but the first stone church. However, as was said above, the first stone church probably had the same general location and orientation as the present one. The second difficulty is that Barrios' statement did not give the location of the casas reales relative to the church, but the other way around. Since the location of the casas reales is the unknown, and since it could face the church from any direction, this is no help in locating the structure. Barrios' description offers no evidence which of itself would require the location of a structure called the "casas reales" near the granary. The evidence indicates that the granary has always been in its present position, that the carpenter's shop has been associated with it since its construction began in 1755, and that the buildings presently called the Spanish Residence or prefecture are reconstructions on the foundations of the carpenter's shop. The "casas reales" must have been somewhere else in the mission compound. A likely candidate is the group of foundations in the east central area of the plaza, located by Harvey Smith in the 1930s. This rectangular building, 30 feet wide and 80 feet long with a portal on the west end, is about 280 feet south of the church and 230 feet south of the road along the south side of the church and convento. This is about the right distance to allow for a cemetery 222 feet on a side in the plaza.

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The Blacksmith's Shop:

In 1785 the blacksmith's shop is mentioned briefly:

> Al otro lado de la troxe esta la fragua, una piesa con su puerta, y llave. . . .
>
> To the other side of the granary [from the carpenter's shop] is the forge, a room with its door and key.... (Mariano 1785:5262)

A good selection of iron working tools and equipment was kept in the forge. The presence of the blacksmith's shop and associated rooms is indicated in the list of smithing tools and equipment in the 1793 inventory, separated by several pages from the description of the granary and carpenter's shop. The granary, carpenter's shop, and weaving workshop are also referred to in the tool list. These rooms are later described in the section dealing with the buildings being granted to the Indians, but the forge is not. This may have been an oversight on the part of the inventorying committee.

No structure identified as the blacksmith's shop appears in the 1823 inventory. Based on the statement that it was on the other side of the granary from the carpenter's shop, we would expect it to have been adjacent to or adjoining the granary on the west side at the north end, or on any of the three sides at the south end. Traces of foundation have been located on both sides of the granary, where they might be interpreted to be "on the other side of the granary" from the carpenter's shop. Photographs show that at least one of the structures on the east side of the granary still existed in part in the 1860s (see figures 20 and 21), and traces of whitewash and wall joints where it had attached were visible on the east wall of the granary until its restoration in the 1930s (see figure 64, Chapter 6). Early sketches of San José show a building or buildings with thatched roofs in this area (see figure 17). Since no such building or buildings were listed in the 1823 or earlier appraisals, they must have been built after 1823. This implies that the second foundation extending eastward from the granary south of the first also dates from after 1823. The foundation located on the west side of the granary by Clark and Prewitt in 1979 may also have been a post-1823 addition (Clark and Prewitt 1979:11). perhaps the best candidate for this shop is the building just south of the principal gateway, listed in the 1823 appraisal at 8 varas (about 22 feet) long, the length first recorded for the blacksmith shop in 1755. This structure would have been "on the other side" of the granary from the carpenter's shop however, no other evidence has been found to indicate that the building was used for this purpose. More information about the extent, details of plan, and artifact associations of the structure found by Clark and Prewitt and an archeological investigation in the area of the first building south of the main west gate are both needed before a firm statement can be made about the actual location of the blacksmith shop.

The Obraje, or Weaving Workshop:

In 1785 Mariano described the weaving shop as follows:

> Al lado de la casa, esta el obraje con sesenta [probably an error for "cinquenta"] baras de largo, en estas hai un corredor de tres arcos, a un lado tiene un salon, en donde estan tres telares. . . contigua a esta piesa hai un cuarto en q.e se encierra lana y algodon. . . Este cuarto tiene puerta sin llave el salon tiene puerta y llave, y en frente de el hai un cuarto con puerta y llave en donde se dar las tareas, y tiene todo el obraje hai [this word apparently intended to be crossed out] dies ventanas de las quales sinco son de rejas de fierro, y sinco con rejas de palo.

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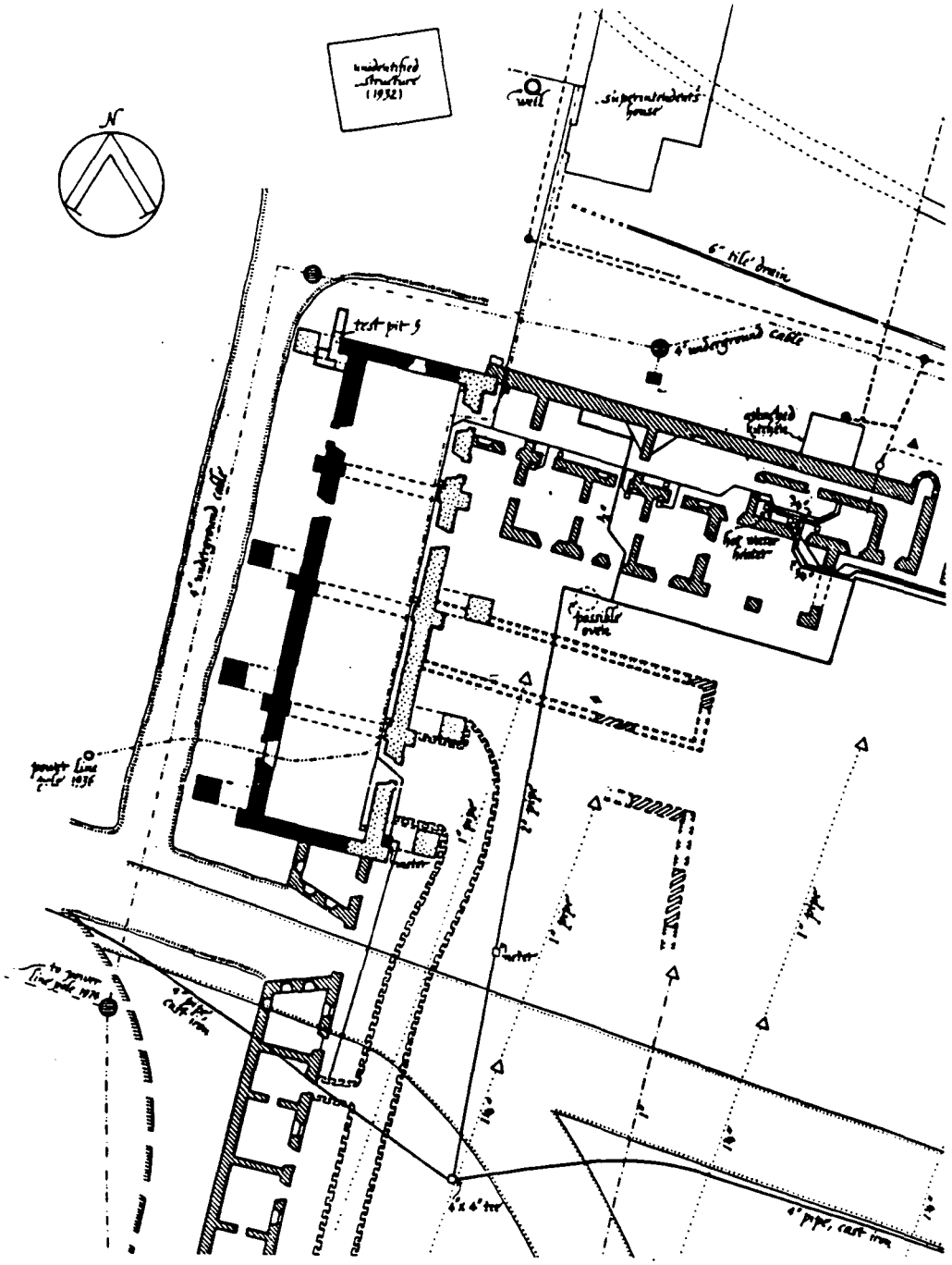

Figure 14. A section of John W. Clark's Figure 4 in Clark. 1978:6, showing the structural details found by Harvey Smith during the excavations of San José in the 1930s. The foundations of two structures can be seen east of the granary. The southern of the two was probably left after the demolition of the thatched building visible to the west of the church in Figure 11. Based on the later history of use and subdivision of the granary, it is probable that these structures were built after 1824.

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Figure 15. The granary of San José, ca. 1867. A portion of the northern of the two structures indicated by foundations in Figure 14 still stands against the east wall. Note the white plaster on the north end of the east granary wall. This area had been the interior wall of the carpenter's shop that extended eastward from the granary until about 1824. Courtesy Bouchu Collection, Texas Catholic Archives. (146/82)

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To the side of the convento is the weaving shop, sixty varas long [about 166 feet; probably an error for fifty varas, about 138 1/2 feet]. In it is a corredor of three arches; at one side is a salon with three looms... Adjoining this room is a room where wool and cotton are stored. . . This room has a door without key; the salon has a door and key, and in front of it [the salon] is a room with a door and key where work is done,[9] and the entire weaving shop has ten windows, of which five have iron gratings and five have gratings of wood. (Mariano 1785:5263)

Between 1757 and 1785, a room about 10 varas or 28 feet long had been added to one end of the obraje, probably the north end, against the compound wall, making the building 50 varas or about 138 feet long. The northernmost room was a storeroom for wool and cotton; the next room was the weaving room itself; the third section was the open corredor; and finally on the south end of the building was the cleaning and spinning room.

Between 1785 and 1823 the northern two rooms fell into ruin. The northernmost collapsed and the second was cleared out to make room for the little road along the north side of the church, leaving a section of standing wall 37 1/2 feet long extending south from the north corner of the compound. The southernmost room and the corredor remained standing, although in ruins, totalling about 75 feet in length on the outside.

The Pueblo in 1785-1824:

In 1785 Mariano described the mission compound in fairly clear terms:

> . . . es en quadro cuios angulos, entre los quatro dicen que tiene setecientas ochenta y quatro varas. y hai en ellos sincuenta y quatro casas, con sus techos puertas y ventanas, y muchas de ellas con llabes, y en un angulo una troxe de boveda. . . .
>
> . . . it is in a square, said to be 784 varas [about 2,172 feet] within the four angles. Along this length there are 54 houses, with their roofs, doors and windows, and many of them with keys, and in one angle a vaulted granary. . . . (Mariano 1785:5262)

The present exterior perimeter of the compound of Mission San José is about 2,180 feet, or 787 varas. Mariano's source for this measurement was reasonably accurate. We have two more descriptions of the compound during the late colonial period. The first is that of Fr. José Francisco Lopez, written in 1786:

> Pabrica circundado de caseria de piedra y lodo, que forma una buena Muralla, y en su Frontispicios tienen d.has casas sus puertas de madera labrada, algunas de ellas con sus buenas Cerraduras, y la Muralla tiene quatro de ellas a los quatro vientos competentes para sus destinos, con buenas y fuertes Cerraduras, y a mas de estas hay otras dos menores en donde se Jusgaron necesarias por razon de la extension de la Poblacion, que recto tramite puede tener de lienzo a lienzo como Doscientas varas. Dichas casas tienen competente Avitacion y Cozina para cada familia, y esTan

[9]The phrase dar las tareas is used in connection with the obraje to mean the work of cleaning and spinning the cotton and wool before they go to the looms. "In front" probably means "opposite" in this context, indicating that the room is at the opposite end of the corredor.

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> contiguas unas a otras, y bastantemente resguardadas contra los temporales de Lluvias, vientos, y qualesquiera adversos.
>
> It is built encircled with housing of stone and mud, which forms a good enclosing wall, and on their fronts the said houses have their doors of carved wood, some of them with good locks, and the wall has four of these [carved wooden doors], on the four sides, sufficient for their purpose, with good and strong locks, and in addition to these they have another two small [doors] where they deem necessary because of the size of the pueblo, which measuring in a straight line ought to be about two hundred varas from side to side. The said houses have an acceptable living space and kitchen for each family, and they are joined one to the other, and sufficiently secure against rainstorms, wind, or any adversity. (Lopez 1786:3 rev., 4).

The second description, in the 1794 inventory, was made by Governor Muñoz and Fr. Pedrajo at the time of the partial secularization of the mission. The Indians were to receive

> . . . . cinquenta y quatro casas destinadas a viviendas de ellos mismos, las seis estan arruinadas de Techo, y Tapias interiores, y todas dentro dequadro de Muralla, y las mas con Puertas y Ventanas, proporcionando el quadro que forman dichas casas, y demas Piezas referidas Aumentar, otro en lo interior de la Plaza. . . .
>
> . . . . fifty-four houses assigned as dwellings to the same [Indians], of which six have ruined roofs and interior partition walls, and all are within the square of the defensive wall, and most with doors and windows; the said houses are proportional to the square which they form; and moreover, to augment the said rooms, [there is] another in the interior of the plaza. . . . (Muñoz and Pedrajo 1794:107)

This composite picture gives us at least a general idea of the appearance of San José between 1768 and 1785. This corresponds well with the replica planned by Harvey Smith in the 1930s, who wanted to follow the general outline of the old foundations. As built, the replica is an incomplete version of the structure that he planned (see Part III, Chapter 7).

Gates, Bastions, and the Mill:

No references to gates or bastions occur before 1768. In that year Solis stated that there were four gates, one in each wall. Morfi described four gates in his 1778 diary, but in the published version stated that there were five: one in each wall, all of equal size; and a fifth in front of the church, opening out onto a large plain. Mariano did not mention any gates in the 1785 inventory, but in 1786 Lopez said that there were four gates, one in each wall; and two other small gates in addition. No gates are referred to in the 1794 inventory, and only one is mentioned directly in the 1823 appraisal.

Solis says that there were two bastions in opposite corners of the enclosing wall, each protecting its two adjacent wall lines, or alternatively that each gate had two bastions, facing each other. Morfi states that the four principal gates each had a bulwark or defensive position built over it. The fifth gate mentioned in his published journal apparently did not have a bastion. Morfi does not refer to corner bastions, e.en in his Historia, which drew heavily on Solis. Lopez does not mention bastions of any sort. No bastions are mentioned in the 1794 inventory or in the 1823 appraisal.

Finally, in 1866, Father Alto Hoermann states that there were three main gates, one each on the west, south, and east; and a postern gate to the north. He does not refer to any bastions, over gates or in corners, in his descriptions of San José in The Daughter of Tehuan. We are left with only the testimony of Solis as possible evidence for corner bastions at San José, and as has been shown, even that testimony could be referring to gateway bastions rather than corner bastions.

The bastion reconstructed by Smith apparently has no historical basis. He recorded no foundations in this area, and archeological investigations of his reconstruction by Clark (1978:63, Fig. 18) found no colonial foundations beneath his. In addition, examination of Smith's planning sketches shows that he experimented with several different outlines and sets of dimensions for the intended reconstruction (Clark 1978:63, Fig. 5). We must conclude from this that Smith built his bastion as an approximation of the popular interpretation of the description in Solis' diary.[10] Smith apparently used the bastion at Espada as his model, the only extant bastion in the area. The Espada bastion was built after ca. 1780, and probably after 1823, and was therefore not necessarily representative of the way a bastion might have been built in the San Antonio area in ca. 1768.

Using the rather contradictory documentation of the gates, a conjectural history of their construction and use can be put together. As originally built in 1758-68, the mission enclosure had four gates, one on each side. The east and west gates were probably located where they are today, with the west gate larger than the others. Each gate had some sort of defensive structure built into it. A small postern gate may have already existed at the end of the carpenter's shop on the north, ignored by Solis. By 1778, when Morfi saw the mission, a second, smaller gate about the same size as the gates on the other walls had been built through the west wall south of the main gate. Bulwarks had been built over all gates but the one in front of the church. This gate had been altered to have a vertically-raised portcullis, which apparently prevented the construction of a bulwark.

This was the situation when Lopez described the gates in 1786, when he mentioned the north postern gate as well as the main gate, and noticed that one of the west gates was smaller than the other. By the time Father Hoermann described the mission in 1866, it had gone through considerable decay, reconstruction, and alteration. The southern gate on the west side had been filled, as well as the gate on the north side. Only the main west gate, the south gate (probably where the present eastern gate on the south wall now stands), and the east gate remained, as well as the small postern gate next to the carpenter's shop.

This history of changes and filling of various gate structures would explain why Smith reconstructed only one gate on the west and no large gate on the north. However, he appears to have built one gate too many on the south wall line.

The flour mill does not appear in the inventories until 1794. It may have resulted from an order given by Governor Domingo Caballo in 1778 to plant wheat at the missions (Morfi 1935:229-230; 1969:105), but construction was apparently delayed until after 1785.

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[10]This description was available in a translation by Margaret Kenney Kress in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, July, 1931; and the translation by P. P. Forrestal in Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, March, 1931.

The reconstructed mill incorporates the machinery base, tank, and water channel as they were found, but the structure enclosing it has little historical basis. Smith found few wall foundations for the structure which stood around the machinery (Smith 1934, sheet 225), and the original appearance of the building that housed the mill is still not known (see figure 207).

The Labores:

San José had a large labor of unstated size, enclosed with a fence of posts. In the area of the mission (possibly in the patio of the convento) there was a small orchard with peach trees, fig trees, four grape vines, and an apricot tree.

San José in 1823-1824

By 1823 San José was in a state of deterioration. The political disruptions of the previous fourteen years had reduced the mission to a ruin, and its people to a small group of poverty-stricken farmers who were barely able to make a living. These conditions stand in striking contrast to those in 1793 at the time of the distribution of the mission's temporalities.

The Church and Sacristy:

On the exterior, an iron cross again stood at the top of the dome, and the wooden cannon were gone from their false parapet. The interior of the church looked much as it had in 1785. A pulpit of cedar had been added, with a stair and a sounding board. It was held up on the wall by a small iron bar (Maynes and Diaz de Leon 1824:5570). The second altar in the nave was gone, but the principal altar had the same general appearance as in 1785. The tribune was still in place above the sanctuary, and was described as follows:

> . . . . a un lado de este, esta una tribuna volada de madera con varandal torneado, la que mediante una puerta con aldaba comunica a un patio alto de un cuarto inmediato a la iglesia, o unido a esta, que ha servido, 0 puede servir de hospicio comodo a los ejercitantes.
>
> . . . . to one side of this [the sanctuary], is a cantilevered tribune of wood with a turned bannister, which through a door with drop handle communicates to a second-story hallway with one room adjoining the church, or united with it, which served, or can serve, as a convenient hospice for the celebrants. (Maynes and Diaz de Leon 1824:5571)

Maynes and Diaz de Leon were attempting to make a case for the Church to retain title to at least a part of the San José convento. By indicating that these rooms were already used for church services or would be in the future, they were trying to convince the secular authorities not to sell all of the convento to private owners. This becomes even more evident in the description of the sacristy and its relationship to the convento.

The sacristy had changed somewhat by 1824 (Ibid.). It had a brick floor. One of its two windows, known today as the "rose" window, was large with a grating of twisted iron grillwork and a door or shutter of two leaves. The other, probably the small window at the west end, was middle-sized with only

an iron grill. A partition wall had been built across some part of the room. This partition wall and the doorway into the church both had middle-sized single doors. Each was of cedar, and was carefully decorated with carved relief. A third door was the main door for the sacristy, and opened into the convento area. This was a double door, but decorated like the other two. The doorway, which is the present east door of the sacristy, had decorative stone carvings which were largely replaced in the 1930s.

In 1824 the corredor in front of the sacristy was still one story high, and remained so until the Benedictine reconstruction added the second story in the 1860s. The area in front of the door was called a "sombrio de un portal de piedra," a shaded porch with one stone arch (Ibid.). The porch had a roof of vigas. This was apparently the present restored arch directly in front of the door of the sacristy. To the right the porch "formed a room of 3 walls joined to the sacristy" (Ibid.). It had a double door with a key, and the roof was in bad condition. This implies that a wall had been built closing off the westernmost bay of the east-west corredor. The double door probably closed the arch in front of the sacristy doorway. To the left of the sacristy doorway was a ground-floor room contiguous with the church, apparently the westernmost in the row of first floor convento rooms. Maynes and Diaz de Leon indicated that this room was like the second-floor room described in connection with the tribune, and should be considered as part of the religious structures of the mission. They went on to argue that the entire convento, in fact, should not be sold but retained for the use of the church (Ibid.). This attempt succeeded in part. when the convento was sold to Juan Martin Veramendi, these three rooms were not included, and were described as "the rooms assigned for the house of the minister" (Mexican Government to Veramendi, 1824).

In a separate appraisal carried out in December, 1823, the rooms of the convento and the remainder of the mission compound were inspected. This document, while quite detailed, is difficult to work with in the pueblo area because only structures are actually described. Other features of the compound such as gaps in the wall or gateways are mentioned incidently or not at all. At Missions San Juan and Espada this difficulty is mitigated by the 1827 reappraisal, which mentions the existence of gateways and gaps fairly consistently; but this document is missing for San José.

A second difficulty is that the uses of various structures were not always specified in the appraisal. The weaving workshop and the carpenter's shop still survived as ruins in 1823, but were not named: the same may have been true of the blacksmith's shop. The names of people living in some of the Indian quarters were included. Many of the structures appraised had already been sold, as recorded in the various deeds in the records of Bexar County, but none of these owners is mentioned in the appraisal.

The Convento:

The convento was described in some detail in the 1823 appraisal. The plan of these rooms can be seen on the plan (see Appendix 1, San José, sheet 17), and the appraisal allows some general statements about the changes since 1785 and conditions in 1B23.

Only the structures were appraised in 1823, not their furnishings. The rooms of the ground level all apparently had a ceiling of vigas, morillos, and tabletas supporting the floor of the second level. Much of this ceiling was said to be inutil, useless or in bad condition. The flooring on the ground level was not specified for any of the convento rooms, but the corredor was made of lajas (flagstones). The corredor was said to be about 109 feet long, and to consist of eight arches. The actual length of the corredor is about 112 feet long, with nine arches. The last arch was closed off from the rest of the corredor and included in the room outside the entrance to the sacristy.

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The kitchen was in the one-story section at the east end of the convento, and only its width was given. Appraised as part of the kitchen was a portal in front (the single arch extending south at the east end of the corredor today), and the quarto de comedor (refectory), but no sizes were given. The corner room north of the kitchen was in ruins in 1823 and evaluated only according to the worth of its stone.

Of the four upstairs rooms and the corredor, only three have flooring material listed, but in each case this was brick tile. It is probable that the entire surface of the second floor was tiled. Roofing was morillos and tabletas for three of the four rooms and the corredor. The eastern- most room was in ruins, with no roof, and walls in poor condition.

Room 3 on the first floor had a partition wall of adobe, and room 4 had two of them. On the second floor, room 1, closest to the church, had an adobe partition wall. All doors were listed as corriente (common) except for room 3 on the second floor. This room, where the balcony was built in 1757, had a double door. Eight windows were listed, five on the first floor and three on the second. All but one of the first floor windows had gratings of iron, while none of the second floor windows had gratings. Each room had one window listed, except that no windows were indicated in the kitchen, refectory, or the two ruined rooms of the first and second floors. Two windows were in room 3 of the first floor.

Most of the convento was bought by Juan Martin Veramendi in 1824. The deed indicates that on the first floor Veramendi bought the three eastern rooms, the kitchen and refectory, the corresponding portals of the corredor, and the stairway. On the second floor he bought the three easternmost rooms, one of which was in ruins, along with their corresponding portals.

The Mission Compound:

The appraisal of 1823 gives us our first detailed look at the entire circuit of the compound wall. In the northwest corner, the granary and carpenter's shop formed a substantial block of structures, more massively built than the remainder of the compound. At this time the carpenter's shop had no surviving porch or arches. It consisted of two rooms separated by about 40 feet of wall which stood to a height of about 7 or 8 feet. Each of the two rooms had a roof of morillos in poor repair. The granary was separated from the remainder of the west line of the compound by a gap of perhaps 27 feet, or 10 varas; in this space was the puerta principal (main gate). At the east end of the carpenter's shop was a smaller gate or entrance, called a pasadiso. East of this were three rooms or houses. The first was partially in ruins and roofless; the second and third were referred to as jacsles, but were made of stone with thatched roofs. Beyond these two houses was about 208 feet of single wall standing to a height of about 3 feet. Approximately 120 feet from the northeast corner of the compound was a caño (drain or sewer) passing through the wall (BCDR 1859: Tejada to Odin). This was apparently the north end of the covered drain found by Smith running through the convento, and may have been the outflow from the latrines inside the convento.

From the northeast corner south a single wall stood to an average height of about 7 feet, and was 37 1/2 feet long. Next was a gap estimated to be about 28 feet where the new road along the north side of the church and convento passed through the wall. South of this opening was the surviving sections of the obraje, about 69 feet long. The structure was roofless and in ruins. No other traces of buildings are listed in this area: the foundations along the north side of the convento, connecting it to the obraje, had all been reduced to grade or lower by this time (or had not yet been built). South of the obraje was apparently a second gap perhaps 28 feet wide for the eastern gate of the compound.

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The Pueblo:

South of the main road through the east gate was the pueblo proper. The plaza was empty at this date, and most of the houses along the walls were in ruins. Sizes of these houses are taken from the 1823 appraisal; names of owners from the Bexar County Archives. All house measurements seem to be internal, and do not include wall thicknesses.

Six houses still stood along the east wall, only one of which had a roof; the others were in poor condition. These six houses occupied about 245 feet of the wall. The first was approximately 39 feet long, followed by one of 36 feet. These two houses apparently belonged to Antonio Garcia (BCA: MR-83 and UFO-14). The third was 42 feet long, with a new thatched roof. This house apparently belonged to Tomas de Leon, who was probably responsible for the new roof (BCA: MR-90). Next was a roofless building 31 feet long, the property of Felipe Casillas (BCA: MR-90). Adjoining Casillas on the south was the roofless house of Julian Reyes, to whom it had been granted in 1818 (BCA: MR-72). It was 56 feet long. On its south was a final roofless house, with no apparent owner. It was granted to Apolinario Ramirez in 1830 (BCDR, K2:526). South of this was about 180 feet of single wall standing to an average height of about 4 feet, for a total of 540 feet including wall thicknesses. This area was purchased by the Veramendi family at about this time (BCQR, K2:526).

Only two houses continued in existence on the south wall. The easternmost of these was about 40 feet long, half of it still covered by a thatched roof, while the other was roofless and about 60 feet long. East of these houses stood about 130 feet of single wall to a height of about 4 feet, and west was another stretch of single wall about 210 feet long and over 5 feet high, for a total appraised length of 440 feet. The lengths of buildings seem to be measured on the interior, so that about 8 feet should be added to this length for actual distance, making 448 feet. The first listing for the west wall is a house, so its depth of about 15 feet must be added to the length of the south wall, giving a total of 463 feet. This is about 21 feet short of the present interior width of about 484 feet for the south wall. The difference was probably made up by the south gateway, unmentioned in the appraisal but known from previous descriptions.

The grants for property along this side are as yet unlocated. Some hint of the original owners may be found in an 1860 deed. In this transfer, three landowners are mentioned. From east to west, they are Josefa de la Garza (also apparently referred to as Tia Chefra Maltus), then Juan José Palacios, who owned a lot with a front on the Plaza of 30 varas (about 83 feet), extending south 60 varas (about 166 feet), and finally José Zuniga on the west (OLLU, OSMHRL roll 12:7864). These property owners cannot yet be associated with any of the tracts along the south wall listed in the 1823 appraisal.

Other landowners known to have been on the south side, but with no apparent association with the lots mentioned above, are: José Maria Ruiz, who owned B lot with a 30 vara front on the plaza which belonged to Refugia Duran de Tejada and José Tejada by 1859 (BCDR, H2:258); a lot of 30 varas front, adjoining the Tejada lot on the west, belonging to Roberto, José Maria Antonio, and Juan Sierra in 1859, apparently theirs through a partition of lands acquired by the Sierra family in previous Years, possibly as inheritance through the Veramendi family (BCDR, H2:327); and a lot of unstated size adjoining the Sierra lot on the West, belonging to Juan Huizar in 1859 (BCDR, H2:327). Juan Huizar may have owned the lot at the southwest corner of the plaza, since this land later belonged to the Huizar family (see, for example, BCDR, 1019:317, made in 1927).

No reference is made to gateway openings in the south wall, nor is there any reference to a corner bastion or gateway bastions, either here or at any other gate. It is not unusual for the 1823 appraisal

to pass over such openings without reference, however. They are usually mentioned in the 1827 reappraisal, but this document is missing for San José. One gate about 21 feet wide on the south wall would make up the difference.

Along the west wall, 8 houses survived. Several of these were actually occupied at the time of the appraisal; the names given here are those listed. The first was in the southwest corner. It was about 28 feet long, and was roofless. An adobe partition wall, like those described in the 1794 secularization description, survived within it. Between this and the next house was about 89 feet of wall standing to a height of over 8 feet. Next was a small house, 17 feet long with a thatched roof, still in use. This was the home of Josepha de la Garza.

North of the house of de la Garza was a street called Calle Nueva, 14 feet wide, then a gap of about 45 feet where no wall survived, and finally a section of single wall about 60 feet long extending to the house of Damian de la Cruz (BCDR, K2:526). This wall was about 5 1/2 feet high. De la Cruz's house was about 40 feet long, roofed with morillos, and had three adobe partition walls inside.

Between this house and the next ran another, unnamed street. Later deed records indicate that it, too, was about 14 feet wide.[11] Where it was to enter the plaza, several wall fragments blocked its way. The appraisal says that here were "las paredes de la calle, que debe abrirse, tienen 40 carretas de piedra" (walls of the street, which ought to be removed, containing 40 cartloads of stone). The meaning of this entry, while perfectly clear to the appraisers, is obscure to us. One cartload of stone will build a section of wall approximately 3/4 vara thick (the average thickness of the exterior wall of San Jose), 1 vara long and 1 vara high (2 feet thick, 2 3/4 feet long and 2 3/4 feet high, or 15 cubic feet), according to the ratios of wall to cartload used in the remainder of the appraisal. If these wall fragments stood to a height of about 8 feet, then their total length was about 37 feet, or two sections of wall each about 18 1/2 feet long. How such substantial walls were arranged in the 14-foot wide gap cannot be determined from the available records.

From this point north to the main gateway were five houses, each with a roof of morillos. The first was Luis Romero's, and was 18 feet long. In spite of its small size, it had two adobe partition walls inside. Next was the house of Miguel Menchaca, 37 1/2 feet long with two adobe partitions, followed by Rosalia Sartuche's house, of the same size and also with two adobe partitions. Next was the home of Felipe Alvorado, 41 feet long and with two adobe partitions. Alvorado apparently abandoned this house almost immediately, and it was regranted to Cecilia Nunez in 1830 (BCA, UFO-13). Later deeds indicate that a narrow passageway about 5 feet wide passed between the houses of Sartuche and Alvorado (BCDR 203: 164, for example). The last house, which may have been the blacksmith's shop in the 1700s, was 22 feet long, with no occupant listed. In fact, it was never granted and fell into ruins by the 1830s. Between this house and the granary was the puerta principal, of unstated size. Later deed records indicate that it was 21 feet wide.

All four walls had gaps whose sizes are not given in the appraisal. On the north wall the appraisal mentions the pasadiso, but does not give its size. Fortunately, this is given in a separate deed, and the total length including probable wall thicknesses is 430 feet. Smith's length from the east side of the granary to the northeast corner is 472 feet. The difference of 42 feet cannot be explained unless there were openings or gaps in the north wall unmentioned by the appraisal. On the east wall the total length

[11]The reconstruction of the lots, walls and streets on the west side of San Jose was a complex process, using a number of deed and archive records. Principal among these were BCA, UFO-13; BCDR, Probate Minutes E:224, 242; BCDR, K2:526; BCDR 8:506, and BCDR 208:265.

of measured material, including wall thicknesses, is 540 feet. This is 58 feet short of Smith's length of 598 feet. Part of this 58 foot difference was probably taken up by the gap for the road along the north side of the church, of unstated width, and presumably the remainder is accounted for by the gap for a gateway just south of the obraje ruins. Each is allotted half of the difference (29 feet) on the plan.

On the south side, the construction including wall thicknesses totals about 463 feet but mentions no gate, requiring an unlisted gateway opening 21 feet wide. The west side gaps have been discussed above. Other than the unexplained 42 foot gap in the north wall, the picture presented by the 1823 appraisal generally matches the plan as rebuilt by Smith. Little evidence can be seen, however, for the details of room plan or gateway plan as he reconstructed them. In the files of the Park Service there is an undated perspective drawing made by Smith showing very few of the details he incorporated in his final plans (see figure 163). It matches the appraisal as to general appearance quite well indeed, including a long stretch of single wall along the north side of the compound, and may therefore represent a view of San Jose based on what Smith actually found in the ground rather than on his heavily embellished later plans. As can be seen, the history of partition and subsequent ownership of the houses of San Jose is complex and still incomplete. However, the forays into the Bexar county deeds and archives carried out as part of the research for this HSR demonstrate that the information is on record. With patience the transition from Franciscan mission to private ownership of San Jose will eventually be worked out.

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Chapter 6
STRUCTURAL HISTORY OF NUESTRA SENORA
DE PURISIMA CONCEPCION DE ACUNA, 1731-1827

Introduction

Mission Concepción was established beside the San Antonio River on March 5, 1731, along with two other missions. All three had been transferred from East Texas after years of unsuccessful attempts to bring Indian neophytes into them.

Concepción's convento would appear to be distinctly different from the others in the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. To some extent this impression is correct. Concepción's convento is not the product of a steady growth from the time of the founding of the mission on the San Antonio River in 1731, but of a complete redesign and reconstruction beginning in ca. 1755. This new design was itself changed significantly during construction, and the present structure is the result of these two major structural events. In spite of this, there are many similarities between the present convento of Concepión and those of the other two Queretaran missions in the Park.

The Early Mission

The first available report on the Oueretaran missions of the San Antonio River valley after their establishment in 1731 is that of 1745, by Fr. Francisco Ortiz:

> *Se esta fabricando una Yglesia de piedra labrada, y mezcla, cuya fabrica esta como en la mitad. Sirve aora de Yglesia una pieza de adoves con t:echo de terrado, y con su Sacristia. . . . Esta mission esta aora en la margen del Rio de S. Ant.o. En cuyo parage ay un pueblo formado de los Xacales necess.s para la habitacion de los Yndios; tres casas de piedra para los soldados y una troge para las semillas. Los m.ros viven en una casa de piedra, q.e tienen dos suelos; en el primero ay dos officinas, en el segundo la recissa vivienda. El pueblo esta amurallada con cerca de piedra, y lodo. . . . Riega de tierras una buena azequia, que passa por medio de el Pueblo. . . . Para el ministerio de Carpin.o y Albañilo ay los precissos instrumentos; y una fragua, para componer toda la herram.ta.*
>
> A church is being built of worked stone and mortar; this structure is about half built. Serving now as the church is a room of adobes with a flat roof, with its sacristy. . . . This mission is presently on the banks of the San Antonio River, where there is a pueblo formed by the jacales necessary for the housing of the Indians; three houses of stone for the soldiers; and a granary for the seed. The missionaries live in a stone house, which has two stories; on the first there are two storerooms, and the missionaries actually live on the second floor. The pueblo is encircled by a protective wall of stone and adobe. . . . Watering the fields is a good acequia, which passes through the middle of the pueblo. . . . for the work of the carpenter and the stone mason there are the requisite tools; and a blacksmith's shop for the making of all iron items.

<u>The Church and Convento</u>:

The adobe church and parts of the convento have been located south and west of the present structures by archeology (see Appendix 1, Concepción, sheets 11 and 12). The church, probably built in ca. 1733,

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was about 15 feet wide and 60 1/2 feet long, with its long axis north and south. The altar was apparently in the south end, where the limited archeology found indications of an adobe platform. The church probably had an adobe sacristy at the south end or on the southeast, connecting the church with the convento. The convento, also of adobe, extended east from the church for at least 115 feet. The church and early convento were identified in excavations by The Center for Archeological Research at the University of Texas at San Antonio in 1981. Parts of the church had been seen in excavations by the Texas Historical Commission in 1971-72, but not recognized. The outline of the church and its later stone sacristy were defined by the National Park Service in excavations conducted in 1982. Only small portions of a few walls of the adobe convento were uncovered in the excavations. This was enough to demonstrate their presence, but not sufficient to work out the plan of these first convento buildings.

In the late 1730s the adobe convento and sacristy were razed and leveled and stone buildings constructed across the area. The sacristy was attached to the south end of the adobe church. It was about 16 feet wide and about 20 1/2 feet long.

Extending eastward from the sacristy was the convento, a series of rooms built of stone. The first several rooms can be outlined fairly well from the archeological record, but details become less certain where the foundations of the third convento and other buildings were built across it, and the eastern limits are uncertain. The apparent length of the early convento was about 117 feet from the east wall of the sacristy to the probable end of the row of buildings. This included four or five rooms, with some indications of another room running southward from the east end of the convento traces. At the west end, another room was located south of the first room east of the sacristy, with a gap of about 12 feet separating it from the north row of convento rooms. This gap may have been the porteria, or entranceway into the convento enclosure. No clear indications were recorded of a stairway to the second story of the convento, where the cells of the missionaries were located.

Too few details are known of the ground floor plan to permit an assignment of room use based on the 1745 report. Most of the foundations were found by Smith, who had no reason to suspect that he was tracing the remains of two separate, overlapping sets of construction. Because of this a number of details about the foundations were not recorded on his plans.

By 1740 Tello was ready to begin construction. He started with Purísima Concepción, probably because it was the Father President's church.

Here, Tello had the problem that the Franciscans had built the stone convento and granary in the wrong arrangement to allow him the best placing of the new church. He would have to either tear down the granary so that the church and sacristy could join the convento at its northeast corner, or place the church at the northwest corner of the convento with the sacristy located where the stone sacristy of the adobe church stood. This resulted in the convento extending off to the southeast from the church, rather than being tucked up against the south side of the building as it should. Tello elected to do neither of these things, but to join the church and sacristy to the north end of the granary and join the church and convento together with a new section of building extending south from the southwest bell tower.

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For the new section of the convento, Tello planned and designed a unique vaulted structure, rather like a small section of some of the older conventos in Mexico.[1] It was built at the same time as the lower portions of the church: the arched stairway to the church bell tower was built against the north wall of the convento, and the stonework is tied into that wall and the bell tower wall. By Tello's departure in August, 1744, the vaults of the first three rooms of the convento had been built, along with the vaulted corridor on each side of the building. The completed convento rooms reached almost to the walls of the first stone convento. The adobe church at the west end of the first convento continued in use as the church of the mission, pending completion of the sacristy of the new church.

By August, 1744, the church, built of "cut stone and mortar," had reached what the Franciscans considered the halfway point. This probably indicates that about half the height of the walls had been built. Such a height would have meant that the roofs of the ground-floor rooms of the bell-towers, the roof of the sacristy, and the arched stairs to the second floor room above the sacristy had all been completed. The adobe church and its stone sacristy were probably torn down in 1743 or 1744, and services transferred to the new sacristy.

****The construction of the present stone church probably began about 1740. The laying of the first stones of the church at Valero was delayed until 1744 (Habig 1968:4-9), apparently because of the lack of a qualified master stonemason. Since Concepción was part of the same Oueretaran chain of missions, it is likely that no architect/mason was available for it until about the same time, 1740-1744. Concepción was about half finished in 1745; the stone mason hired by the Queretarans obviously started it and carried it well along before beginning on Valero.****

Construction on the church was about half completed by 1745, but this was the easier half. Once construction reached the springline for the ribs and vaults, the work probably went much more slowly. It took the masons another 10 years to finish the building. The present church was dedicated in 1755. The next description by Ortiz, in 1756, depicts it as complete even to the painted decoration on the facade and the interior.

Hieronymo Ybarra

Was the keystone at the top of the triangular pediment at Concepción placed before or after Tello's departure? Needs to be read, if possible. Could well tell us a little more about the i phasing of work at Concepción. I would bet it says 1754, therefore virtually the first stone placed by Ybarra.

Geronimo Ybarra was brought from San Luis Potosi in about 1751 to complete the work begun by Tello. He began with Concepción, which seems not to have had any other work done since 1744. Concepción convento had already been started by Tello (apparently), then work stopped from 1744 to 1750, when the arrival of Ybarra started it up again. Talk about the construction sequence for the convento, demolition of the adobe church. He finished the church in December, 1?55.

Concepción was completed in late 1755 by Ybarra and dedicated on December 8.

[1]Tello's new convento for Concepción is the earliest known example of the design used fifty years later for most of the conventos in the California missions. It is possible that some progenitor of this plan will be found in the conventos of Zacatecas or elsewhere in Mexico, where Tello was working before arriving in San Antonio.

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Design changes to the convento occurred in the 1750s, therefore created by a different mason. In fact, the cocina rooms seem to have been added to give more space in the convento while leaving the original convento building standing.

A big section of the first convento at Concepción apparently continued in use through 1772. The rooms of the ground floor fit the description of the sizes of the weaving workshop and blacksmith shop well enough, and this use explains why the plan of the convento changed, with vaulted rooms suddenly being built off to the east instead of to the south. The mason was avoiding the rooms in use on the south. Only the two eastern lines of foundation continued south, indicating that the east end of the building was removed. Probably the entire second story taken down, too.

In the 1756 description, the old convento was still in use, but the adobe church was gone. We may conclude that it had been torn down sometime between the dedication of the new church on December 8, 1755, and the second visit by Ortiz on June 4, 1756 (Ortiz 1955.2: 23, 27). The convento was still in use as of that date, but Ortiz described it as "casi arruinada," partly in ruins. Consequently, a new convento was under construction. It was to be only one story high, with three cells and several storerooms, all vaulted.

Apparently upon completion of the present portion of the new, vaulted convento, the old two-story stone structure was demolished. Foundation lines for more of the vaulted convento were then laid out across the foundations of the old convento. At about the same time or perhaps a little earlier, the plan of the vaulted convento was changed, and a second line of vaulted rooms built extending westward from the southernmost arch of the corredor of the vaulted convento. This room or rooms went across the site of the adobe church. The construction seems to have been carried out prior to April of 1759. In that month Fr. Mariano Dolores y Biana visited the San Antonio missions and wrote another report:

> . . . el convento se hallan fabricadas algunas piezas, para la havitacion de los Ministros, oficina, obraje, y otras; aunque no se ha concluido su obra, esta es de piedra, y hasta aora lo mas de bobeda, lo que parece no probar bien, por lo que se ha mandado prosiga de vigueria.
>
> Some rooms of the convento have been built for the ministers' dwelling, the storerooms, weaving room, and other purposes; although the work has not been completed, it is of stone, and up until now most of it was vaulted; but this proved to be unsuitable and because of this it has been ordered to continue with flat, beam-supported roofs. (Dolores y Biana 1759: 14-93)

This indicates that all the known vaulted structures had to have been built before early 1759. Some of the flat-roofed storerooms and workshops described in 1772 may have been built before 1759, since the report hints that some unvaulted structures may have already been built as part of the convento, but most were probably built after about April of 1759. The order that all subsequent buildings be built with roofs of vigas, ca. 1759, apparently resulted in a second major change in the plan of the new convento, causing the conversion of the eastern corredor into a guest room and portal, the completion of several rooms on the south end with flat roofs, and the abandonment of the construction of the remaining vaulted rooms on the lines of foundation laid across the site of the old two-story convento.

What caused this change? The implication of the statement by Dolores Biana was that the vaulted structures proved to be structurally unsound. If so, it may be that some of the new construction collapsed soon after completion. A likely candidate for such a collapse is the kitchen, extending

westward from the refectory. The broken section of this vaulted room or rooms is shown as fallen as early as the 1840s, and is apparently down as of the sale of the convento in 1823. It is never described, whole or fallen, in any report or inventory. If it had collapsed in late 1758 or early 1759, this would have prompted the order to finish the remaining rooms with flat roofs rather than vaults.

The Granary:

In 1745 Ortiz mentions a granary, but does not describe it. The context implies that it was made of stone, but this is conjecture. In 1756 a granary of stone and lime was in use, but no reference was made to the type of roofing. There was no description of a granary in 1759, and in 1762 it was said to be a spacious room containing about 800 fanegas (about 40 tons) of corn and 50 fanegas (about 2 1/2 tons) of beans.

There is no indication of the location of the granary or granaries in the reports before 1772. However, the condition of the one in use in 1772, as well as its location, indicates that it was not new. Buttresses on the exterior imply that it was intended to be vaulted, but in 1772 it was flat-roofed. This could indicate that it was built about 1756-59, at the same time as the other buildings that were intended to be vaulted, but which were finished with a flat roof. However, the abutments between the present sacristy and the surviving north wall of the granary show that the granary probably predated the present church. This means that it must have been built before 1745.

The structural and documentary evidence, therefore, implies that the granary in use in 1772 was the same building as the granary first described in 1745, and that it was built near the northeast corner of the two-story convento at about the same time as the rest of the pre-1745 convento structures. In this case it would predate the present church and sacristy, which would have been designed and built to fit onto the north end of the granary. An examination of the structure and history of collapse of the stairway and its enclosure indicate that at the time of the construction of the south wall of the sacristy, the north wall of the granary was present. The massive wall on the west side of the stairway ground level acts as a buttress for the vault of the sacristy on the southwest, and the stairway itself acts as a flying buttress for the southeast corner. This would imply that the stairway was built as part of the construction of the sacristy, rather than added later.

This conjecture is supported by evidence from later collapse of the walls. The fall of the eastern enclosing wall of the stairway and the eastern portion of the granary north wall demonstrated clearly that the stairs were an independent structural unit, not built as a part of either of these two walls. The eastern enclosing wall was built with an abutting joint against the sacristy and the Father President's office, and probably had the same joint against the granary north wall. The wall was therefore a later addition, indicating that the stairway and second floor landing were probably open or protected only by a light roof at the time of construction, completed in ca. 1755.

The enclosing walls of the landing, the window to the west, the arched doorway out onto the granary roof, and the loft on the east, all were apparently added after completion of the initial construction in ca. 1755, but before 1772. The simplest sequence of events would be that the granary was built at about the same time as the stone two-story convento, beginning in the late 1730s, and was subsequently incorporated into the later church and convento plan. It is likely that it always had a flat roof, although it was obviously built with the intent to be vaulted at a later date. The order forbidding vaulting, issued in 1759, probably caused this plan to be abandoned.

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Workshops:

A building for a blacksmith shop is mentioned as early as 1745, and again in the reports of 1756, 1759, and 1762. The weaving shop is first referred to in 1756, with three looms, and the same description is repeated in 1759 and 1762. The 1772 inventory groups these two buildings together and next to the community supply room and the granary. The scant evidence from the 1772 inventory and archeology indicates that the two shops were probably housed in rooms at the south end of the vaulted convento, finished with flat beamed roofs after the 1759 order. Therefore the shops described in 1745 and 1756 were in other rooms of the earlier convento building, while the 1762 and 1772 descriptions were of the shops built into the new but unvaulted convento rooms after the demolition of the two-story convento and the construction of the foundations for the vaulted convento running across the site. The arrangement in 1759 is uncertain, although it is possible that the shops were already housed in what was thought to be a temporary location in the unfinished convento rooms even at that date.

The Pueblo:

The Indians of Concepción lived in jacals forming a pueblo through which flowed the acequia. The pueblo, including the adobe church, the convento, and other buildings such as the soldier's quarters and the granary, was enclosed by a wall of stone and mud. This enclosure appears to have been different from the later compound of the mission, begun in the late 1750s. Evidence for the locations of these features is sparse, but there are some hints.

The north wall of the enclosure around the mission apparently ran under the present north wall of the north transept of the present church. A possible portion of this wall was located during the i981 excavations. Parts of the enclosure, including the south wall, apparently continued in use as a wall around the later convento through the I8th century, and still survived as a landmark in the l9th century. In 1851 "the old wall of the . . mission yard" is mentioned in one deed as standing about 270 feet south of the south wall of the church (BCDR, 12:351). In another deed transferring the convento buildings in 1860, but containing a translation of the lot boundaries of 1824, the same distance is given as the size of the convento lot north to south (BCDR, S1:480). The wall indicated by these deeds would have been located just north of Felisa Street, running east and west about where the sidewalk is, south of the visitor center.

If these two walls were indeed parts of the enclosure of 1745, then the mission was 310 feet across, north to south. No evidence of the east and west limits of the enclosure is available, but if it was approximately square and the east wall was just beyond the section of north wall uncovered in 1981, then the west wall would have been about 200 feet west of the front of the present church. A section of acequia with a thick deposit of trash dating from the period 1720-1730 and a trash pit with a massive deposit of fragments of demolished jacal or adobe buildings were found in 1981 at 200 to 250 feet from the church. These were reexamined in 1982. Both of these features hint that Indian quarters and the enclosing wall were nearby, since trash pits and dumps were usually just outside the walls.

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The Stone Church, 1756 to 1772:

The 1772 inventory of Concepción began with the usual description of the church. Since it was a complete, full-sized church, the only one in the 1772 inventory, more sophisticated architectural vocabulary was used in its description than at the other missions. At this time, San José was a simple, flatroofed church, San Antonio de Valero was only half built, the principal church of Espada was an outline on the ground, and construction of the principal church of San Juan had not even begun.

The Concepción church had been completed and dedicated on December 8, 1755 by Fr. Francisco Ortiz, who wrote the first description of it in the report of June, 1756. There were few changes between 1756 and 1772, and for the sake of clarity we will combine all the reports of this interval into a single description, with indications of change where necessary.[2]

The church was built of rough stonework with lime mortar. It was vaulted, 30 varas (about 83 feet) in interior length, and 8 varas (about 22 feet) across the nave. Ortiz adds that the width across the interior of the transepts was 17 varas (about 47 feet; Ortiz 1955,2:28). The actual dimensions are: length, 86 feet 2 1/2 inches; width across the nave, 21 feet 7 1/8 inches; width across the transept, 46 feet 8 1/4 inches. There was a dome over the crossing of the nave and transepts, and a series of cornices divided the inner base of the dome from the body of the nave and transepts. In the "four hollows of the dome" (probably the surfaces of the squinches) were painted pictures of Saint Francis, Saint Bonaventure, Saint Anthony of Padua, and Saint Bernardino of Siena.

On the exterior of the dome, at the four corners, were buttresses, merlons, and cornices at the springpoint of the vault. On the north side, apparently of the dome, was a carefully bricked area. The dome had a small octagonal lantern and four large windows containing glass panes with wire netting for their protection. At the top of the lantern was an iron cross and a weather vane, 2 varas (about 5 1/2 feet) high.

The church had two belltowers, each with four bell openings. Each tower had an octagonal dome with a cornice. They were topped with small square lanterns, each with an iron cross and weathervane. One tower had two bells, one weighing 24 arrobas (about 609 1/2 pounds), and the other 6 arrobas (about 152 1/2 pounds). There was a stair of stone and logs to climb to the towers, a portion of which survives today. In addition, Smith identified the fragments and wall scars of a stone stairway running from the ground against the northeast end wall of the convento to the east wall of the bell tower, where it turned and continued up to the door of the tower on its east face. The flight against the north wall of the convento was in the shape of a flying buttress, and the flight against the belltower wall was of a similar form, springing from the landing at the top of the first flight. Fragments of this stair still survive on these walls. Marks and sockets within the south tower probably indicate the anchor points for a log stairway running up from the roof-level landing to the bell platform itself, the same sort of stairway that survives at San Jose today. At the corners of the towers were four merlons. The entire church had a parapet and stone roof drains.

[2]Unreferenced descriptions are from the 1772 inventory.

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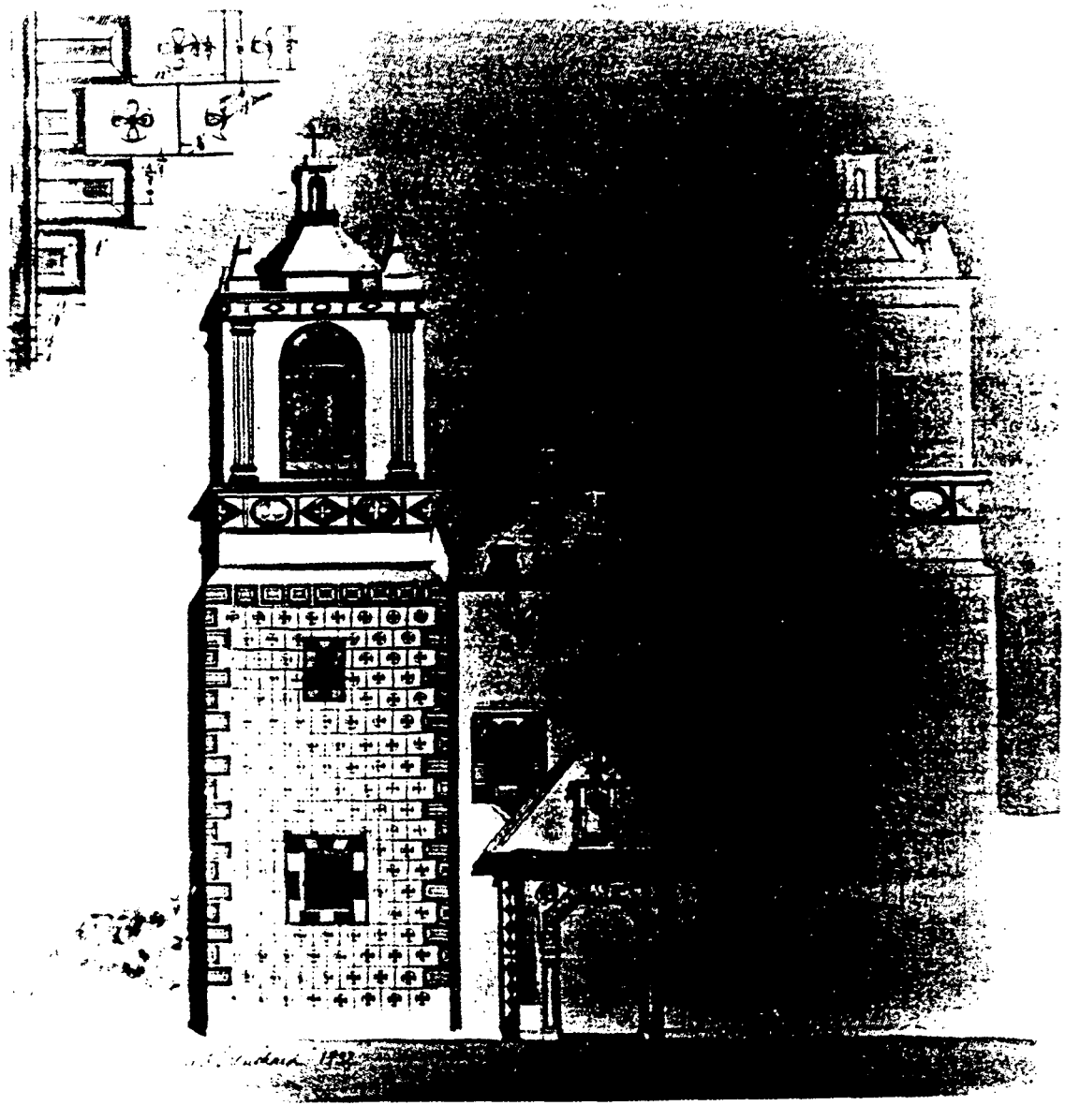

Figure 16. The facade of the church of Concepción after its completion in late 1755. This drawing was made by Ernst Schuchard after detailed examination of the wall of the church, and included in his study of wall painting at the San Antonio Missions. Courtesy the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas.

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The front of the church had a cross of stone at the top, with merlons to either side. The 1772 inventory says that the facade was painted various colors. It was described in 1756 as having been painted with "varios florones," various floral designs. The sun was painted on one side of the facade, and the moon on the other (Ortiz 1955.2:28). An inspection of the structure today shows that the facade surface was divided into a pattern of false stonework, with symmetrical floral designs within the blocks. Drawings done earlier in this century show that portions of the images of the sun and moon were still visible as recently as the 1930s (Schuchard 1935:12; Brooks 1936:133-34 and fig. 2O; see figure 10). A straight cornice ran across the top of the facade, "pintada de varios colores," painted in various colors. In the center of the facade was a claraboya redonda, a round bull's-eye window with a grating of wood, and to the sides of this window were two windows in the shape of an ochavada arch, each more than a vara high (about 2 3/4 feet). Below and between these two windows was a triangular cornice resting on another cornice. The lower cornice had a frieze, and half-columns flanked the doorway. Within the triangular cornice was a niche containing an image of our Lady of the Conception in stone, and above it a stone crucifix. The hands of the Christ figure survive from this crucifix, telling us that the image itself was made of iron. Unmentioned in the inventories is a rectangular stone boss at the peak of the triangular cornice, inscribed with an almost unreadable date: "175-."

The main doorway itself was also an ochavada arch, and contained two large doors of cypress or juniper. One of these two leaves contained a postigo, a smaller door for one person. These doors were kept closed by a large iron bar and a picaporte (latch-key). Just inside the main doorway of the church was a vestibule of varnished and painted cypress or juniper. A second set of double doors opened from this vestibule into the main body of the church. To the left of the main doors was another postigo with a latch-key. The floor of the vestibule area was carefully paved in baked tile.

The remainder of the floor was wood up to the mouth of the transepts. Today, the stone steps to the platforms of the main altar and the two side altars in the transepts begin at this point, and the arrangement is probably as it was built in the 1740s and 1750s. The wooden floor had 11 tramos (sections). Each section consisted of boards resting on joists of oak. The boards reached from joist to joist, and the joists themselves apparently extended across the width of the nave. This implies that there were 11 joists equally spaced up the length of the nave.

In the base of one of the towers was the baptistry with a window protected by a grating. Its door had a turned wooden grill. In the other tower base was a chapel for the Archangel Saint Michael, with a deteriorated framed painting of the Archangel above an altar. on the wall were painted the images of christ crucified and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. These two paintings survive in part on the south wall of the room in the south belltower (see figure 11).

On the east wall of this room was a stone altar, and above it on the wall, a painted rectangular frame which apparently outlined the painting of St. Michael. This indicates that the baptistry was in the north belltower base. The chapel for Saint Michael had been in the south tower base since the first report in 1756, and apparently the same painting and altar were described in each report. The wall paintings of Christ and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores are described only in the 1772 inventory. The earlier reports rarely described any wall paintings other than those in the main body of the church. Even the 1772 inventory described only the paintings of the church interior and the chapel of St. Michael. It is likely that the wall paintings in the chapel of St. Michael are the original decoration of the church, completed in the mid 1750s. The chapel had a door and window like that of the baptistry, and an altar table.

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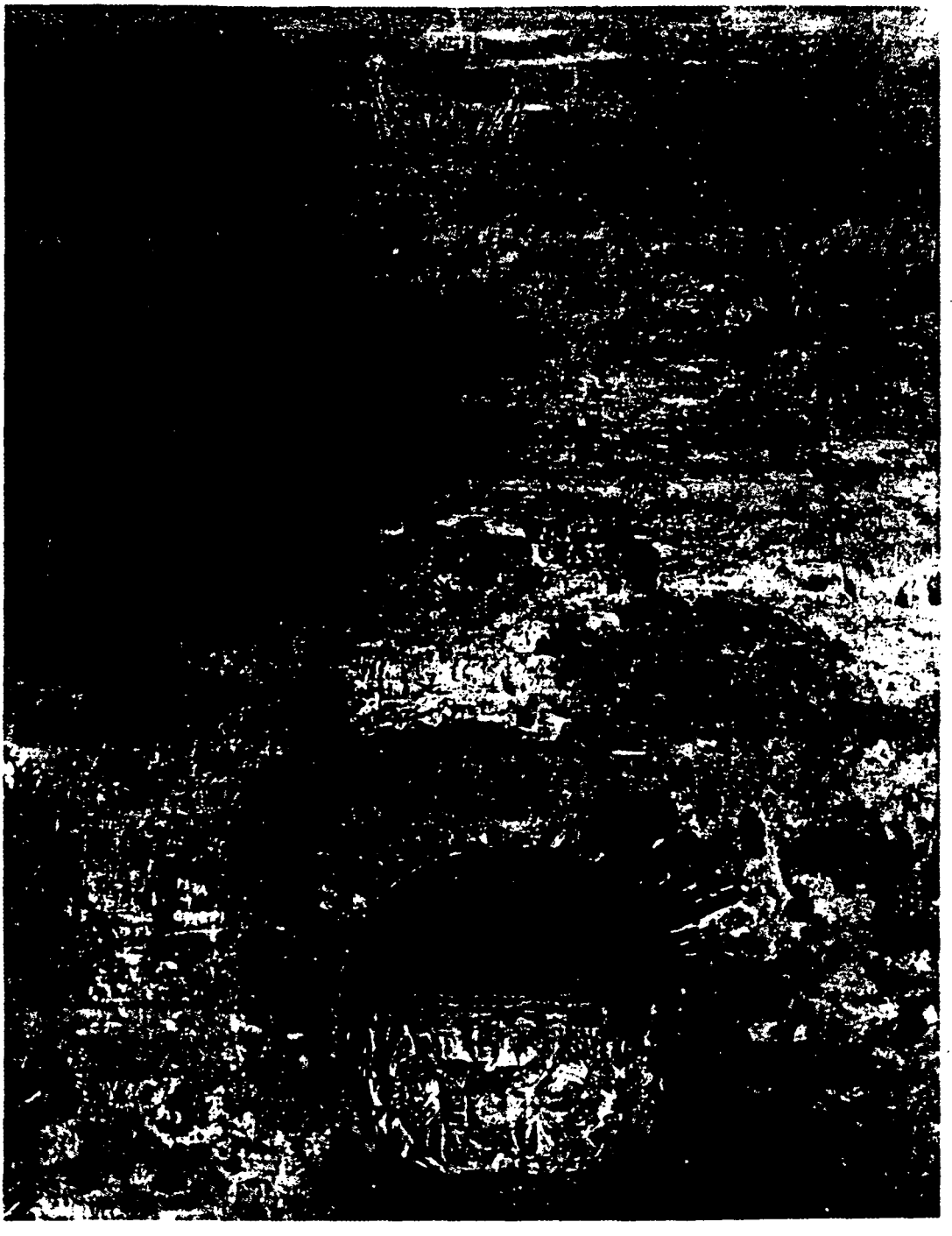

Figure 17. The painting of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the south wall of the Chapel of St. Michael at Concepción. A carved stone baptismal font from the nave has been inserted into the wall through the painting. National Park Service photograph

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Within the main body of the church, against the south wall a short distance from the doorway into the chapel of Saint Michael, was a font for holy water. It consisted of a square column supporting a basin more than a vara (about 2 3/4 feet) wide. The basin was made of stone and was carved with four angels and various moldings. This font is apparently the one which is now inserted in the south wall of the chapel of St. Michael through the painting of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The baptismal font was placed in the wall after 1772, and probably after 1824.

The main altar, apparently the altar present today, was made of stone. Behind it was a large gilded and painted retablo of wood. Above this across the entire facade of the end wall was a canopy painted on the wall itself, on which could be seen los cinco Senores, the five Lords or five Saints. on the two side walls of the sanctuary were painted the images of the divine Shepherdess and the Wanderer. The platform of the high altar, apparently the stone platform present today, was covered with a large carpet of blue-striped cotton. Hanging from the vault above the altar was a silver lamp.

In the left or northern transept was another altar of stone. Behind it was a large retablo. Above this was a cloth canopy hanging from rods, and an image of christ crucified with John the Evangelist and the Magdalene painted on the wall. The platform had a cotton carpet of unstated size or color.

In the other transept, on the south side of the church, was another altar and stone platform. A third retablo stood behind this altar, and around it the wall was covered with other paintings. Near the retablo was a well-made wooden clock with a bronze bell and an alarm bell. It stood on a platform of appropriate size, supported by four corbels set into the wall.

A pulpit was near this transept, probably built within the na.e at the southwest corner of the transept. It had stairs of stone and wood, and a sounding board supported by an iron bar. Within the nave were two confessionals with gratings and curtains on small iron rods. They had doors with slide-bolts of iron. There were three benches for the Indians, and a large bench for the officials of the pueblo.

The Sacristy:

The sacristy was vaulted, 8 varas long and 4 1/2 varas wide. It had two doors, one leading into the church with only a latch, the other leading out to the rest of the mission, with a good key and latch. Occu[illegible] he entire head or west end of the sacristy were three large painted and varnished chests of d[illegible] a closet on either side. The chests and closets rested on a corniced platform (apparently [illegible]ent stone platform) covered with a wool carpet. Above the chests and closets on the wall was [illegible]olo. The window had an iron grating; this was apparently one of the two windows presently at the east end of the sacristy. In one wall was a cupboard with a door and drawers, all with locks -- apparently the present large shelved niche in the south wall near the southeastern corner. rn the sacristy was a red carpet with blue stripes and a fringe of wool. Beneath the carpet the sacristy had a floor of baked brick.

The Convento:

The convento of 1772 was a vaulted structure, most of which still stands today. On the west side of this convento was a corredor with a vaulted ceiling and three arches along the west side. A fourth arch was on the north end of the corredor.

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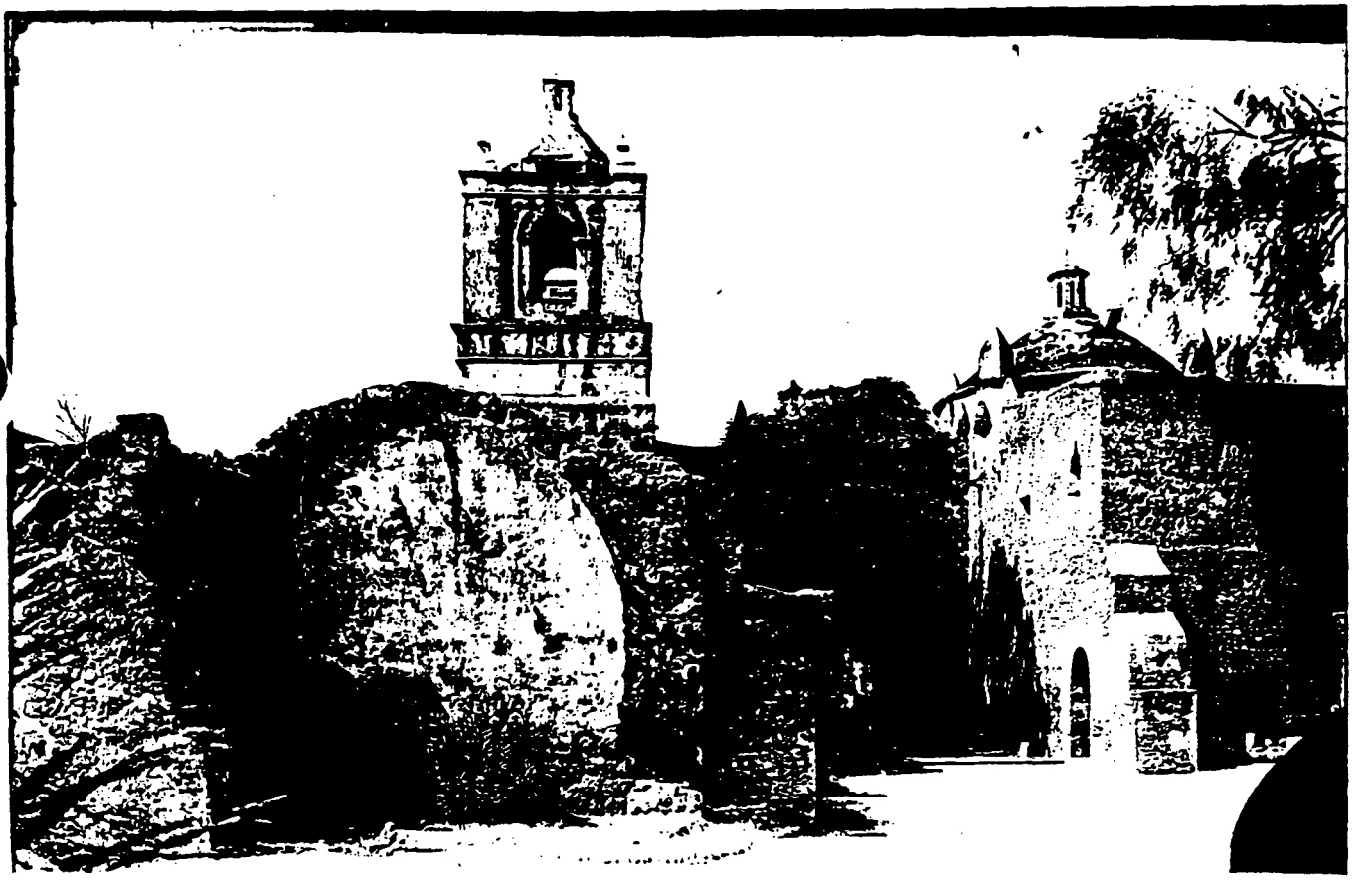

Figure 18. The alcove of the principal cell of Concepción's convento ca. 1920, before patching and filling obscured the details. The location of the small loft is indicated by the three square beam sockets to the right of the doorway from the alcove into the main room of the cell.

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The fourth arch opened into the cemetery in front of the church. This cemetery was enclosed in an adobe wall about 4 feet high but of unstated size.

The corredor was considered to be part of the porteria, or formal entrance into the convento. One of the rooms of the convento was the porteria proper. No doorways into the porteria were described. To the right of the porteria in the corredor was the refectory, the vaulted room at the south end of the corredor. The refectory had a door and a window, and another small serving window opening to the kitchen. At present the west wall of this room is an open arch like those along the corredor north of it, but in the 1930s this arch was still gealed, and had a small window opening through it into the vaulted room extending westward (Scurlock and Fox 1977: Fig. 3). This was probably the small serving window. The present doorway opening to the south is part of a reconstruction of the south wall which collapsed sometime in the early nineteenth century and was rebuilt late in that century. The second window in the refectory probably opened through the original wall at this point.

This arrangement indicates that at least the easternmost of the two rooms extending west from the refectory housed the kitchen. The inventory never describes the kitchen or its location, other than the above remark about the small serving window, but archeological evidence and earlier reports indicate that these rooms were built between late 1755 and early 1759. It is possible that the vaulting of the west half of the room collapsed soon after its completion in 1758 or 1759, and that the kitchen even in 1772 occupied only the east half with a new end wall added at the edge of the broken vault.

To the left of the porteria was a vaulted storeroom, the northernmost convento room. No doorways or windows were described. It had stone benches built against the walls, and two small storage bins. Some of the materials for the weaving shop were kept here, such as washed wool stored in a loft. The beams which supported the loft are still in place in this room.

Next to the refectory was a cell with an alcove. Both rooms were vaulted. These are the southernmost room of the convento and the remains of a smaller room south of it, where the vault and the south and east walls have fallen. The inventory does not mention the painted plaster on the walls and ceiling of the larger cell, but such omissions were not unusual. Few painted decorations other than those inside the church were ever described. In the alcove was a small loft over the missionary's bed. The sockets for the beams supporting this loft are visible in photographs of the north wall of the alcove taken in the 1920s (see figure 12), and can still be located by the portland cement patches over them. They show that the small loft was built into the east end of the alcove, and that the missionary's bed was located against this wall in the alcove. The stone shelves in the southeast corner of the main cell may be the bookshelves mentioned in this room. The cell had two doors with keys, and one with an iron grating. This last may have been an additional closure on one of the two doorways already mentioned, or the closure for the opening from the cell to the alcove.

A second vaulted cell was located in the small room west of the storeroom. No doorways or windows were described. This room also served as the hospederia (guestroom) and the infirmary. A vaulted porch or corredor adjoined the room. This corredor has fallen, but the remains of its broken vault are still attached to the south end of the second cell and the face of the convento's main east wall. The second cell itself originally had an arched opening on its east wall, of the same size and shape as the arches of the corredor on the west side of the convento. This was filled by 1772, and remains so today, but the outline of the arch is clearly visible.

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The structural remains in this area indicate that the portal or corredor had a small arched opening on the south as well as the larger one on the east implied by description and plan. The plan of the entire convento indicates that the second cell and portal are built into part of an eastern corredor which had originally looked much like the western corredor, except that it ended after two arches rather than continuing the length of the convento. Foundations located by Smith seem to show that it was intended to extend further, but the surviving structure shows no trace of vaulting along the convento east wall south of the remains of the second bay. The refectory in the western corredor and the second cell in the eastern corredor are alterations built into what were clearly intended as continuous walkways. The kitchen extending westward from the refectory was an addition built onto the west corredor at about the same time as the other alterations.

In the patio interior, the interior patio in the space east of the convento building between it and the granary, was the officina de habasto comun (storeroom for community supplies). This room was 14 varas (about 39 feet) long and 6 (about 17 feet) wide, with a roof of vigas and tabletas. A portion of this storeroom was apparently located by archeology in 1981, in the southern half of the patio. Its long axis ran north and south. Its east wall was the west wall of the granary, and its west wall was the east wall of the intended vaulted corredor south of the hospederia. Archeology by the Center for Archeological Research (University of Texas, San Antonio) located a narrow wall extending towards the convento from the south end of the granary, which was probably the south wall of the storeroom. These excavations also found a large flagstone against the west side of the west wall of the granary, apparently part of a flagstone floor in the storeroom (Ivey n.d.:18). The arrangement of the storeroom next to the granary would imply that the granary doorway was at the north end of the west wall of the granary, just north of the storeroom near the entrance into the sacristy.

The construction material for the walls of the storeroom was unstated in the inventory, but the archeology shows that it was stone. No doors or windows are listed. There were two lofts within this storeroom, one at each end of the building. Since the lofts must have been in the small ends of the rectangular storeroom, and are spoken of as "the loft on the left" and "the other loft," the entrance to the storeroom must have been through the west side rather than through one of the small ends. A somewhat more northerly location would have blocked off the now-fallen arch on the east side of the portal of the second cell, which would have made it unlikely to have been described as a portal or corredor.

The next room inventoried was the blacksmith's shop, measuring 8 varas (about 22 feet) by 4 1/2 varas (about 12 1/2 feet). The context in which it was discussed indicates that it was adjacent to the interior patio, but this is not explicitly stated. The foundations for a room of about the right size were located just south of the alcove of the cell on the main row of convento rooms by Smith in the 1930s. Construction material was not listed for the walls or roof, but they were apparently stone with a flat earthen roof of vigas and tabletas. No doorways or windows were mentioned. A forge and a good selection of tools were present in this shop.

"Cerca de d.ha oficina," near the said storeroom, was the weaving shop, 14 varas (about 22 feet) by 5 1/2 varas (about 15 feet). The word "oficina" apparently refers to the community storeroom, rather than to the blacksmith's shop. The weaving shop had a roof of vigas and tabletas. The structure had three stone pillars or arches which may have supported a porch on one side, rather like the arrangement at San José. The room contained three looms and their associated equipment. The most likely location for this room is south of the blacksmith's shop in the row of convento rooms, with the porch probably standing on the east corredor foundations.

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Above the sacristy was a high cell. No description of the roof construction was given in 1772, but the 1824 inventory indicates that it was made of vigas. The present roof is more recent. Drawings made in 1840-60 and scars visible on the walls indicate that the original roof was flat and a little lower than the top of the transept wall, rather than sloping down from it as it does today (see figure 13).

Inside this cell were an alcove, a loft, and a door which went to the tribune. This door is the present opening through the north wall of this room into the transept of the church. Here, within the church, was a gallery or balcony like the one described at San José. In 1824 a second description of this tribune stated that it was "una tribuna volada de madera," an elevated wooden tribune (Maynes and Diaz de Leon 1824:5576). Filled sockets and the imprint of beams on the wall mortar visible today indicate that the alcove and loft were a combined structure, the loft having been built above the door onto the tribune about 7 feet above the floor and supported by two beams extending from the north to the south wall. The loft was 6 1/2 feet wide, with the alcove beneath it separated from the rest of the cell by a wooden partition about 6 inches thick built under the front or eastern beam of the loft.

Patches of decorative paint still show beneath flaking layers of more recent whitewash, and indicate that the entire room had a band of red paint from the floor up to about 3 feet around its walls, With a stripe of red paint 3 inches wide about 3 inches above the main red panel. In this cell was a small chest containing the archives of the mission and a desk where the archives of the father president were kept.

This was the office of the Father President of the Querétaran missions of Texas, which had traditionally been maintained at Mission Concepción since its founding in East Texas in 1716. The only exception was the 13 years from 1750 to 1763 when Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Biana served as President. He had been a missionary at San Antonio de Valero for 12 years before his appointment as President, and apparently kept the office at Valero through personal preference (Habig 1968:255-56, 272).

Outside the Father President's office was a portalito, a small porch with a loft reached by a small stairway. The southeastern corner of the portalito fell between 1846 and 1850, separating along an abutting joint at the southeastern corner of the sacristy and the Father President's office above. The stairway survived the fall and is shown in drawings made soon after. The floor of the small porch is a restoration, as is the stone bannister along the edge of the second flight of stairs and the porch. This bannister may not have originally been of stone, since the drawings made after the collapse clearly show the edge of the stairs with no bannister above it (see figure 26, Chapter 5). This edge is still easily seen below the present bannister.

The loft was built into the space above the stairway. A filled socket and the imprints of crossbeams are still visible as scars in the plastered surface. The main supporting beam ran from north to south across the space, making a loft about 9 1/2 feet long and 8 feet wide, with its east end about B feet above the floor of the porch. The little stairway must have led up from the southern half of the east edge of the porch so as not to block the stone stairs from the ground floor. The south wall had opened in a large arch, a portion of which still survives along the eastern edge of the surviving south wall of the second level (see figure 25, chapter 5). While the granary survived, this arch must have originally opened out onto its roof, which was at the height of the floor of the porch or a little lower, according to structural traces on the modified south wall. By the time of the 1772 inventory, however, it may not have been possible to step out onto this roof or see much through the arch, since a thatched roof had been added to the granary over the original construction. This thatched roof would have been pitched, and the peak would have stood well above the old flat roof, partially or totally blocking the arched door-way.

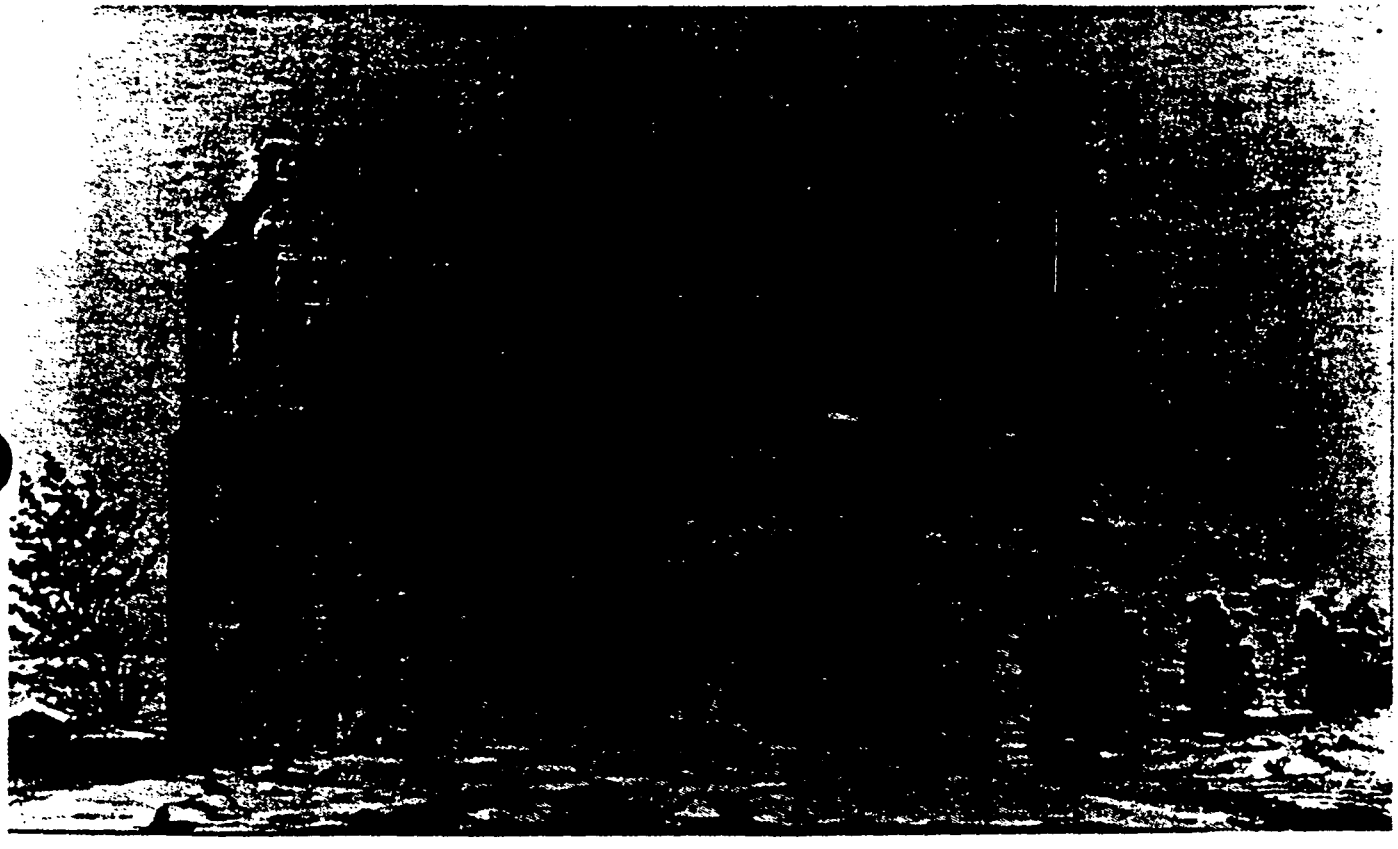

Figure 19. A drawing of Concepción made by Edward Everett in ca. 1846 shows the stairwell to the Father President's office still standing. It would collapse within the next four years. On the south wall of the stairwell, Everett has drawn the top of the arched doorway that once opened onto the roof of the granary. It is the same double curve used on the top of the smaller window just visible to the left, above the convento roof, and in the arch that still supports the floor of the landing outside the Father President's Office today. The roofline of the office and porch is virtually level, indicating that the present sloped roof line is an alteration. (169/82)

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The Granary:

The granary extended south from the south wall of the stairway to the Father President's office. The inventory does not put it here specifically, but deed records and archeology indicate this location. It was 20 varas (about 55 1/2 feet) long, and its width was divided into two sections, each 5 varas (about 14 feet) wide. Excavations have shown it to be 54.5 feet long outside and 27.1 feet wide inside. It was built of rough stone, and had six buttresses on the outside for support. These buttresses may imply that the granary was to have been vaulted, or they may have been bracing structures to help the walls retain the tons of corn and beans usually stored inside. As it stood in 1772 the granary had a flat roof of vigas and tabletas. The inventory says that "para mehor resguardo de las semillas," (for the greater protection of the grain) it had a second roof of tule or thatching over the first. This remark probably indicates that the flat roof had begun to deteriorate and was leaking by 1772.

The Pueblo:

Concepción's pueblo is unique among those of the San Antonio missions in that it already had a protective compound wall at the time of the 1745 report. The original enclosure was not considered sufficient, however, and Concepción went through a reconstruction of its pueblo at the same time and in the same phases as the other missions. Valero was enclosed between 1759 and 1762; San José in 1758-68; San Juan in 1762-72; and Espada in about 1756-59.

The 1756 report indicates that many jacals had been rebuilt in adobe:

> El Pueblo donde viuen los Yndios esta bien formado de Casas de adobe la maior parte y algunos xacales de Palo y tule. . . . vna abunfante zequia. . . . pasa por el Pueblo.
>
> The pueblo where the Indians live is well-formed of houses of adobe for the most part, with some jacales of posts and thatch . . . an abundant acequia... passes through the pueblo. (Ortiz 1756:35, 36)

After 1756 the old enclosure was judged inadequate and construction begun on a new compound with Indian quarters along the walls. By 1759, the changes were apparent:

> La Rancheria, o Pueblo, se compone de dos liensos de casas de piedra, y algunos Xacales.
>
> The rancheria or pueblo is made up of two sides of stone houses, and some jacales. (Dolores y Biana 1759:1493-94)

The word lienso usually referred to one side of the protective compound, and indicates that construction began on the enclosed pueblo with stone houses between 1756 and 1759. The report of 1762 is identical, but adds that "el pueblo serrado, y amurallado para resguardo, y defenza," the pueblo is enclosed and walled for its protection and defense (Dolores y Biana 1961:254). This shows that two sides of the compound with their adjacent quarters were completed by 1759, and single walls completed the other two sides by 1762.

In 1772 the pueblo was described as:

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> . . . . todo Amurallado con una Buena Pared de Piedra tosca Labrada con Quatro Puertas a los Quatro vientos, hay en el veinte y quatro casas acavadas, y dos al acabar, (que solo les faltan tabiques) con proporcion de hazerse seis en la misma sera. . . .
>
> . . . . completely enclosed in a good wall of roughly worked stone with four gates to the four winds. In it, 24 houses are complete, and two are being finished (they lack only partition walls), with space to build six in the same row . . . . (Saenz Gumiel 1772a:4254)

This compound was located by archeology in 1981, and extends from the northeastern corner of the apse of the church towards the north about 236 feet. Here it turns east and runs about 406 feet to the west edge of the present line of mission road. At this point it turns south for about 313 feet. In the area of the southwest corner, the traces of foundation have been severely disturbed, and are difficult to detect. Only some indications of a single wall were found extending east from this corner. Within the enclosure, the walls of houses were found along the east, north, and west sides. Since later documents indicate that no houses were added after 1772, the twenty-four finished houses described in that year are probably those found in 1981 on the east, north, and west. The two new houses being worked on in 1772 were probably on the south near the southwest corner, where archeology in 1971-72 found indications of walls inside the enclosing wall.

The remark that the pueblo had gates "to the four winds" implies a gate in each of the four sides of the compound. All other descriptions of the entrances to the compound indicate that there were only three gates, on the east, west and south, implying that the reference in 1772 was only a stock phrase, usually correct, which was erroneous in the case of Concepción.

In some part of the plaza of the mission was a corral "for protecting the beasts from thieves." A smaller corral was located south of the refectorio, in the small plaza or courtyard between the convento and the south wall of the mission, which was located about where the north side of Felisa street is today. In this corral was kept the horses for the fathers and the mayordomo, or mission foreman. In the same general area was the chicken coop and the privy for the convento.

"Contiguous with" the mission, or just outside one wall of the pueblo, was a larger corral "for enclosing oxen, milkcows, and cattle that are brought from the Monte," that is, from the ranges of the Monte Galvan, northeast of San Antonio. This corral was probably against the north or east side of the mission walls.

The Labores, Acequia, and Ranchlands:

The acequia system was fed from a dam on the San Antonio River, "next to the Presido," located on the south side of the great eastward loop of the river. Presa street is so named because it crossed the river by the top of this dam or by the shallow water just downstream. The dam was taken out as part of the channelization of the river in the early twentieth century. It had been a "toma de agua," or waterfall-dam, like the San Juan Dam and the Espada Dam, further down the river. It was made of stone with lime mortar, and was 1 1/4 varas high (about 3 1/2 feet) and 1 vara thick (about 3 feet).

The acequia from the pool behind the dam watered three labores. One had an area of about 9 or 10 fanegas (about 70 or 80 acres), the second was about 3 or 4 fanegas (about 25 or 30 acres) and the third about 2 fanegas (about 16 acres). The first two were enclosed in board fencing, except one side of the

largest. The third was enclosed with a brush fence because it had been begun only the year before. The largest field was ready to be harvested as of the time of the inventory (December 16th), and was expected to yield 600 fanegas of corn, or about 30 tons.

Concepción owned range-lands extending more than 30 miles to the east, with a fortified ranch headquarters at El Pasthle, believed to have been where the present town of Sutherland springs is located on the Cibola River. The ranch buildings had been abandoned since 1767 because of the raids of hostile Indians, probably Apaches. In the meantime, the mission was using its rights to the pasturelands of Monte Galvan, where several large complexes of corrals stood. The corrals and pastures of Monte Galvan were located in the general area of present Randolph Air Force Base. The land had begun as the ranchland for San Antonio de Valero in about 1725, but in the 1750s had been partitioned between Valero, San Juan, and Concepción.

Concepción 1772-1824

Father Morfi visited Concepción in 1778. His diary says nothing about the place, but it is described briefly in his journal. Morfi's Historia includes some information from Dolores y Biana, by then well out of date, and confuses the location of structures. As at San José, it is better to avoid using the Historia so long as the principal descriptive documents from which it was compiled are available. The journal description is as follows:

> Las cass de los indios hacen una plaza cerrada, con la de los ministros y la iglesia. Es esta muy hermosa y digna de mayor poblazon: se ha construido de boveda con una piedra tosca arenisca, de que hay una abundante cantera en la puerta del patio. La sacristia esta bien provista de ornamentos y vasos sagrados y todo competentemente adornado. La casa de los padres es baja y sus techos de boveda, con divisiones acomodadas.
>
> The houses of the Indians have an enclosed plaza, with [the house] of the ministers and the church. This is very beautiful and worthy of a major town: it was built with vaults of a coarse sandy stone, of which there is an abundant quarry at the gate of the patio [probably referring to the quarry outside the south wall of the mission, near the south gate]. The sacristy is well supplied with implements and sacred vessels, all nicely decorated. The house of the fathers is of a single story with spacious rooms, and its roof is vaulted. (Morfi 1935:226)

At some time during the late 1770s or early 1780s, two rooms were constructed on the southern end of the granary. They probably housed the stone-mason's shop and the carpenter's shop, for which tools had been stored since the first years of the mission. These rooms are not described in the mission inventories, but do appear in deeds of the early 1800s. Their outlines were found by archeology in 1981.

Not until Fr. Lopez's description of 1786 do we get additional information about the appearance of the mission:

> Su forma es en Quadro, circundada de muralla de Piedra y Lodo, que en partes esta algo vaja: con sus tres Puertas Competentes, una a Oriente, otra a Poniente, y la otra al Sur, las que tienen sus Portones de madera labrada y con sus buenas cerraduras.

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> Esta pared o muralla, sirve a las casas que contiguas a ella estan formadas de Piedra y Lodo con competente capazidad para la vivienda de los Yndios, que son veinte y tres con techos de terrado, aunque algunos de ellos algo ruinozos pero no dificilm.te reedificables o reparables; y aun en el año presente quedaran todos o casi todos reedificados. Por el Oriente de ella quedan la casa para el Ministro, con competente Avitacion y oficinas de comunidad, todo de Cal y Piedra, y lo mas con techos de Bobeda, y en vajo toda, a Ecepcion de una pieza que esta en Alto, y contiguo a ella estan la Sacristia, e Yglecia que son de Piedra y cal. . . .
>
> Its shape is a square, enclosed by a protective wall of stone and adobe, which in parts is somewhat low. It has three good gateways, one to the east, another to the west, and another to the south, all of which have large gates of carved wood and good locks. This wall or enclosure serves the houses that are against it. They are formed from stone and adobe with sufficient room for the habitation of the Indians. There are twenty three [houses] with flat earthen roofs, although some of these are somewhat ruined, but it would not be difficult to rebuild or repair them; and furthermore, in the present year all or almost all will be rebuilt. On the east of thiS [compound] is the building for the missionaries, with good dwellings and communal storerooms, all of lime and stone, and for the most part with vaulted roofs; all are of one story with the exception of one second story room, and contiguous with this is the sacristy, and the church, which are of stone and lime. . . . (Lopez 1756:2, 2 rev.)

In about 1780 or a little later, a mill was built for Concepción. This was probably constructed in response to the order for all the missions to begin growing wheat, given by Governor Domingo Cabello in 1778 (Morfi 1935:229; Morfi 1967:105). Mission San José built a mill just outside the north wall of the pueblo in the same time period, but the mill at Concepción was somewhat further north. It was on the steep bank of the San Antonio River about 875 feet north of the pueblo, where the road from the town passed close by the river. A branch of the Concepción acequia brought water to it. Its design was the same as the mill at San José.

Partial secularization was enacted in 1794. Making the mission a doctrina. All the properties of the mission except the church and sacristy were turned over to the Indians, who numbered 38 persons. In the inventory of the secularization, the Indian quarters are described as follows: "Item: the said Indians received the houses in which they live, which are against the compound wall of stone with three gates, one with a postern-door, and all with their locks. The said wall, and various of the houses of the said Indians require repairs to those sections which have been damaged by water" (BCAMR 28:18). Earlier in the same document it is remarked that unground wheat was being stored in the convento. This may indicate that the granary was not being used for grain storage at the time, implying that the deterioration that had become noticeable in 1772 had progressed until the granary was useless for storage in 1824.

The community of Concepción deteriorated after the partition of 1794. Soon afterwards, the resident missionary left, and services were conducted by the missionary from San José. By 1809 there were 21 Indians living in the old houses around the plaza, and 32 Spaniards living either within the plaza or in houses on the labors of the mission. In the period from 1811 to 1813, intermittent warfare swept through the San Antonio River Valley and few people stayed in the crumbling houses of Concepción. After relative peace was restored, a few families returned, and by 1815 there were 16 Indians and 20 Spanish settlers living in the mission. In that year the Franciscans stopped holding services at Concepción, and burials of mission citizens were carried out at San José. Most of the remaining people

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moved out of the old buildings at that point. By final secularization in 1824, most of the Indian quarters had been abandoned for some time (Habig 1968:141-146).

One of the earliest sales of a building of the mission to a non-Indian took place in 1806, when the Spanish government sold the granary to Antonio Huizar (BCA, MR:70). Huizar indicated in his petition for the building that it was partially in ruins, but that he intended to rebuild it for a dwelling. However, in 1815 Huizar again petitioned the government, this time to have his grant of the granary of Mission Concepción changed so that he would receive the grant of Mission San José instead. Huizar stated that he had never been formally placed in possession of the granary and associated land at Concepción. The sale to Huizar had never been finalized for several reasons, among which were the abandonment of the mission during the insurrection in the province (BCAMR : 70-71).

Huizar was probably referring to the events of 1813, when among other political and military difficulties the army of Bernardo Gutiérrez captured Mission Concepción and used it as headquarters during the siege of San Antonio. Some of the metal items such as bells were removed from the church during the period of insurrection. One of the bells was used in the parish church of San Fernando, and some part of the other material was used to make grapeshot for the cannon of San Antonio (Maynes and Diaz de Leon 1824:5575). The metal items which survived this period, other than the bell in use at San Fernando church, were repossessed by Fr. Francisco Frexes in about 1818 (Ibid.).

Concepción in 1824

The Church:

By 1824 the cemetery in front of the church was still present, but the wall around it had fallen into disrepair. No references are made anywhere in the inventory to wall painting, either on the facade or in the interior of the church and its associated rooms. The main entrance to the church was as described in 1772, including the vestibule, except that the doors from the vestibule into the church were described as "three doors, one in the middle and two at the sides."

The choir loft was vaulted and had a bannister of wood, two medium-sized windows, and one small window. To the south of the choir loft was a vaulted room in the south belltower used as the antecoro (choir entrance). It was reached by a stone stairway. North of the choir loft was another room used as the trascoro (choir wing).
The baptistery in the north tower still contained its baptismal font with cover, but the chapel of St. Michael in the south tower was not described as such; rather, it was referred to as the room where various effects of the mission were stored. Within the church, the pulpit and sounding board were present, as were the altars in the transepts. The main altar had stone stairs and a wooden bannister. The retablo was described as consisting of a canopy of wood carved and "flowered." In the center of this retablo was a gilded oval with the tabernacle standing at its foot. Virtually everything moveable was said to be stored at Mission San José, where it had been kept for many years (Maynes and Diaz de Leon, 1824:5576).

The sacristy was the same as described in 1772, except that, again, no moveable items remained inside. Outside the south door of the sacristy was a stone stairway with two landings climbing to a second story room, the room that had been the Father President's office. No reference to the lofts inside or outside the Father President's office was made in the description of this room, nor to the alcove. Only the

tribune still exists at thiS second level (Maynes and Diaz de Leon, 1824:5576). The roof was made of vigas, and partly in ruins.

Some of the religious equipment from Concepción had been given to the parish church in San Antonio rather than being stored at San José. The main bell at the parish church in San Antonio was from Concepción. One medium-sized bell "made in one casting," and one small bell remained at Concepción. In storage at San José were the remains of another bell. This consisted of the "round," or rim of a large bell which had been broken up, and some other fragments. These were all that survived from a bell taken from Concepción during the "recent troubles" (probably in 1813), to be used for making cannister shot for the cannons of the town (Maynes and Diaz de Leon 1824:5577, 5575).

The Convento and Pueblo:

Unfortunately, the 1824 appraisal and 1827 reappraisal of the secular buildings of Mission Concepción are missing. A copy will probably be located eventually, but until then, deed records and other descriptions of the mission after 1772 will have to do.

Because the appraisals are missing, an assessment of the condition of structures at Concepción must be based entirely on archeology and subsequent deed records. Deeds for the various structures of the mission are not numerous. What records there are, however, cover the entire mission and give a largely complete ownership history for the structures after 1824.

The Mexican government sold all buildings of Mission Concepción other than the church and granary to Ramon Musquiz on August 14, 1824. The deed indicates that the appraisal had determined that the standing walls of the Indian quarters and compound were of little worth, "taking into account their near ruin that threatens them, for having been abandoned for so long a time." All these walls, their associated lots running back about 100 varas (about 277 feet) on the north and about 75 varas (about 208 feet) to the acequia madre on the east, and the entire convento with its lot was evaluated at only 444 pesos (Archdiocese Archives, José Antonio Saucedo to Ramon Musquiz). The plaza of the mission remained public property. No description of the metes and bounds of the property were included in the deed to Musquiz, but fortunately Musquiz's later sales of the convento, the north and east walls and associated lots, and the labors that he bought separately, contain much of this information.

Virtually no structures survived along the west wall of the mission, and no lots were sold extending west from the plaza. Mission Road ran just outside the wall, with labors between the road and the San Antonio River. These labors were sold to Ignacio Chavez in December, 1823 (BCDR, C1:215, 218). The property line actually ran along the line of the west wall of the mission compound, however (BCA, City Record Book No. 1, page 1, Francois Giraud survey of labors of Don Ignacio Chaves, December 7, 1847).

Along the south side of the mission, the Mexican Government sold the land extending from the wall across the acequia desagua, or drain, all the way to the river, to Padre Refugio de la Garza in 1823 (this deed does not survive, but certification of de la Garza's purchasing the land is included in BCDR, A2:430-432). Between 1823 and 1841, de la Garza sold a portion of this tract to Ignacio Chavez. The Chavez section was adjacent to the convento owned by Musquiz, and bounded on the north by the south wall of the mission compound. Again, no lots or houses are mentioned on this side of the mission plaza.

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On the southeast, Musquiz had purchased the convento building and its adjoining lot extending south to the old mission wall along the north side of present Felisa Street. East of the convento, the granary and the land in the corner between the acequia madre and the desagua, returned to the Spanish government by Antonio Huizar in 1815, had again been sold, this time to Manvel Yturri y Castillo on November 5, 1823 (BCDR, A2:77).

The evidence indicates that the decay of the Indian quarters and enclosing compound wall as described in 1786 and 1794 had continued, until by 1824 no houses worth saving survived around the plaza of the mission. Much of "the decay in the intervening years can probably be attributed to the effective abandonment of Mission Concepción in 1813-1815. The evidence indicates that as far as the government and missionary authorities were concerned, there was no community of Concepción after about 1815, although a few people may have lived in the area working the fields.

The deeds make a description of the general appearance of Concepción possible. Houses still stood in one stage or another of collapse along the east and north walls of the compound. Along the west wall, the houses had apparently fallen into mounds of useless rubble. On the south, the single wall of the mission was still recognizable, but probably did not stand to any height. On the southeast, the convento was still in good condition, although several rooms had collapsed, but the granary roof had fallen in and the walls formed only an irregular outline of the main room and the two workshops added on the south end.

The convento was not included in the 1824 appraisal of the church, apparently because the rooms were to be sold along with the other secular buildings. The rooms were probably described in the appraisal of the secular buildings carried out in 1824 and since lost. However, a rough description of the convento in these years was recorded when Musquiz sold this property to Bishop J. M. Odin in 1860:

> . . . . being a part of the old mission of La Concepción, about 2 1/2 miles below and South of the City of San Antonio, . . . sold to me by the Mexican authorities, on the 14th of August, A. D. 1824, and described as follows: a stone building, with an earthen roof, consisting of a Porch fronting to the west on the Plaza of the Mission, thirty nine (39) varas [about 108 feet], a saloon [salon] with an adjoining room and gallery of the same length, and a Porch on the east of eighteen (18) varas [about 50 feet] with two arches closed, to form a Kitchen . . . . (BCDR 51:480)

This deed tells us that after 1772 the second arch of the east porch had been filled and the resulting room combined with the old infirmary and guestroom to make a kitchen. A chimney opening still survives from this period. The blacksmith's shop and weaving workshop on the south end of the main row of rooms had completely collapsed, but some of the walls of the blacksmith's shop still stood south of the alcove off the main cell, making the building about 108 feet long measured from the south wall of the church. The vaulted room which had been the kitchen in 1772 was not described in this deed, and may have been included in it the property of Ignacio Chavez adjoining the convento on the west. Drawings from the period of 1840-1860 indicate that the south end of the convento was at approximately its present location by 1840 (see figure 25). Smith's excavations in the 1930s relocated the outlines of some of the convento rooms that had collapsed, but also found the foundations of the earlier convento. The two overlaid each other, and remained confused until archeological excavations in 1971-72, 1981, and 1982 sorted out the episodes of construction. Much more archeological investigation is needed on the south side of the convento buildings to clearly define the episodes, however.

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No detailed description of the granary or the workshops on its south end is available, but some information can be found in the deed from Yturri y Castillo to Asa Mitchell in 1838: " . . . the said lot has three rooms, built of stone, and connected together in a row, which adjoins the said church at it southeast corner . . . ." (BCDR A2:74). A survey of Mitchell's land in 1849 says that this building was 32 varas or about 89 feet long, with the long dimension oriented 5 degrees east of north. This series of documents was used to guide the excavations at Mission Concepción by the CAR in 1981 to relocate the granary, and proved to be quite accurate. The measurement of 89 feet included both the granary and the two rooms on its south end built after 1772.

The Yturri deeds indicate that the granary and the two workshops were used as a dwelling from 1823 through about 1838, after which they were apparently unoccupied. Drawings made in about 1850 show that the building had collapsed to the point where it was only a vague outline of rubble and wall stubs (see figure 26). Archeology in 1981 relocated the outline of the granary and the two workshops.

The Indian quarters and the compound wall surrounding the plaza had no standing structure by the time their locations were recorded by surveyors beginning in 1841. On the east and north, the 1860 survey of the wall line does not follow the inner or outer wall, but runs at a slight angle down the approximate center of the foundations (BCDR H2:250). The surveyors probably followed the top of the linear mound of rubble marking the walls. The west wall, surveyed in 1847, exhibited the same surveying procedure. On the south side, the single wall was fairly clear and was surveyed in 1841 (BCDR A2:430; see also S1:264). Not until archeological excavations in 1971-72 and 1981, however, were the size and location of the rooms along the walls of the compound rediscovered and mapped.

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Chapter 7
STRUCTURAL HISTORY OF
SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, 1731-1827

Introduction

Mission San Juan was founded on March 5, 1731 at its present site. As is the case with the other two San Antonio missions established on this date, no useful structural descriptions of San Juan between 1731 and 1745 are presently available. The reports of 1745, 1756 and 1762 are not rich in spatial descriptions, although they are more detailed for San Juan than for Mission Espada. Used alone they would not be sufficient to associate firmly the structures described with known buildings or foundations.

Archaeological investigations at San Juan have been far more extensive than the other San Antonio missions. In addition to the work of Harvey P. Smith in 1933, a detailed series of investigations were carried out by Mardith K. Schuetz between 1967 and 1971. These have revealed a far greater complexity of foundation, addition, and rebuilding than might have been expected (Schuetz 1980a).

The San Juan inventory of 1772 has deficiencies in both method and spatial awareness, making it more difficult to assign uses to specific rooms than at Concepción and Espada. As usual, the church and sacristy and the convento compound receive the most detailed treatment. In 1772 San Juan was in the midst of a major reconstruction effort. Not only were the stone Indian quarters still in the process of being built, but the church, sacristy, convento compound and other buildings were also newly rebuilt or repaired (see Appendix 1, San Juan, sheet 12).

San Juan in 1745

The first available report on Mission San Juan is that of 1745, fourteen years after its establishment in the San Antonio River valley. In this year the mission consisted of a group of jacales in which the Indians lived, a building of stone and adobe mortar containing two cells for the missionaries, a storeroom building and a granary, both also probably of stone, and a jacal church. The equipment for the carpenteria and albañileria were listed, but no reference was made to either a weaving workshop or its equipment.

Where were these buildings within the present compound of San Juan? An examination of the archeological evidence permits a hypothetical arrangement (see Appendix 1, San Juan, sheet 12).

The first structures of the San Juan convento complex were apparently a row of buildings along the west side of the present compound. The granary was probably the northernmost building, just north of the present church of San Juan. Its foundations were found by H. P. Smith in the WPA excavations of the 1930s. The oficina, or storeroom, adjoined this on the south, the first of a series of buildings constructed on this location. Later buildings reused portions of the original foundations, and the oficina eventually became the present church of San Juan.

A short distance south of the oficina was the friary building itself, containing two rooms. The jacal church was apparently located on the east half of the present south wall of the mission, and was oriented east-west. Other than this jacal church, there were no structures on the south wall line, and none on the east side of the convento. The friary building (the present museum and gift shop) began as a core structure about 62 feet long exterior measurement, built of yellow tabular sandstone. This constitutes approximately half the length of the present building.

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Inside the core friary structure, the tie-stones of a crosswall are visible today protruding from the wall about 33 feet south of the present interior surface of the north wall. Smith found traces of the foundation of this wall in 1933. This probably formed the partition wall separating the two cells of 1745. The building grew to its present dimensions through a series of later additions.

The original jacal church, San Juan's Church 1, was probably built in 1731 or 1732. In 1745 it was described as being "con la decencia posible," as decent as is possible. No size was given. The church had only one altar, a campanario with two middlesized bells and two small bells, a confessional and two benches. It is assumed that the church stood along the south wall because Schuetz found the corner of a jacal building at the east end of the south row, and in the three deep test pits in the central area of the south row found six extended burials all aligned on an approximate east-west axis (Schuetz 1980a:11,12).[1] At least one burial had been disturbed by a wall of the convento compound. This indicates that it, and therefore probably all the burials, predate the stone walls along the south side of the compound. The burials may have been in a cemetery in front of Church 1, or partly in a cemetery and partly inside the church itself. If this jacal church resembled the early churches located at Rosario and Concepción, it would have been perhaps 15 feet wide and 60 feet long.

The pueblo (Indian village) may have been located north and east of the row of stone convento structures, in the area which is presently the plaza of San Juan.

San Juan After 1745

The Church and Sacristy:

By 1756 the jacal church had been replaced by church 2, a building of stone and mortar, about 68 feet long and 15 feet wide. The south half of it was apparently built as an additional convento building, the first on the east side of an intended convento compound. After its construction, it was converted to a temporary church by the addition of an extension to the north, at a slightly different angle, and of a small room on the south end of the west side for the sacristy, the foundations of which were found by Harvey P. Smith in the 1930s.

The core structure, which is approximately the south half of the building, was built of yellow tabular sandstone, while the north half was of tabular yellow sandstone and limestone. Other early foundations extend south from this complex into the southeastern corner of the convento compound, and were probably other storerooms and workshops.

The 1759 description of the church gave the same length and width. The contents of the church are almost identical to that of 1756.

[1]Five of the six, at least, were interred with their heads to the west. These burials were found in two test units and in the wall of a later pit. TheSe were the only deep tests in this area, but the location of burials in each of them would indicate that there were burials throughout the area. In Spanish missions, burials usually went into the church first, with the cemetery in front of the church used when the church was full or occasionally for burials of uncertain sanctity: see, for example, Tunnell and Newcomb, San Lorenzo, p. 17, fig. 8; Deagan, Spanish Saint Augustine, pp. 220-21. The jacal church was used less than about 25 years, so most of the burials will have been in the church.

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The report of 1762 gives no width for the church, and indicates its length to be about 7O feet. No roof construction is given in any of the reports. As in the previous reports, no size, location, or mater ial of construction is given for the sacristy.

The Inventory of 1772 describes the church as about 55 1/2 feet long and 14 feet wide. Its roof had been rebuilt in part, and its sacristy was entirely new. Apparently between 1762 and 1772 the church had been renovated, the old sacristy torn down, and a new sacristy built into the south end of the building. The sacristy was about 9 1/2 feet long and about 15 feet wide with a new door cut through the west wall of the church to the convento patio and a new window cut through one of the other walls, probably on the east. The doorway from the previous, external sacristy had been sealed, and the sacristy torn down. The partition wall between the church and the new sacristy was about 3 feet thick and had been built so that it partly covered the sealed opening of the first sacristy door. The new, shorter church and sacristy should perhaps be called church 2A.[2]

The church in 1772 was built of stone and lodo (adobe). It had four windows, and a roof of beams and boards. Half of this roof was new, while the other half was of good carved morillos. The boards on the older half were not expected to have a long life because they were flimsy. It is assumed that the description of "beams and boards" roofing is referring to a flat earthen roof. The only alternative is a pitched, shingled roof, and there is no evidence to support the existence of such a roofing system in San Antonio before ca. 1820.

The description of the interior of the church states that the entrance was on one side of the church near the end rather than in the end wall itself. This entrance would have had to have been on the east side, probably at the north end, opening out towards the Pueblo to the north and east. If it had opened westward, it would have faced into the convento patio rather than to the community for which it was intended.[3]

The sacristy walls were new, "but of stone and lodo," the inventory states. The phrasing indicates that this was considered inferior construction, and implies that stone and lime was regarded as a better material. The single window and the two doors were also new. One of the doors opened into the patio of the convento, and the other was an interior door for the entrance of the Missionary into the church. The roof of the sacristy was of beams of oak and boards cut from mesquite. It was covered with thin, flat stones fixed with mortar, as the inventory states, "que la defiende de todo temporal como lo ensena la experiencia," which, as experience has shown, will protect it from all weather. "Junto a esta mirando al norte, " adjoining the sacristy and facing north was a frame of wood on which hung three bells with iron clappers and one small bell which was cracked. The bells were hung here for lack of a tower. This bell-frame was probably on the east side of the church near the south end, just outside the window of the sacristy.

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[2]There are many uncertainties about the interpretation of the historical documents and the archeological record dealing with the early churches of San Juan. principally: 1) where was the pre-1772 sacristy: and 2) which walls were pre- and which post-1772 reconstruction? Schuetz offers a suggested interpretation. which do not satisfyingly explain the archeological record but is less unsatisfying than any alternative the author can think of.

The structure thought to have been the church in 1772 had no burials. so far as schuetz was able to determine. but she argues convincingly that they had been disinterred. The Sum of the evidence leaves little room for doubt that her room 31 was indeed the church 2 and 2A of San Juan from ca. 1750 until after 1772. (Schuetz 1980a)

[3]Schuetz's evaluation of the evidence differs from that given here.

The Convento Compound -- The West Row:

In 1756 the friary had begun to take on the general plan as it existed in 1772. It consisted of three cells built of stone and lime, with a roof of beams. It is described as being "al media dia", towards mid-day which can be taken to mean "towards the south." Schuetz considers this to be a copyist's error, and feels that the friary was always on the west side of the convento. This fits the available evidence and will be accepted here. The third cell was probably created inside the core friary building by the addition of a second partition wall across the large cell in the south two-thirds of the building. At the same time or a little later, a corredor of four arches was constructed along the front, or east side, of the friary (see Appendix 1, San Juan, sheet 15).

The report of 1759 indicates that an enclosing wall had been built across the north side of the convento compound from the church to the friary during the intervening three years. The friary included three cells and the obraje or weaving workshop. The obraje, built between 1756 and 1759, was made by adding an extension of 16 feet to the north end of the core friary and then removing the old north wall to make a room about 33 feet long. The extension was built of thicker, more rounded yellow sandstone, The coursing of the construction stone in this addition is far less pronounced than in the core structure. The corredor was extended north by one arch, to the enclosing wall of the convento compound, to cover the extended length of the building.

The room at the south end of the core convento was probably added next, also between 1756 and 1759. It extended the core building 17 feet to the south, and was about 10 feet wider than the old friary; it was built of a combination of limestone and yellow sandstone. This room formed one of the celdas of 1759, with the other two made from the two cells at the south end of the core building. Again the corredor had one arch added to its front, extending it south to cover the new addition to the convento.

After the construction of the southern extension of the friary and the hospederia on the west end of the south row, a main entrance gateway into the convento was built into the southwest corner of the compound. It was a porteria with a flat arch on the west, or exterior side, and a round-topped Roman arch on the east, or convento patio side.

In 1762 four cells were described (one of which was probably the hospederia in the south row) as well as the obraje. The corredor was mentioned for the first time.

The South Row:

The core structure on the south row had also been built by 1756, at an angle of about 11° off the orientation of the rest of the compound. This structure contained an oficina, the refectorio, and the cocina. The obraJe of 1756 was probably in one of the early rooms in the southeast corner, where a maze of early and late foundations overlie each other in a confused mass. It should be noted that the north half of Church 2, probably built between 1745 and 1756, follows the orientation of the south row fairly closely, being only about 3.5" from forming a right angle with it. This suggests that the south half of Church 2 and the buildings south of it were probably built earlier, just after 1745, for use as storerooms and workshops. They are almost exactly parallel to the friary building. The north half of Church 2, therefore, was built more or less at the same time as the core rooms of the south row. The north half of the church alignment was changed slightly from the south half so as to minimize the angular difference between the two rows. The actual compromise from a right angle between the west

Figure 20. The south row of buildings at San Juan in 1936. Collapse and stone robbing have removed the south wall of the row of rooms, revealing details of the interiors. At the left is the west wall of the *hospederia*. To the right of this, through the north wall of the room, is the doorway into the old *poneria*. At the right edge of the doorway is the scar left by the collapse or removal of the wall between the *hospederia* and the *oficina comun*. Against the right edge of the scar can be seen one wall socket for the crossbeams of the *tapanco* at the west end of the *oficina*. Two more sockets close together can be seen to the left of the wide doorway, still sealed at the time of this photograph, and a second pair of sockets are to the right of the wide doorway. Courtesy Library of Congress, Historic American Buildings Survey.

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and south rows may have been necessary to join the south end of the east row with the south end of the west row, while leaving enough space for a entranceway into the compound at the southeast corner.

The core structure on the south row, built between 1745 and 1756, begins just west of the eastern arch of the present southwest entrance gateway and, as first built, extended towards the east about 72 feet. The foundations were of limestone, caliche and conglomerate, but the above-grade walls were made of a dark red-brown sandstone.

The western room of the red sandstone core building remained relatively unchanged after its construction. Details visible in Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) photographs show clear traces of sockets for large beams set into this north red sandstone wall, symmetrically around the door, which was sealed at the time the photographs were taken (see figure 14). These beams were apparently designed to support two loft structures within the room, one at the east and one at the west end.[4] This room was the community storeroom in 1772, and was probably the main storeroom from 1756. East of it, in sections of the core building that have been severely altered, were two more rooms, described in 1756 as the refectory and the cocina. All three rooms, said the report, were built of stone and lime, with roofs of good beams. Beyond these rooms was a gap, and then the rooms on the south end of Church 2. One of these rooms was probably the weaving workshop in 1756.

Between the west end of the south building and the south end of the friary, the Franciscans probably built a wall closing off the opening here. This assumption is based on the alignment of the west end wall of the south row, which points almost exactly at the southeast corner of the friary, As though it was part of a wall that extended from one building to the other. when the new cell was built on the south end of the friary in the late 1750s, such a wall would have been removed and the Roman arch of the inner gateway constructed as part of the enclosing of the convento patio.

Soon after this, an extension of about 18 feet was added to the west end of the southern core structure. The extension was made of a pale limestone with some yellow sandstone chunks. The limestone appears to be more carefully cut than that seen in other areas of the complex. This addition included a carefully constructed doorway with moldings cut into the stone on its north side, facing into the gateway area. The room was probably built as the hospederia, or guest-room. The outer gateway was added last, but as part of the construction of the, and shows the same sort of careful stonework at its corners and arches. It was also built of a pale, carefully-cut limestone. The stonework for these openings are among the best seen in the southern two missions of San Antonio, and is distinctly different from most of the earlier work at these missions. A master stone-mason was at work at San Juan between 1756 and 1759, probably the man who had just completed Concepción and had begun work on the reconstruction of the collapsed church at Valero.

By 1759 the description of the south row listed the porteria, or entrance gateway, just completed at the southwest corner of the patio; the refectorio; the cocina; and three oficinas, or storerooms, including the large room just inside the double gateways of the porteria. The two new oficinas apparently filled the space between the east end of the cocina and the southeastern corner of the convento compound. They were built over the foundations of earlier rooms that had extended south from church 2 across this area.

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[4]A parallel can be seen in the surviving beams of a similar loft structure in the oficina at Mission Concepcion. Elsewhere in the same mission. traces of filled sockets are evident where lofts once existed.

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In 1762 the report mentioned the porteria, two oficinas, the refectorio, and the cocina. This implies that two smaller rooms, probably two of the oficinas of 1759, had been rebuilt to make the room that in 1772 was called the oficina segunda. By 1762, then, the convento compound looked very much as it appeared in 1772, except for the alterations to church 2 and the sacristy.

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The Convento Compound:

In 1772 the convento compound was a rectangle enclosing a patio with a well in the middle. The inventory remarks that the well "always supplies water." The main gateway of the convento compound was new, and faced to the north "and to all the Pueblo," and was big enough for a person on a horse to enter. This main entrance replaced the earlier porteria, which had been in the southwest corner of the convento compound through 1762, but was now described as "un portal (era la porteria), "an arch, or porch faced with an arch, which had been the porteria. The outer opening of the porteria had been walled up since 1762, leaving the inner Roman arch open. The appraisal of Mission San Juan in 1823 and the subsequent sale of this room both indicate that the outside arch was still closed at that time, and photographs taken as late as ca. 1900 show fragments of wall still partly blocking the archway.

The West Row:

In the 1772 inventory the rooms of the convento are not discussed in a strictly physical sequence, but by physical sequence within categories. The rooms described first were those of the friary, including the corredor and the hospederia. After the celdas were described in order the inventory turned to the workrooms and storerooms. The rooms will be discussed here according to their location, rather than in the order they appear in the inventory.

The obraje, containing two looms and other weaving equipments, was still the northernmost room in the friary (now the museum building and park office). It had a door facing east with a lock and key, and two windows, probably on the north and west walls. No description of the material of its roof is given, but this undoubtedly consisted of beams of dark oak supporting mesquite boards like the rest of the friary. Above the boards would have been a layer of puddled adobe perhaps six or eight inches thick, sealed by lime mortar or a layer of thin flagstones as was over the next room to the south. Adjoining the obraje and by its door to the corredor was the quarto de tareas, or workroom, where wool and cotton were prepared for weaving. The room contained a loft for drying cotton and wool which had been washed. No size is given for this room nor is there any reference to the roof or to windows. The room had one door with a lock and key.

The workroom was located in the northern end of the corredor along the east side of the friary, and had been converted from the north end of the corredor, much as the refectory at Concepción was created in ca. 1759. Between 1662 and 1672 the northern arch of the corredor had been filled, a partition wall with a doorway built across the corredor between the friary wall and the first arch pillar, and a loft built into the room thus created. This corredor fell or was stone-robbed in ca. 1850, but the foundations of the walls were located in the ground by Harvey P. Smith in the 1930s, and the scars of the north wall of the corredor and the south wall of the workroom are both still visible on the east wall of the friary.

Celda 1, the second room south in the friary building, consisted of a main room and an alcove, alcova 1, south of it. Both rooms had a roof of beams of dark oak and boards of mesquite, capped with flagstone. The material of the roofs of other rooms in this block of buildings, and in fact for the rest of the compound other than the church and sacristy, was not described, with the exception of the corredor, below. The roofing on all of these buildings was probably similar to that over the first celda or the sacristy. The celda had a doorway facing to the east. The doorways of the celda and the alcova

were covered with curtains instead of doors, probably because these rooms had recently been rebuilt and the doors had not yet been installed.

Celda 2 occupied the area now used as the park office, the extension on the south end of the friary. It had a door facing east, a new roof and a small alcove. The alcove apparently occupied the western extension of the room. The door of the cell had a lock and key, and a curtain. The cell had a window looking south.

Celdas 1 and 2 had a corredor with five arches. Reconstruction had begun on the roof of the corredor, which was intended to be flat; the inventory remarks that this roof did not yet have a layer of concrete because the mission had none at the moment.

The South Row:

The hospederia was the westernmost room on the south row of buildings, serving as a guestroom and the infirmary. It had a window looking south with bars of turned wood. The hospederia adjoined the portal which had been the porteria. It had apparently been built as the porter's lodge and immediately converted to a hospederia, or had been intended as the hospederia from the beginning. No information is given of the doors or the roof structure of the hospederia in the inventory, but most of the room survives in its original form today.

East of this was the oficina del comun (the community storeroom), which contained a vast quantity of goods, supplies and tools. The room had a door facing north and a window to the south, and two lofts with wooden stairs, apparently one at each end of the room. Each loft had its own door. A continuous bench or table of wood on stone supports encircled the room. No description of the roof construction was given. The inventory remarks that the room was "very well arranged," probably meaning that its contents were neatly stacked and ordered. Among other things the room contained tools for the allbanileria and the carpinteria, and the arms and armament of the mission including one cannon, twelve muskets and carbines of all calibres, eight lances, one sword with a hilt of silver, and three "media lunas" (a sort of pole-ax) "for attacking and defending against the enemy."

East of this was a room with no specified use. It had a door and window, and a new, well-made roof. Based on its contents, the room was used for making bread, and had probably been the refectorio through 1762. Here also was a set of stocks for fugitives and delinquents. Next to it was the cocina, which had a door facing north and a window to the south. Inside the room was a hearth with its chimney, and within the hearth was an horno (oven) for the Missionaries. The kitchen contained a good selection of utensils.

East of the cocina was the oficina segunda, the second storeroom. It had a door, but no other information about its size, shape or construction was given. However, archeology and the earlier reports on the mission allow its outline to be picked out on the ground. It had apparently begun as two oficinas in 1756-59, and had been converted to a single oficina in 1759-62.

Next the inventory lists the gallinero (chicken house), indicating that it is part of the series of rooms along the south row. Again no structural details were given, but archeology indicates that it was a room partitioned off in the west end of the oficina segunda. The partition wall was of adobe, and within the gallinero was a low, narrow retaining wall of stone that probably supported the roosts or nests.

The East Row:

This row contained the church on the north, with the sacristy on its south end, and then another storeroom. The inventory gives no size or other details for this oficina other than the general layout of the space. It had three sections: a room with a loft above, and an adjoining room. The first room contained wool stored at ground level, and the loft held about 250 pounds of cotton seed. The adjoining room stored enough boards to make doors for the church and to finish the doors for the houses of the pueblo. Archeology indicates that this oficina was the same width as the church with exterior walls and the partition wall between the two rooms all of stone.
This completed the inventory of the convento compound. The picture presented is unique. It has already been seen that half of the roof of the church was new, and virtually all of the sacristy walls, doors, window and roof. Now we find that the doors of the church had not yet been made; that at least one of the celdas and one of the oficinas had a new roof; that the roof of the corredor had just been rebuilt and was still to some extent incomplete; and that the main gate into the convento compound was also new. In addition, the old porteria had been closed off, and was being used as a storage area for finished doors for the new Indian quarters. The Indian Quarters were still being completed, and few, if any, doors or windows had been installed. The blacksmith shop, discussed below, was new; the granary, also described below, was a temporary jacal structure, replacing the original stone granary. This implies that a new granary was either planned or under construction. Finally, no albañileria or carpinteria existed yet. The tools for these workshops were still in storage in the oficina del commun.

This results in the conclusion that virtually the entire mission had just been rebuilt or was still being finished in 1772. For San Juan, the year 1772 marks the approximate midpoint of a major renovation. It is not surprising that the inventory exhibits some confusion and a certain lack of coherence compared to the others made at the game time. The mission must have been a maze of scaffolding and stockpiles of raw material, with men and carts moving in every direction.

The Troje:

Although it was not explicitly stated, the 1745 report implied that the granary had been built in stone by that date, and it was specifically described as being made of stone in the 1756 report. No reference is made to the granary in 1759. In 1762 it is referred to only as "a spacious building." It is likely that the granary was built in stone prior to 1745, so that by 1762 it would have been nearly 20 years old. The location of this early granary was never stated, but a foundation located by Smith just north of the present chapel of San Juan of the right size and shape to be a granary is probably the remains of this building. Smith's structure has thick walls and several buttresses on the outside, making it look very much like the granary at Concepción (see Appendix 1, San Juan, sheet 14).

By 1772, however, the building north of the present chapel had apparently been demolished, and plans for a new stone building developed. In the interim, the granary was a large jacal with a roof of tile, 111 feet long and 17 feet wide, with a door facing to the north. The actual location was not indicated, but is directly associated with the convento compound and may have extended eastward from the oficina segunda along the south wall of the main plaza of the mission.

Auxiliary Buildings:

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The only auxiliary building mentioned in the inventory was the fragua. This was a new building, 22 feet long and 11 feet wide. Its location is unknown, although it may have stood in the area of the south half of the present chapel of San Juan, where archeology has located traces of the foundations of earlier structures. The blacksmith's shop had a new door, and its roof was of flagstone and lime. The inventory lists the tools in the fragua, and mentions that the bellows was new and had two sleeves and two tuyeres (air tubes). No reference to a blacksmith shop is made in the reports of 1745-62. The tools for the albanleria and the carpenteria were still in storage as of the 1772 inventory, indicating that they had not yet been built.

A number of other auxiliary structures should have been standing at San Juan, but are not listed in the inventory. Perhaps these structures were not yet built at San Juan, or perhaps they were not considered of sufficient importance to warrant being included in the inventory. For an idea of the sort of structures that may have existed, see the section on Mission Espada.

The Pueblo:

In 1745 the pueblo was a group of jacals containing 41 families, 173 Indians total. The 1756 report adds the information that the jacals were laid out to form two streets. The 1762 report indicated that the houses were still of jacal, with thatched roofs, but that preparations had begun to rebuild them in stone. Twelve carts had been acquired for this purpose. The location of the jacal complex was never given, although in 1756 the Report stated that the Pueblo was "in view of the Mission."

In 1772 the Pueblo consisted of 15 new houses all in the process of being built. They had all been roofed, but lacked the actual door and window closures. Indians were already living in the structures. They were built against a strong wall of stone which served as a muralla (rampart), and which was "almost rectangular" in plan. Each house was 22 feet long and 11 feet wide. At this time 60 families lived in the mission, with a total Indian population of 203 (Roll 3, fr. 3545). Based on these figures, it is likely that some of the families still lived in jacals which were not mentioned. These would have been surviving jacal structures of the original Pueblo.

It is likely that if a fair percentage of the population still lived in the old jacals, and the muralla was built for the purpose of defense, as is said in the inventory, then the muralla enclosed the old jacals as well as the new stone houses. This in turn would indicate that the jacals were in the area enclosed by the present walls of San Juan, probably somewhere in the north half or two-thirds of the plaza.

The orientation of the various groups of buildings gives some hints about the process of planning the pueblo. The buildings of the convento compound running north and south were oriented very close to geographic north, while the west line of Indian quarters were oriented about 9 degrees east of north, or approximately on present magnetic north. Several structural traces north of the present museum exhibit both orientations: the earliest foundations are oriented on geographic north, and later overbuilding followed the magnetic north orientation of the west line of the Pueblo. Since the Indian quarters were built between 1762 and 1772 (we will use the date of ca. 1765 for the approximate beginning of construction) it is a reasonable assumption that all the structures following present magnetic north were built after that date. The actual orientation of magnetic north in central Texas during ca. 1765 is not known, so that we cannot state that the buildings were built using the magnetic north orientation of that period.

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For the purposes of comparison, observe that mission Espada followed the same general guidelines. The convento compound was established on an alignment quite close to geographic north, while the west side of the pueblo again followed approximately a present magnetic north alignment. Construction on the stone-built pueblo of Espada, however, began in about 1755, perhaps ten years earlier than at San Juan.

The present walls of the Indian quarters (as found by Smith's excavations, not as restored) match the 1772 description fairly well. The detailed measurements and layout information in the 1823 appraisal and subsequent deeds confirm that the 1772 Indian quarters were generally the same as those surviving today as standing structures or ruined walls. Some of the Indian houses were added to after 1827, however, resulting in the building complexes along the west wall.

The enclosing wall in 1772 probably ran from the approximate area of the present east side of the north gate to the fragmentary wall at the present southeastern outside corner of the compound (see Appendix 1, San Juan, sheet 12). This is on an alignment of about 8" west of north. This wall can be seen at grade in few places today, but was traced all the way to the south side of church 3 (the unfinished church) by Smith in 1936. This wall was not standing in 1823, nor at any later date, and therefore must predate the Mexican period of the mission, 1821 to 1836. Therefore, in ca. 1765, when construction began on the stone Indian quarters and the wall enclosing them, the east side of the enclosing wall was built on an alignment of about N. 8* W., extending from the present north gateway to a point near the present southeast corner of the mission. The resemblance between the pueblo built a littler earlier at Espada is striking. Traces of the foundation of the ca. 1765 wall should still survive under some parts of church 3 and the houses north of it. It should be noted, however, that Schuetz apparently found no such wall foundation in her excavations within the unfinished church.[5]

The Labores and Acequia:

The principle labor began "at the gates of the mission." By the east gate (this is the only reference to gates through the pueblo wall) the fields had a fence of posts, while on the west side of the mission, some parts were fenced while others were sufficiently protected by the steep dropoff to the river. North of the mission at a little distance was a smaller labor. The references to fields on the west and north can be taken to imply the existence of gates on these sides. Later statements and archeology indicate a gateway between the friary and the church on the west, and a main entranceway into the pueblo in the north wall.

The presa (dam) for the acequia was stated to be in front of Mission San José, at a distance of about 2.6 miles from Mission San Juan. This dam, long thought to have been destroyed by river channelization in ca. 1957, was relocated by the author and other NPS archeologists in the fall of 1982 on a surviving portion of the old river channel just east of the present channel, and northeast of San José (see figure 15).

[5]A similar pattern of events was followed at Mission Espada. Here the east wall was extended in ca. 1775. and houses added as needed along this new wall. The new Hispanic component of the mission population may have lived here.

Figure 21. San Juan Dam in ca. 1925, before the channelization of the San Antonio River buried most of it. Courtesy of the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (113/81)

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Beyond the labores, the range-lands granted to the mission extended far to the east and southeast. At the north end of these lands, San Juan shared rights to the Monte Galvan and its extensive corrals with Mission Concepción and Mission San Antonio de Valero.

Other Structures:

The building in which the present chapel of San Juan is housed was not mentioned in the inventory of 1772. Historical and archeological information indicates that the present building was built after the period under discussion. The final plan of the present chapel dates to ca. 1790 and will be discussed in the section dealing with that time period. The present building, however, grew from a succession of earlier structures, parts of which were standing in 1772. To round out the description of the mission complex in 1772, and to make the story of the structural events leading to the chapel of San Juan less complicated, the history of the building from 1745 to 1772 will be covered here.

In her report on work carried out in the present chapel, Mardith Schuetz discussed the origin of the present plan of the chapel. She found evidence of an earlier structure about 25 feet shorter than the present building. The west wall of this building was on an alignment close to geographic north, while its east wall was oriented along magnetic north. This wall still stands as the section of the present chapel which appears to be a row of filled arches. Flying buttresses were built against the northeast and southeast corners, one of which survives today, visible as a filled arch segment within the present northeast buttress. This plan was associated with the lowest floor of the structure to which Schuetz excavated.

In several areas of deeper testing, however, she saw evidence of another, lower floor surface, and in the northeastern interior corner of the chapel she found that the east wall of what appears to be the pre-1772 granary on the north continued south beneath the chapel, paralleling the original west wall of the pre-chapel structure. This suggests that the structure associated with the lowest floor, which Schuetz did not investigate further, may have been a rectangular building on the same geographic north alignment as the supposed granary on the north and the rest of the convento compound to the south. Schuetz also found traces of other foundations south of this building, between it and the friary, on the same orientation. Little of the plan of these other buildings can be worked out.

The lowest foundations beneath the north end of the chapel are the remains of the first building in the sequence culminating in the present chapel. This was described above as the oficina of 1745, and was apparently not standing to any height after 1762.

Based on information in later reports, however, it is likely that beginning somewhat earlier than 1772, a new stone granary was built to replace the temporary jacal granary described in the 1772 inventory. The new granary probably reused the foundation and any standing walls of the 1745 oficina on the north, west, and south sides. The east side, however, was built on a new alignment requiring new foundations. The work must have been begun before Construction on the Indian quarters, because the north flying buttress was completed before the Indian quarters were built onto it, incorporating the flying buttress into the south wall of the southernmost Indian quarters. This indicates that st least the lower 5 to 10 feet of wall were built in the mid-176Os.

The granary was completed before 1786 and in its final form was a structure with two flying buttresses and a row of filled relieving arches on the east side along a magnetic north orientation, and perhaps a

similar arrangement of filled arches and buttresses along the west wall, still on the older geographic north orientation. Between 1786 and perhaps 1794 this granary was extensively altered and became the present chapel, and another granary built in an as yet unknown location.

San Juan, 1772-1824

In his diary Morfi gave no description of San Juan in 1778. In his journal he said only that there was nothing particular about San Juan, and that it was comparable to Concepción (Morfi 1935:228). As with the other missions, it is better to avoid the use of Morfi's Historia, since again it uses Dolores Biana's 1762 description extensively and uncritically, thereby confusing the structural sequence at the mission.

In 1786 Lopez described San Juan as follows:

> Su forma es Quadrada con muralla como las anteriores y en ella tres puertas, la una grande, y las otras @enores, y contigua a dicha muralla estan las casas de vivienda de los Yndios que por la maior parte son de Piedra y Lodo con techos de terrrado. En un Rincon de dicha muralla esta la casa para el ministro, que es de Piedra y cal, y techos de terrado con competente vivienda para el Ministro y piezas de oficinas comunes, y unida a élla la troje, que es bastantante [sic] amplia y Capas; sus paredes de Piedra y Cal, y techos de terrado: Cercana a d.ha casa, pero no contigua esta la Yglecia, y Sacristia, que esta sirviendo que es de Piedra y Cal, con techos de terrado y Madera, y p.r su Fabrica podra abaluarse en mil y quinientos p.s y sus alajas o adornos en otro tanto o poco mas. Fuera de esta se estaba fabricando otra Yglecia y Sacristia, que quedo como a medias su construcion, y hasta alli havia tenido como tres mil pesos de costo . . .
>
> Its shape is rectangular with a defensive wall like those [missions] above and through it three gates, one large and the others small, and contiguous with the said defensive wall are the houses where the Indians live. These are for the most part of stone and adobe mortar with flat earthen roofs. In one corner of the said defensive wall is the convento for the minister, which is of stone and lime mortar, with flat earthen roofs, with a good dwelling for the minister and rooms for communal storage. Joined with this [convento] is the granary, which is sufficiently large and roomy; its walls are of stone and lime mortar, with flat earthen roofs. Near the said convento, but not contiguous, is the church and sacristy. These are temporary, of stone and lime mortar with roofs of flat earth and wood. The buildings may be evaluated at 1,500 pesos and their contents at another [1,500 pesos] or a little more. Besides this, construction has begun on another church and sacristy, which is about half built, and up till now it has cost about 3,000 pesos . . . (Lopez 1786:4 reverse, 5)

The granary directly adjoining the convento was probably the arched and buttressed building which stood on the site of, and which was later converted to, the present chapel. The unfinished church still stands incomplete, and will be called church 3 in this report. The temporary church which Lopez appraised was church 2A and its sacristy, the church described in the 1772 inventory and still standing in 1786. Therefore, the stone granary which later became the present chapel (church 4) had been completed north of the convento between 1772 and 1786. With a considerable amount of rebuilding, this building was subsequently converted to a church. A brief discussion of the earlier versions of this

structure was presented above in the section dealing with the mission in 1772, under the heading of "Other Structures."

The Unfinished Church 3:

Church 3 was begun a few years after the inventory of 1772 and built following the later orientation on the magnetic cardinal directions. It seems to have been part of a renovation of the entire east side of the mission compound. The present enclosing wall from the east side of the north gate down to the southeast corner did not exist in 1772. The evidence strongly indicates that the present east wall north of church 3 was added after 1772, probably beginning with the work on church 3 in ca. 1774. As part of this renovation, part of the north wall and most of the east wall of 1765-1772 was removed in part or entirely. Then a new east wall was built from church 3 to the north, parallel to the west wall of the Indian quarters, on an alignment of about N. 9.5" E. A portion of the old east wall and the south wall east of the convento compound was left standing, enclosing the southeast corner Up to church 3 (see Appendix 1, San Juan, sheet 12).[6]

By about 1780 church 3 had reached its greatest extent, with only slightly more construction than can be seen today after about 200 years. In the appraisal of 1786, Lopez stated that the mission had spent 3,000 pesos on the church up to that year, presumably as payment to masons and laborers because the labor of the Indians was not regularly available. Because of the poverty of the mission, the work had been stopped before 1786 (Lopez 1786:5). More Indian labor, it is implied, would have considerably lessened the cost.

The church shows a number of odd traits. The design obviously was planned to include a vaulted roof over the nave, and probably a dome over the sacristy. The ribs and vaulting of the roof were never begun, and yet excavations have found that the interior had been floored and some decorative plaster details had been added (Schuetz 1968: 200, 216). It is possible that the church had a temporary roof of wood or beams, boards and clay. Alternatively, some details such as floors and decorations may have been added by local artisans while the building waited for the arrival of a master mason to build the vaulting.

The mason Joseph Padron was one of the people who worked on the church, and who was buried in it. He was involved in the cutting and hauling of stone for this church, and in his will, dated March 16, 1779, he indicated that as of that date the construction of this church was in progress (Padron 1779). He explicitly stated that the octagonal sacristy would require more stone than had originally been planned, and urged his heirs to be sure to collect for the difference. Upon his death in 1779 he requested that he be buried in the church on which he had been working.

The interior of the church, then, began to be used as a burial area very soon after the construction began. This was not unprecedented. For example, mission San Antonio Valero's principal church was blessed as a cemetery in 1749 (Leutenegger 1977:23; Schuetz 1980:139), even though the building had been begun only five years before, in 1744. Fr. Diego Martin Garcia stated that "since the new church was not finished, the said blessing was given in order to bury two persons who died on that day

[6]The section of east wall south of church 3 to the south wall was probably built in the 1880s, and is referred to as the "new wall" in Corner, 1890.

November 16, 1749" (Leutenegger 1977:23). Fr. Garcia went on to state that the first person to be buried in the church was a Yerbipiam Indian, buried in the center of the transepts. The second was a Spaniard, buried in the south transept.[7]

This shows that burials could have begun in the new church within a few years of its inception. Padron's request in 1779 to be buried in the church indicates that such burials had begun by this year. It should be noted here that if burials began in ca. 1779 in church 3, then from that point on, at least for a time, church 2A was used for services but not for burials. It is more difficult to determine when burials in the unfinished church stopped, as discussed above. It is possible, for example, that burials continued in church 3 through the 1820s even though the use of the present chapel of San Juan as a burial place had begun in the early 1790s. In fact, one possible explanation of the strange distribution of coffins is that church 3 was regarded as the cemetery. Those who were well-to-do enough to be able to afford a coffin were buried in the chapel, church 4, while those unable to afford a coffin also could not afford the obventions necessary for a church burial. Instead, they were buried in a shroud in the cemetery, the unfinished church 3.

The unfinished church, then, was begun between 1772 and 1779, or ca. 1775, and work continued through perhaps 1786. Further efforts to finish the building were made through 1824, but apparently never succeeded.

The Construction of Church 4:

The reconstruction of the granary into church 4 most likely took place between 1786 and 1794. The work consisted of the removal of the west and south walls of the granary and the construction of a new, longer west wall parallel to the arcaded and buttressed east wall. The east wall was extended south about 25 feet, and all walls carried about 7 1/2 feet higher than the original granary walls. At the same time that the new granary was being converted to the present chapel, another granary was built. This granary was eventually mentioned in the 1824 appraisal, although its location was not made clear. As will be shown, it was probably built east of the new chapel, in the middle of the plaza on the foundations located here by Smith (see Appendix 1, San Juan, sheet 14).

Schuetz shows that all burials found within the present chapel that can be associated with a specific floor of origin were in graves dug from the first floor surface of the present plan of the chapel. In addition, all burials were in coffins, of which all but one was a simple rectangular box. Information from artifacts in Schuetz's report is insufficient to make any fine determination of dating of the beginning of use of the chapel for burials.

However, the coffins within which all the burials recognized by Schuetz had been placed were themselves important artifacts. It is not known when the use of coffins became an accepted practice in the San Antonio area, but most of the nails with which they are made were machine-cut. Such nails were most likely acquired from Anglo manufacturers, which argues for a date not much before 1830 (Schuetz

[7]The church at Valero to which these notes refer was not the present Alamo shrine, but the first church of Valero, which was completed and collapsed between 1745 and 1756. In 1756, the present church had just been started as a replacement (Ortiz 1756:11). See Appendix ** for a more complete discussion of the structural history of San Antonio de Valero.

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1974:46), and certainly not before the major Anglo influx into Texas beginning in 1821 with the creation of the Republic of Mexico. Therefore, if Schuetz's observations are correct, the present chapel was first used as a burial area within a decade after 1821. There is no apparent overlap with the earlier practice of direct burial without a coffin as used in the unfinished church 3. This is puzzling, and argues that one of two possibilities must be true. Either there was another site besides the unfinished church and the present chapel where burials occurred during the changeover from direct burial to coffin burial, whenever this took place, or there were non-coffin burials in the chapel between its completion in perhaps 1794 and the common use of coffins after perhaps 1821, but these were not seen or recognized by Schuetz.

The Pueblo:

Lopez's description that "por la maior parte" the houses of the Indians were of stone implies that a few houses of adobe or jacal were in use in 1786, apparently against the enclosing walls like the stone houses. Lopez did not, unfortunately, give the number of houses or any further information on their locations in 1786. It is possible that colonial houses were built along the new east wall beginning in about 1780, as happened at Espada. Wall foundations visible in the ground, and archeological investigations beneath the "Post-Colonial House," have shown that house foundations extend this far north from church 3, but their date and how much further north they might have gone is uncertain. All the available evidence indicates that the most likely period for the construction of houses in this area is after 1824.[8]

The pueblo had at least two gates during this period. The main gateway was in the center of the north wall, and had been built as part of the reconstruction of the east wall in the late 177Os (see figures 22 and 23). A smaller gateway was on the weSt side between the church and the convento (see figure 33).

Secularization, 1793, and Afterwards:

San Juan was secularized in April, 1794. The inventory of the mission made during the secularization was very brief and did not give any description of the buildings or their condition. Soon afterwards, San Juan became a sub-mission of Espada. In 1814 all the missions were placed under a single missionary stationed at San José. In 1823 the Franciscan administration of the missions was closed out and the churches turned over to the parish.

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[8]The excavations under the "Post-Colonial House," (LCS #316) found colonial artifacts, but this need not indicate that the house foundations below LCS #316 were colonial. The excavations were limited and disturbances were extensive, making interpretation of the stratigraphy difficult. The east wall of the compound was built in the 177Os, and some of the colonial material found probably dates from the construction of this wall.

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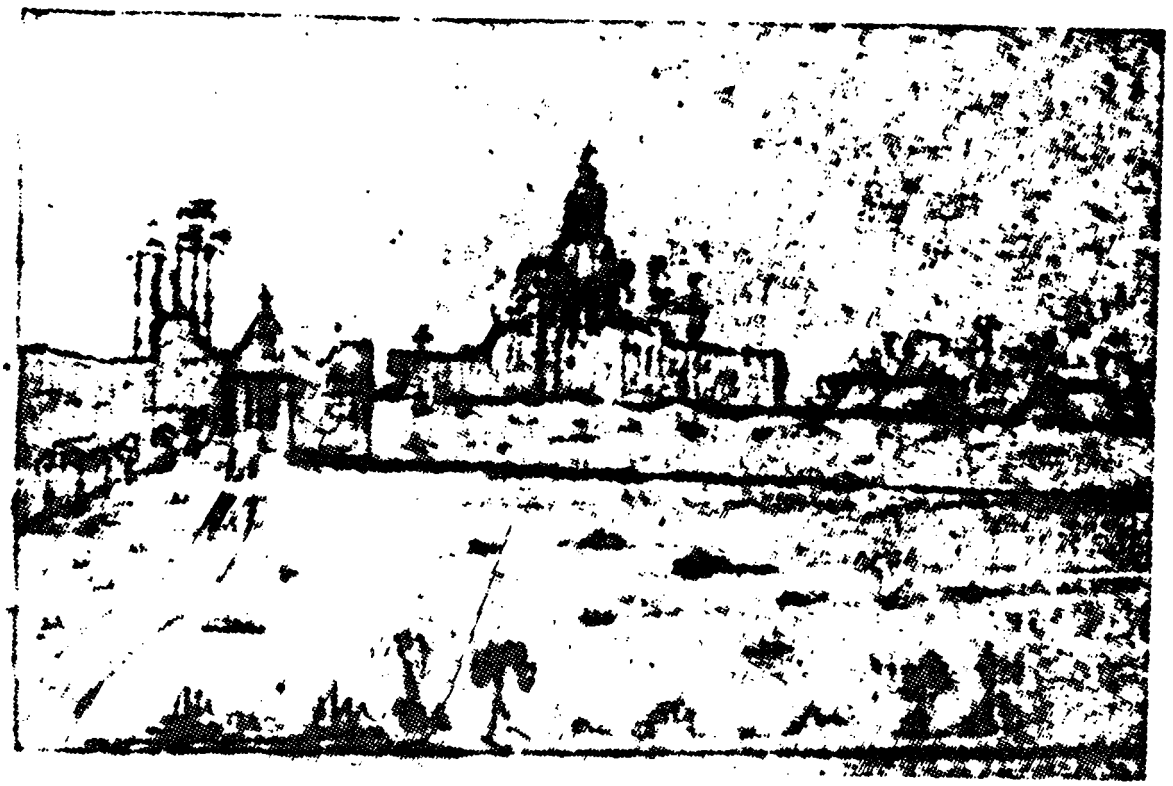

Figure 22. The main north gateway of San Juan in ca. 1841. The gateway was probably rebuilt to this form about 1775 as part of the reconstruction of the east side of the compound. The drawing is by an unknown artist. Drawing courtesy National Park Service.

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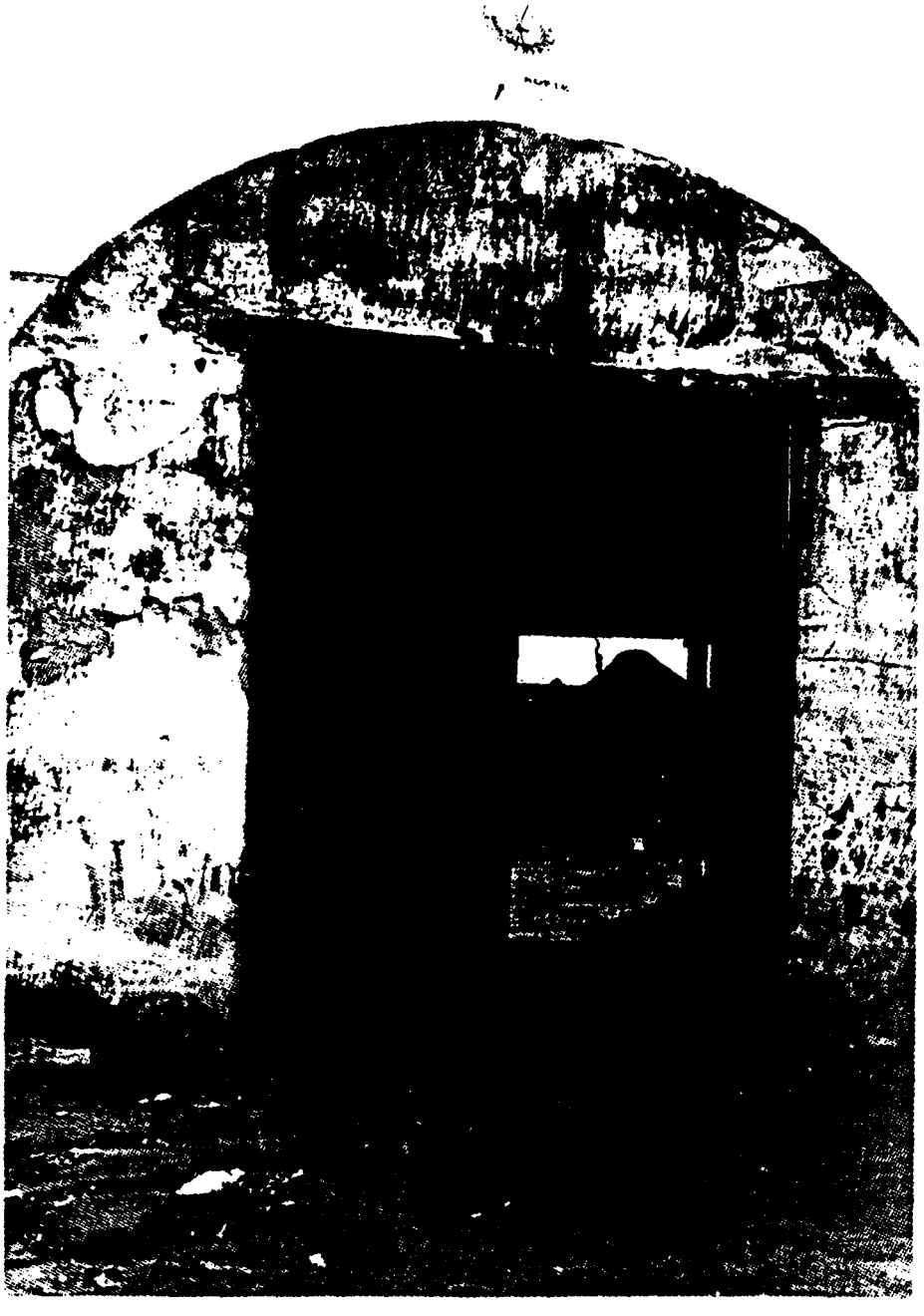

Figure 23. The main gateway of the Uribe House, San Ygnacio, Texas. This photograph was taken by Sam Vosper, National Park Service photographer, ca. 1936. The main gate of San Juan probably looked much like this when it was standing.

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An explicit inventory of standing structures was carried out in the final secularization appraisal of 1824 and the reappraisal of land sold in 1827. These documents were made available to the general public in Schuetz 1968, along with a selection of other documents in the form of translations by Richard Santos, the Bexar County archivist in the 1960s. Unfortunately, the translations of these documents contain a number of misleading errors, both in the translation of words and the misreading of numbers. These will be referred to at the appropriate places in the discussion below. The discussion is based on an examination of the original manuscript of BCAMR 15, 20, and 27 specifically, and others where necessary. It differs from Schuetz 1968 and 1980 in several key details.

The Church and Sacristy

In 1824 the new church mentioned by Lopez forty years earlier, church 3, remained incomplete. There were still hopes, however, of completing the building. It was designed without transepts, with a sacristy in the shape of a "circle" and a square baptistery. The walls of the church were completed to varying heights, and were intended to be vaulted.

The present chapel of San Juan, church 4, probably completed in about 1794, was Still in use in 1824 and was referred to as "the old church." It was built of stone, with a roof of beams in very bad condition. The church was 70 feet long and 17 feet wide. It had a choir loft of beams reached by a wooden stairway. The campanario had a cross and two bells with iron clappers. The sacristy was 17 feet square, and the doorway into the church had no door. A second doorway, with a door, opened into the plaza. The roof of the sacristy was as poor as the roof of the church.

At about the time of the final secularization of San Juan [or of the replacement of priests by someone in about 1841; check Habig], the parish began work on a rectory for the church. They cut an arched doorway through the west wall of the church just south of the choir loft to serve as the entrance for the priest, and constructed a small building against the wall of the church. The structure consisted of a series of three rooms the length of the church and about 14 feet wide, with a second set of rooms on its west side. These were two rooms amounting to 59 feet in length, and 16 feet wide. The southernmost two rooms along the church had a roof about 11 feet high above the outside ground surface, or about 13 feet above the floor of the church. The roof of the northernmost room enclosing the doorway into the church had a roof 13 feet above the ground, or 15 feet above the floor of the church. Smith found an odd complex of foundations on the wall-line between the eastern row of rooms and the western two rooms, centered on the doorway into the church. His plan of this looks as though the complex could have been a flight of about 4 or 5 steps. If that is what these foundations were, then it is likely that the majority of this building had its floor at about the ground level of the area just west of the church, and the priest used these stairs to walk down to the floor level of the church in the rooms against the west wall (see Appenddix 1, San Juan, sheet 14, 17).

No mention of the construction of this building has been seen in the historical record, so that its actual dates of construction and removal are unknown. It apparently had not been built as of 1824, based on the lack of any reference to it, and was gone by 1890 when Corner drew a map of the mission and again did not include it. whether it was present when Francois Giraud mapped the compound in about 1847 is uncertain, since Giraud had a tendency to leave off anything he considered to be non-colonial. The building may, in fact, never have gotten beyond the construction of foundations and the preparation of

sockets in the church wall for the ends of the roofing joists. Only 8 re-excavation of the building could answer some of these questions.

Church 2A, its sacristy, and the adjoining storeroom on the south were all gone. They had probably been torn down in about 1794 upon completion of church 4. The wall running west from the north end of church 2A to the north end of the friary had also been removed, leaving San Juan as the large open square it is today.

The Convento Compound:

The first stone church, church 2A, was gone. The friary building in 1824 was in fair condition, although much of its roofing was of little value. The obraje had a floor of unusable tile, a flat roof, and a working door. Included as part of this room was the northernmost arch in the portal, or corredor. The quarto de tareas was described as "another room annexed to the said room . . . with an unusable door." No mention is made of the construction or condition of its roof. The room which had been celda 1 and its alcova in 1772 was a single room in 1824 and had a roof of beams of oak in poor condition. The room had one useless door. Counted as part of the room were three arches of the portal or corredor, which had an unusable roof. Celda 2 and its alcova were again a single room with an unusable roof and a door in good condition. The southernmost arch was described as "one arch of the portal, corresponding to the preceding room." These rooms fit quite well onto the plan of the present museum building, with the addition of details located by Smith in 1936.

The last room listed on the west side corresponds to the porteria of 1772, and was described in 1824 as having ruined walls of stone. No roof construction was mentioned.

Celda 2 and its alcove, the southernmost arch of the corredor, and the closed porteria were sold to Dona Manuela Flores in BCAMR 20. This record agrees in most details with the Appraisal, with the exception that the porteria is described as a "tabique . . . with two walls of stone, very demolished." A tabique is defined by the Voc. Arq. (p. 404) as being a thin wall made of rubble stone, bricks, or adobes. It is usually used to mean a partition wall, or a secondary wall between other, primary walls. No reference is made to arches or gateways in the descriptions of this room, implying that these openings were closed, as the westernmost had been in 1772. Perhaps only a doorway have been left through the fill in the eastern arch. The stone itself was probably what was referred to as "very demolished," since the combined celda 2 and alcove and the arch in the portal were evaluated at 6 reales per cartload of stone, while the stone from the "tabique" were considered to be worth only 2 reales per cartload.

In the friary, the partition wall between celda 1 and its alcova had been removed, as had the partition between celda 2 and its alcova. At some point a tile floor had been installed in the obraje, but the tiles were now almost useless.

The years had treated the building badly, causing the deterioration of the roofs and even the walls in some areas. The quarto de tareas had no roof, apparently; the roof over the single room made from celda 1 and its alcova was in poor condition; the roof over celda 2 and its alcova was unusable; the roof of the corredor was unusable and perhaps even missing in some sections; and the roof of the porteria was gone. The porteria walls were in very poor condition; however, this referred primarily to the stonework filling the old entranceway. The arches themselves still stood.

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On the south row, the wall between the hospederia and the oficina del commun had been removed and the new long room had a flat roof. East of the combined hospederia and oficina del comun were two other rooms. The area occupied by these two rooms had contained the cocina, the bread-making room, the oficina segunda, and the gallinero. The remaining rooms were in badly deteriorated condition. The first room, which had been the breadmaking room in 1772, had partially ruined walls and no roof.

The room east of this, that had contained the oficina segunda in 1772, was in even worse condition. It was referred to as un sitio, a site or lot, 44 feet long and 27 feet wide with walls of ruined stone. The phrase "un sitio" probably derives from "un sitio de casa," 8 house- site, used elsewhere in the appraisal to describe a house with ruined walls in the Pueblo, and implies that nothing but low wall stubs and mounds of stone survived to mark the location of the oficina segunda. The odd width of this lot, twice that of the previous structures, probably reflects the presence of a newer building on the site, added to the south wall of the ruined oficina. A map of San Juan made ca. 1847 by Frances Giraud indicates a building here, and archeology conducted by the NPS in 1982 in the area of the sitio found traces of a jacal structure following the outlines on the Giraud map.

The Pueblo:

The 15 houses of stone that were still under construction in 1772 were completed before 1786 and still in fairly good condition in 1824. According to the count of the appraisal there were 13 houses in 1824. Of these, two had been combined from four and were oversized, accounting for all fifteen mentioned in 1772. one house had a divicion de adove, an adobe interior partitioning wall.

In 1824-27, three of the 15 stone houses had no roof, and one of these was in ruins. Another three houses had roofs in one stage or another of deterioration. Most of the roofs were described as zacate, or thatch. Three houses together along the north wall west of the gate had a different sort of roof. One was zacate de terrado, a flat roof of thatch, and two others were simply terrado, flat. This is peculiar, because thatched roofs keep the rain out of a house only by having a fair amount of slope. Horizontal thatched roofs do very little to weatherproof a building. However, these three houses are also described as having stone walls with cabezeras of adobe.

A "cabecera" is the front or upper front part of a thing, the equivalent of the face or forehead of a human being. The closely related word "cabecero" means "head-piece," the overhead part of a door or window frame. The context implies that the word was used here to mean an adobe addition along the top of the front wall of the house, presumably to raise the front wall high enough to give the flat thatched roof sufficient slope to drain. In other words, the "cabezera@" were part of a shed-like roof structure on these three houses. The other 10 houses with thatching had pitched roofs, a much more effective way to use this material.[9]

With the reduction in the population of San Juan between 1772 and 1823, fewer houses were needed. In 1790 there were 24 adult Indians living at San Juan, and 69 other individuals who were not mission Indians. By 1809 this number had fallen to 20 Indians and 46 Hispanics (Schuetz 1980:192-199). In 1823 the population was even lower, with a total of 26 individuals, Indian and Hispanic. After 1823 the population slowly went up again and a few new houses were built.

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[9]A Photograph of the Maria Calvillo house on the west wall, taken while the roof was still in place, has been published in Brooks, 193*:*".

The appraisals of 1823-27, however, included only one more house than the 1772 inventory. This was the same size as most of those on the north and west sides, and had been built on the east wall against the north side of the baptistery of church 3.[10] One standing house and the ruins and foundations of others along the east wall north of the church are largely the remains of houses added after 1823. The vacant walls along the east and north sides were purchased by various individuals between 1823 and 1827. No houses were built on these lots until after 1827.

The Troje:

The troje of San Juan is mentioned only in the most vague of terms in 1824. An addendum to the original appraisal included "the ruined walls of the room with the name of 'Galera', evaluated at 53 pesos, 6 1/2 reales". In the same handwriting, the addendum goes on to list the appraisal units sold to various individuals. Included in this listing are two entries, one recording the sale of "part of the walls of the troxe" to Presbitero Don Francisco Maynes, for the amount of 23 pesos, 1/2 real, and the other for "the rest of the walls of the troxe" to Teniente (Lieutenant) Don Juan de Castañeda for the amount of 30 pesos 6 reales. This totals 53 pesos, 6t reales, and leaves no doubt that the Galera and the troxe are the same building. There were, in other words, the ruins of a stone granary standing in 1824, a granary which was undoubtedly built after 1772. The location of this building is not indicated by the appraisal, but by elimination of all available foundation traces we have left to conclude that this may have been the structure which stood on the foundations just east of the present Chapel, in the middle of the plaza.

The foundations extending north from the Chapel (church 4) can be shown to have had no structures standing on them, at least in 1826, by the fact that the lots for houses 19 and 20 are described as extending to the banks of the river. Schuetz reexcavated a portion of these foundations in 1968 and found that superposition clearly showed that the building that stood here had been removed before the construction of church 4.

In 1890 Corner indicated that a granary was located on the north wall line where the 1824 appraisal located three houses. Such a location in 1824 is ruled out by the explicit descriptions of these houses and their associated lots in 1824-1827, and transfers after 1827 never refer to the buildings as anything other than houses. Corner's description of this area was probably his own opinion.

The foundations west of church 4 have already been eliminated, since they are the foundations of a rectory built for church 4 after 1827. This leaves only Kendall's reference to a granary in the middle of the plaza in 1844 (Kendall 1844:51). This would match with a group of foundations east of the

[10]It has recently been speculated that the houses and ruins north of church 3 are the remains of a convento built for this church. This is unlikely, because the church was built during the last years before secularization, when the Franciscans were trying to finish their more mundane projects at the expense of those specifically missionary in intent. church 3 was designed as a secular church, not a missionary church, and had no need for a convento. At most it would have had nothing more than a rectory of one or two rooms. The house immediately to the north could easily have satisfied this requirement. Moreover, a convento traditionally communicated with the church through the sacristy, so that if for some reason a convento had been planned for church 3, it would have been on the south side, not the north side.

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church; however, Kendall's description sounds suspiciously like he was talking about Espada, and his evidence about San Juan may not be trustworthy.

Auxiliary Buildings, Labores and Acequia:

No reference is made in the appraisals of 1824-27 to any auxiliary buildings or other structures, such as hornos and lime kilns. This echoes the situation as seen in 1772, but again does not indicate the absence of such structures. They were probably included in the purchase of the nearest lot or house.

With the appraisal and sale of mission property in 1824, the colonial period of the mission came to an end. All future changes to structure and the plan of the mission originated on the level of individual lots, rather than as part of a unified policy under the direction of the missionary establishment. The details of the individual lots and the water system which fed them in 1824 and after are not within the scope of this study.

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Chapter 8
STRUCTURAL HISTORY OF
SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA, 1731-1827

Introduction

Mission Espada was the southernmost of the four founded in the San Antonio River valley in 1731. It has not been extensively investigated by archaeologists, and the available information about below-grade structural remains is the result of the work of Harvey P. Smith in 1933. When Smith's plan is compared with the inventory of 1772, which is unusually explicit in its descriptions of spatial relationshipS for Espada, a detailed reconstruction of the location of buildings and the use of specific rooms at Espada in 1772 can be worked out.

Espada was established on March 5, 1731, at the same time as the other missions moved to San Antonio from East Texas. At the time of its founding on the San Antonio River, prior to any construction, it was given the name of San Francisco de la Espada, Saint Francis of the Sword. the local legends that Espada was called this because the campanario was in the shape of the hilt of a sword are later attempts to explain the odd name. Saint Francis taught a doctrine of pacifism; the association of his name with a sword is incongruous at best. The source of the name, and how it was selected in 1731, are still unknown. Fray Marion Habig suggests that the name commemorates some nobleman who aided in covering the expenses of the founding, as was the case with other San Antonio missions; for example, "de Valero," "de Aguayo," or "de Acuña;" it would then be a quirk of history that we don't know of the aid of a man named "de la Espada" in association with the founding of the mission (Habig, 1968:202).

The early reports of Espada are brief and lacking in spatial information. However, an examination of Smith's plans, the extremely detailed information in the 1772 inventory, and evidence on the surviving structures shows that the buildings followed a very orderly process of development from 1731 to 1772. Because of the scarcity of details in the early reports, the description of the construction of the builds will be combined into a single episode.

Espada in 1745-1772

The inventory of 1772 provided a great deal of information about the physical appearance and facilities of Espada, as well as some idea of the complexity of running a mission. It is also evident from the inventory that Espada's early reports (1745-1762) were excessively rather superficial.

The statements in various reports to an intended full-sized church at Espada indicate that a master mason had designed and begun construction on a church there before 1745. If the timetable indicated by work on the other San Antonio mission churches was followed at Espada, then the master mason probably designed Espada church in about 1740 and began construction soon after. He marked out the outline of the foundations of a transepted church with a sacristy on the west transept, connecting the church to the two or three rooms of the convento already built by the Franciscans. The foundation trenches were excavated and stone was gathered and laid into them. The stones to make the doorway from the church into the sacristy were cut. The foundations of the sacristy were finished and construction on the above-ground walls were begun. The bases and first stones of the side columns of the entrance doorway were set in place -- and the mason abruptly left. This must have happened in about 1742, leaving the sacristy unfinished and the foundations of the church only half- built. The Franciscans were able to complete the construction of the sacristy, which they pressed into service as the temporary church (church 1), but they were never able to continue with the primary church.

The Church and Sacristy:

By 1745 the sacristy for the principal church had been completed. It continued in one form or another as the church of Espada until the present day, replaced for only a brief period in the mid-1770s by another building. The principal church remained unfinished, and in 1772 was still only a partially completed outline of foundations:

> La que hade ser Yglesia esta deliniada: su cuerpo, y cruzero a medios simientos, y para la que queda labrada una puerta de Silleria.
>
> That which is to be the church is marked out, its nave and transept by half foundations; and for it will be made a doorway of carved stone. [Saenz Gumiel 1772: 4197]

Other masons had come to San Antonio during the period from 1745 to 1772, but never found the opportunity or materials to finish Espada. In 1756, Fray Dolores y Viana remarked that the principal church had not been completed "because of a lack of stone of good quality" (1961:258). No dimensions of the planned church were given in any of the references about it.

The sacristy serving as church 1 of the mission was about 39 feet long and 15 feet wide. The building was stated to be 7 varas high, or about 19 feet. It is difficult to determine the actual height, but the original portion of the present facade wall extends to a height of about 17 feet, and in ca. 1885 Father Bouchu indicated that the side walls, where they survived near the facade, stood to a height of ca. 15 feet. This indicates that the height of about 19 feet stated in 1772 is probably a little high.

Church 1 had two doors, one into the room of the convento in use as the sacristy, and the other into one transept of the principal church under construction. This indicates that excluding the campanario, the present facade of the Espada chapel (which is the original east wall of the sacristy, church 1) was built as part of the wall of one transept of the principal church of Espada. This explains why the facade of the present church is about 4 feet thick, while the remains of the original side walls are only 3 1/2 feet thick. The campanario was added later, in about 1780.
The cut stones of the arch over the doorway show several peculiarities that have been interpreted to mean that it had been disassembled or collapsed at some time, and was then reassembled incorrectly (see page 763, chapter 11 for a discussion of this). However, the construction of the entire wall below the campanario and the surviving patches of colonial plaster indicate that the arch was originally constructed with its present appearance, It is likely, therefore, that the stone for the doorway was planned and cut in about 1740 by the master mason who designed the entire principal church of Espada. After construction had progressed far enough to have placed the lower stones of the side columns of the doorway, but before the column on the right side had been completed to the base of the arch, the mason departed, leaving the foundations of the church unfinished and the sacristy doorway unassembled. The Franciscans or local stonemasons finished the doorway, using the pieces left by the master mason. Some of the pieces may have been damaged or lost in the interval, so that the makeshift structure to be seen today was the only possible manner of assembly in the absence of a skilled stone-carver. Certainly a section of the door column on the right was lost and replaced by baked brick cut to the appropriate outline. This substituted section was then apparently covered by plaster so that it was indistinguishable from the rest of the doorframe. The cleverness of the amateur masons resulted in the unique doorway of Espada church still to be seen today, in spite of the efforts of various architects to "return" the arch to what they Supposed was its original construction.

There were three bells in church 1: one of 9 arrobas and 7 Pounds; one of 7 arrobas and 14 pounds; and one of 5 1/2 arrobas (232, 190, and 137 1/2 American pounds, respectively; one arroba was made up of 25 Spanish pounds and was equal to about 25.4 American pounds). Unfortunately no statement is made as to where these bells were hung.

The roof of the church was of beams and mortar. The roof beams were described as labrada in 1756, implying that they were carved or shaped in some way rather than simply round logs. A small choir loft supported by corbels was in the sacristy, probably over the main entrance.

On the right side of the altar (in the northwest corner of the church) was a door opening into a room of the convento. This room was being used as the sacristy. No reference is made to doorways other than that from the temporary church, nor to windows or the composition of the roof. However, because the room had been designed to communicate between the convento and the sacristy (church 1) of the permanent church, it must have had a doorway into the adjoining room. This doorway might have been sealed by 1772.

The Convento Compound:

The convento compound was formed by the friary itself on the west side and by a row of workrooms on the south, which together formed a patio. The friary consisted of a row of oficinas or storerooms on the ground floor beginning adjacent to the sacristy of church 1, fronted by a corredor built of stone, wood, and mortar. The height of the second story corredor floor was about 9 feet, judging from traces visible on the surviving portion of the convento as seen on pre-1955 photographs and in the architectural drawings of Smith.

The complex of rooms forming the friary grew room by room over the years from the founding of the mission in 1731. In 1745 the friary consisted of two oficinas on the ground floor and two cells above. Although not mentioned, some sort of stairway had been built to allow the friars to reach the second floor rooms.

The convento had not changed significantly by 1756, although both upper and lower rooms were referred to as cells. By 1759, however, two more "cells" had been added to the friary. These were added one each to the upper and lower floors. The third cell or oficina on the first floor was longer than the last cell on the upper floor. In order to support the wall at the south end of the cell on the second floor, the friars built an arch across the midpoint of the oficina on the first floor beneath it. During the same interval the roof of the entire one-story section at the south end of the friary was covered with tile. The lower and upper corredors were also added in these years.

Between 1759 and 1762 the Franciscans constructed one more cell on the upper floor, onto the large tiled porch at the south end of the building. With this construction the friary had reached its fullest extent. Between 1762 and 1772, however, the southernmost oficina on the ground floor was divided into two rooms by filling the arch supporting the wall on the second floor. This filled arch survives today, and still bears the imprint of its earlier versions.

In 1772, then, there were four oficinas forming the ground floor. At the south end of the row of storerooms was a smaller room housing the stairway which gave access to the second floor of the friary. The second floor was a row of cells fronted by a porch and a portal or corredor. On the ground floor, the room nearest the church was oficina 1, described as being "contiguo a la que sirve de Yglesia,"

adjoining that room which serves as the church. This oficina had one door and one window. In order after this were oficinas 2, 3, and 4, each with one door and one window.

At the south end of the friary was the stairway, consisting of two flights of stairs of stone. They were built into a room with a roof of beams, mortar and tile. The stairs probably resembled those leading up to the Father President's office at Concepción, with the lower flight built supported by an arch from the floor to the south or front wall of the convento, and the second flight supported by an arch from the landing of the first flight to the north wall of the stairwell. Beneath the arch of the first flight of stairs was a privy with two seats "decent and honest," and a curtain of burlap. Although the inventory does not mention it, there was probably a slab-lined and covered branch of the acequia guided beneath the privy to clean it out, similar to the branch from the well through the convento rooms at San José.

The stairway went up to a small porch with a tile floor at the south end of the second floor. The south porch opened onto a second tiled porch over the south end of the first floor corredor. This porch had a low parapet and a floor of tile. Along the rest of the east side of the second floor was the portal, or corredor, of the second floor, built to protect the doorways into celdas 1 and 2. It had a roof of beams and mortar. The missionary making the inventory climbed the stairs and walked to the north end of the portal to begin the inventory of the second floor, starting with the cell over the convento room serving as sacristy on the first floor.

The second story consisted of celdas 1 and 2, the alcove for celda 3, and finally celda 3 itself. celdas 1 and 2 had a roof of beams and mortar. Celda 1 had two windows and a door, while celda 2, which served as the huespedes, or guest-room, had one window and one door. The doors of these two cells opened into the corredor. The windows in celda 1 probably opened through the west and north walls, while the window of celda 2 probably looked west.

The alcova and celda 3 both had a roof of beams, mortar, and tile. The alcove had a door which opened into the celda and one window; celda 3 had a tile floor, a door opening onto the porch, and one window.

Of the rooms of the first and second floors, oficina 4, the latrine and stairs, celda 3 excluding the alcove, and the porch on the south end of the second floor above the latrine all survived until 1955. Celda 3 was removed in that year as part of the renovation of the convento. It was considered at the time to be a later addition to the convento structure. At the same time the stairs were removed from the latrine, and the room was converted to the rectory kitchen.

The Workrooms:

The row of rooms along the south side of the convento compound contained the work rooms and auxiliary rooms of the convento. The history of construction of this row of rooms can be deduced from the surviving physical evidence and the scant references in the reports before 1772.

The 1772 report indicates that the first rooms past the stairway were to the east of it, and were the kitchen and an associated room, the antecocina. The next room to the east was the obraje, or weaving room, which was built between 1759 and 1762. The cocina and antecocina buildings still stand today, and the east end of the antecocina has stones projecting eastward from its corners in the manner typical of stones added to tie new walls to an already existing structure. This indicates that the antecocina was built before the obraje, the walls of which were butted against the corners of the antecocina.

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Construction on the kitchen complex therefore began before 1762, which indicates that the construction of the convento compound was probably a continuous process, turning the corner at the south end of the friary and beginning on the kitchen in about 1759 and completing the obraje by 1762. The next room, used in 1772 for the making of bread, may also have been finished by this year. The last structure on the south side was begun between 1762 and 1772. This was the new troje or granary.
According to the 1772 inventory, the cocina and the antecocina were adjacent to the stairs and the end of the corredor. The antecocina was a food preparation area or refectory. Both rooms were roofed with beams, mortar and tiles. The kitchen had a hearth and chimney, and a selection of utensils and containers for cooking, including a fire-shovel of iron. No description of doors or windows was made for these rooms.

The roofs at the south end of the friary and the west end of the south row were all built with tiled roofs after about 1756. Other evidence indicates that the blacksmith shop had been built in about 1756 just south of the friary. The tiled roof surfaces may have been intended as fire protection against sparks from the chimney of the forge.

The next room to the east was the obraje, or weaving room, with a roof of beams, concrete and mortar and a floor of tile. The first reference to weaving equipment occurs in 1759, although the terms indicate that this is probably stored equipment. A weaving room of stone is mentioned in 1762, indicating that the weaving room was completed between 1759 and 1762. This room had a door and a window with wooden bars. The interior had a wooden partition with a loft built above it reached by a strong wooden staircase. The physical location of the partition and loft was not indicated, beyond the fact that it was "to one side," which indicates that it was in one end or the other of the room, with the entrance door roughly in the center of the north wall. The loft had a door with a key and was divided into two storage bins, one for wool and the other for cotton. Inside the partitioned room below were two chests of equipment for making thread, and several devices for weighing. The partitioned room also had a door and key. In the main area of the obraje were two looms and their associated equipment.

East of the obraje was a room with no specified use, with a roof of beams, mortar and flagstone and a tiled floor. This room had one door and a barred window. It was virtually empty, having only a new middle-sized table, an armchair and a few items for use in making bread.

The Troje:

From 1745 through 1762 Espada had a stone troje at an unspecified location. It was large enough to hold at least 50 tons of corn and 35 tons of beans. It went out of use between 1762 and 1772, probably because of deterioration through age, and construction began on a new troje. This was just being completed at the time of the 1772 inventory. A temporary granary Of jacal was built to protect the grain. This indicates that the first granary had become completely unusable.

The 1772 inventory locates the new troje east of and adjoining the bread-making room. The measurements of the various rooms, including the troje, makes it clear that this building stood on the foundations long thought to have been that of the main church of Espada. In fact, the troje was the main church of Espada for a short time between ca. 1773 and 1776, but in 1772 it was just being finished, and was still intended to be a granary. The building was a very substantial structure, about 86 feet long, 23 feet wide, and 22 feet high, according to the inventory. The length of 86 feet was divided by five arches or ribs of brick, supported by buttresses of stone one vara square on the outside of the building. The roof was a vault "de media punto" (semicircular in cross-section). It was made of wood,

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probably in the form of thick beams running lengthwise between and supported by the brick arches or ribs. Above was a layer of a concrete made of mortar and stones to secure the wooden vault, and the roof was surfaced with more brick. The building had canales each carved of a single piece of stone. It had more than one door and window, but the actual number was not specified. The door and window frames had not yet been installed beca.se the interior of the troje had not been plastered. While the troje was being completed a large jacal structure with a roof of tule, or thatch, was being used as the granary. Its location is presently unknown.

The new troje completed the south row of structures forming the convento compound. A wall enclosing the east side of the patio may have been built, although no mention of it is made in 1772. Smith found a wall foundation running north from the center of the north wall of the troje, ending in a T-intersection in front of and slightly north of church 1. The planned principle church, the foundations of which were already in the ground, was to form most of the north side of the enclosure.

The Second Courtyard:

The inventory included a long list of buildings used for various purposes outside the convento compound. Some of these were probably located in the second compound south of the convento enclosure:

A stone blacksmith shop with a thatched roof, containing a small oven and a bellows. The inventory includes a list of smithing tools in this building.
Next to the blacksmith shop was another room of stone with a thatched roof for the storage of wool. The room had a door and window.
Three jacals with thatched roofs, each about 42 feet long, with serve as storerooms for lumber. One of these served as the carpenter's shop. The inventory includes a list of carpentry tools in the shop.

Of these structures, only the blacksmith shop is referred to before 1772. It is first mentioned in 1756, and appears in the 1759 and 1762 reports. The blacksmith shop may have been found by Smith within the second compound, at the south end of the cocina. His plans show what appears to be a cobbled floor here, with a clearly outlined rectangular extension to the east. This resembles the arrangement for a forge, with the hearth on the rectangular extension. The available information is too limited to even tentatively locate other structures in this area. Some of the foundations visible here were very likely built after 1824, since several houses are referred to in this area in deeds after that date, and their presence has confused the evidence to the point that no detailed assessment can be made without archeological investigation.

Auxiliary Buildings:

Other buildings could have been anywhere in or adjacent to the mission:

An oven of mortar and brick for baking bread. Four other small ovens in the pueblo for its needs.
A threshing-yard enclosed in stone with a flagstone floor, for threshing beans and removing corn from the cob.
A chickenhouse of stone with a roof of mortar and tile, with a door.

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A corral of wood with a watering trough for fattening pigs.
A stone kiln with a stone stair.ay for the firing of lime, which when full produced about 30 tons.
A room of stone roofed with thatch for the storage of lime. It contained about 5 tons.
A kiln for baking tile, enclosed by a thatched jacal 58 feet long. This building had a door. 300 fired floor tiles and 10,000 fired bricks were stored here.

The lime kiln would have been located well away from the convento and Indian quarters, because when in operation it produced unwholesome fumes. Additionally, lime-making requires a good water supply, go the site chosen would have been near the river or the acequia. The same reasoning probably applies to the brick oven, and the two may well have been together at some good location several hundred or thousand feet from the mission proper. The lime-storage room would have contained one or several large vats, probably square with stone sides, because the lime had to be kept wet while stored or it would harden. No hint of the locations of either of the kilns or the lime-storage vats has been found, either in archeological investigations or historical documents. A series of smaller lime-kilns are located just northeast of the mission enclosure on the slopes of the old river bank, but these probably date from the earliest days of construction at the mission, perhaps 1731 to 1750. Small kilns had to be built to produce the lime to build the large kilns; the small kilns at Espada would have yielded only a few pounds of low-grade lime at each firing.

The brick kiln is probably the one that produced the brickS and tiles mentioned throughout the 1772 inventory as floor covering, roofing, and construction material. Many of the 10,000 fired bricks were eventually also used in the mission. Much of the brickwork visible today undoubtedly came from the Espada brick kiln.

The Pueblo:

The pueblo had begun as a group of jacals laid out in a village with two streets adjacent to the mission and church for the Indians and soldiers assigned to it. In 1745 the village housed 52 Indian families, and the acequia was described as flowing through it. By 1756 work had begun on an enclosing wall with houses of stone, and in 1759 two sides of the new pueblo had a row of houses of stone with roofs of beams. The third and fourth sides of the pueblo were formed respectively by the convento compound and what is implied to be a wall without a row of houses along it. By 1762 all three sides of the pueblo are indicated as having a row of houses of stone, and reference is made to two cannon for the defense of the mission, implying that gateway fortifications may have been built by this time.

An examination of the foundations located by Smith's excavations and a comparison of these to the descriptions of 1772 and 1824 indicate that the Pueblo of 1772 did not include the walls east of the 1772 granary. These were built after ca. 1780 as part of the same preparation for secularization seen at the other missions. The pueblo of 1772, however, included only the area directly north of the convento compound, and had a gate on the east and west sides, near the southern corners of the pueblo (see Appendix 1, Espada, sheet 10]).

The inventory describes the pueblo as consisting of 20 houses of stone with roofs of wood, mortar and flat stones, each from 14 to 17 feet long, about 13 feet wide and 16 feet high. Each had a fireplace, and was mortared and plastered inside and outside. Eight additional houses of stone had thatched roofs, and were of the same size as the preceding. There were also four wooden jacals with thatched roofs, for which no size was given. All of these formed the plaza of the pueblo, "where two streets began,"

remarked the inventory. This remark probably indicates that the street layout of the earlier, village-like plan of the pueblo was still in use or at least visible. Adjacent to the main gateway of the mission was:

> un castillo de geis varas de Alto de Piedra con su punta de diamante y troneras a los lados, para que en caso de imbacion contener al enemigo; as con escopetas o fuciles como con dos cañones que estan en elr el uno en su curena y el otro de pie firmle tienen su atacador y Sacatrapos.
>
> . . . . a stone fortification, 17 feet high, of stone with a punta de diamante, (a triangular or diamond-shaped abutment or extension) and embrasures on the sides, for the resisting of the enemy in case of invasion, and with guns or muskets and two cannon that are in it, one on its gun-carriage and the other on a permanent mounting [a "solid footing"]. These had a ramrod and a "worm" [for the pulling of a charge which failed to fire] (Saenz Gumiel 1772:4211).

Smith's excavations located two foundation groups which appear to have been intended for gateway fortifications. The inventory states that only one of these was completed, but fails to say which one. The only association in the inventory was with the puerta principal (main gate), which could have been either of the two. However, the plan of the fortification on the eastern gateway indicates that this was probably the puerta principal, because it is large enough to have contained two cannon and has a wedge-shaped extension to the east, matching the description of a punta de diamante. This is supported by later historical evidence. The fortifications at the west gateway were apparently never completed.[1]

The Labores and Acequia:

The mission had two labores under cultivation in 1772. These were enclosed in strong fences of mesquite, nailed and tied, with gates. The labor grande (large field) had been planted with 22 bushels of corn, an unspecified quantity of beans, and had a separate garden area also planted with corn. The labor menor (small field) was planted in about two bushels of corn and an unstated amount of cotton. Along with these two labores, the mission had an orchard fenced with posts, containing eighty-eight peach trees. A portion of the orchard enclosure was being used to grow a variety of grass or reeds for the use of the obraje and for thatching.

The stone presa (dam) designed to make the water of the San Antonio River flow into the acequias was 131 feet long, 6 feet thick, and 8 feet high. As it appears today, Espada Dam looks to be only about 100 feet long, but the northern end seems to have been buried in river silts and the backdirt from channelization of the San Antonio River. The acequia had compuertas (sluice-gates) made of lime and stone for the distribution of the water and drainage. So the acequia could cross a cañada (small valley) without decreasing the flow of water, a 44-foot stone canal (channel) had been built. This is presently unlocated. To cross the Arroyo de la Piedra, the acequia had another canal of stone, 106 feet long, 17 feet high, with a puntai de diamante (dike or cutwater in this context, called a tajamar in Vocabulario Arquitectonico, p. 404 and fig. 460, which is a photo of a structure located at El Sitio, Mexico that looks

[1]If the descriptions by George Kendall in 1841 are associated with the wrong missions. then Kendall's explicit reference to a tower in the northwest corner of the mission with someone living in it would have to refer to the bastion whose foundations Smith located at the northwest gateway. This would mean that the northwest bastion was the completed structure. not the southeast.

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very much like the aqueduct over Piedras Creek); and two ojos ("eyes," or arches) which permitted the water to pass and supported the canal. The acequia itself would have been completed within a few years of the founding of the mission. It passed through the pueblo as of 1745, probably from northwest to southeast. With the construction of the muralla, the acequia was probably diverted, and later passed along the north and west sides of the mission.

Outside the walls of the mission, but in the immediate area nearby, the Franciscans had established pens and corrals for some of their stock. Near the mission was a corral of nailed and tied posts, for oxen and milk-cows, with a bullpen with barricades and gates. Nearby was another corral of nailed and tied posts, larger than the first, for other cattle, probably the wild cows brought in from the mission range-lands for butchering or driving to Mexico.

Perhaps in the same area the mission had several other corrals. one was a small corral made of posts for the horse-string. The corral contained a stable also made of posts with a thatched roof and a manager, and a jacal of posts with a thatched roof and a door. This contained various pack-saddles. There was also a small corral for goats and sheep. Beyond the local corrals, the mission ran cattle on a huge tract of land towards the southeast, with a fortified ranching headquarters at Rancho de Las Cabras, on the west side of the San Antonio River near present Floresville.

Espada, 1772-1824

Morfi's Visit

In 1772 Fr. Agustin de Morfi visited Espada. The description in his Journal is very brief, but contains critical information concerning the structural history of the churches of the mission:

> La vivienda de los padres, aunque sin arte y pulidez, es bastante comoda: las de los indios son chocillas, como en todas partes. La iglesia se derribo porque amenazaba ruina, se esta supliendo en un cuarto bajo, capaz y bien adornado, con vasos sagrados y ornamentos muy decentes.
>
> The dwelling of the fathers, although artless and untidy, is sufficiently roomy: those of the Indians are huts, as everywhere. The church was torn down because it threatened collapse, and it is being substituted for by a room of no great height [a "low room"], spacious and well-decorated, with quite decent sacred vessels and vestments. [Morfi 1935:228]

It would appear that between 1772 and l??B several things had happened at Espada. Which church had been torn down by 1778, and where was the substitute church? The church described a few years later in 1786 and in 1824 was the structure which had always been used for the church and eventually became the present chapel of Espada, so it could not have been the building which was torn dorn. Was the principal church completed and then removed, all in a period of five years? Considering that most of the building's outline had not gotten above ground in forty years of work, this does not seem likely. Do we have another candidate as a candidate for the honor of the shortest-lived church at the San Antonio missions? In fact, we do.

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In 1890 William Corner indicated on his map of Espada the place where tradition located the "approximate site of an old church" (Corner 1890), and stated that some foundations could still be seen in this area. Smith excavated here in 1936 and found what he thought to be the entire outline of the original church of Espada. Actually, he had located the foundation6 of the granary of 1772. Since the inventory of 1772 was not available until ca. 1975, Smith had no way of knowing this. Instead, the building gave him clear evidence that the foundations were those of a church.

Within the walls of the structure were a partition wall added across the building between the southernmost pair of brick pilasters. To the north, a bricked platform filled the space to the next pair of pilasters, where two steps down to the original floor level extended the entire width of the building. Obviously, he had a church without transepts, with a sacristy on the south end, and the sanctuary platform just north of the sacristy.

We are led to the conclusion that the granary of 1772 was converted to a church soon after its completion, becoming church 2. In fact, the time schedule is very tight. The building still needed interior plastering, doors and windows as of December, 1772. Between that month and December of 1777, a period of only five years, a number of things had to happen: the decision was made to convert it to a church, the structural additions and changes were carried out, some sort of structural problem was then discovered or some disaster occurred (a fire would be a good candidate), and the entire building was subsequently torn down. At the same time as the demolition, services were shifted to a "low room" which still served as the church in 1778.

The "low room" serving as the church in 1778 was apparently church 1, returned to service as church 3 after some structural changes. The evidence for the changes is clear on the building itself, on sketches and photographs of it made from the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, and in the description of 1824. No documentation demonstrates when the changes occurred, however. According to the records, the time of change can only be placed in the 50 years between 1772 and 1824. However, an assessment of the changes argues that they were probably carried out in the late 1770s.

The changes were extensive. The wall between the sacristy and church 1 was torn down and the church extended to the west wall of the compound. A new wall only 3 feet thick was built across the north end of oficina 1 to close this gap. The remainder of oficina 1 was converted to a new sacristy for church 3.[2] The present campanario was probably added at the same time. The second story above the old sacristy and oficina 1 (i.e,, all of celda 1) wag removed, and the portion of its floor left south of the south line of the church wall converted to the roof of the sacristy. The second story corredor and the east wall of celda 1 may not have been affected by these changes, or may have been removed to parapet height, but the west wall of celda 1 south of the line of the southern church wall was almost certainly cut down so that its top was about 12 feet above ground.

The most likely time for this major alteration to the church and convento of Espada was when hopes for a new, larger church elsewhere in the compound were abandoned: ca. 1776. Franciscan thinking must have been that the new church built into the granary of 1772 had been a failure, but with alterations, the old church would suffice for a mission with a slowly decreasing Indian population and a slowly increasing Hispanic population, especially since secularization was beginning to be planned for. They felt that it was time to cut their losses, in the same way as can be seen at the other missions.

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[2]This information is from the sketch prepared by Father Bouchu in ca. 1885 when he was planning the reconstruction of Espada chapel; see Archdiocese Archives.

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As part of the same movement, the mission apparently built another granary to replace the granary of 1772. This building was 90 feet 7 inches long, exactly 2 feet shorter than the granary of 1772, and 22 feet 7 inches wide, compared to 28 feet 4 inches for the exterior width of the other. This width of 22 feet 7 inches is about the same as that of the old church (the present Espada chapel), and indicates that the new granary of ca. 1773 probably had a flat roof of vigas and mortar, rather than the more daring brick ribs and wooden vault of the granary of 1772.

In addition to the work on the church and granary, it was during this period from 1776 to 1780 that the extension of the pueblo compound to the east was undertaken, effectively doubling its size. In ca. 1780 the declining Indian and increasing Hispanic populations were about equal, and the expansion seems intended for the new Hispanic settlers at the mission, or at least the Hispanicized expectations of the Indians living there. All of these projects imply a great deal more change, activity, and construction than we would expect from the traditional descriptions of the missions after 1770 as deteriorating, almost empty shells.

The Lopez Report:

The report prepared by Fr. José Francisco Lopez in 1786 contains a succinct description of Espada in that year:

> Esta formada en Quadro y Circundada de Muralla de Piedra y Lodo; contigua a esta estan las Casas de Avitacion de los Yndios que las mas son de Piedra y Lodo, La Casa para el Ministro, Yglecia y Sachristia, que estan contiguas, folman la mitad de un lienzo que es el de Poniente, y son de Piedra y Cal con Competente Capazidad para sus destinos. La Yglecia y Sacristia por su fabrica y con sus adornos y Alajas pueden Abaluarse en tres o quatro mil pe&os. Al viento Sur queda la troje, que es de Piedra y Lodo pero con Competente Capacidad para su destino.
>
> It is formed in a square and encircled by a defensive wall of stone and adobe mortar; against this are the houses where the Indians live, most of which are of stone and adobe mortar. The convento for the minister, church, and sacristy, which are contiguous, form half of one side [of the square] which is that on the west, and are of stone and lime mortar with sufficient room for their purposes. The church and sacristy, for their material of construction and with their decorations and furnishings, may be evaluated at three or four thousand pesos. On the south is the granary, which is of stone and adobe mortar with sufficient space for its purpose [Lopez 1786:5 rev.-6].

This description clearly confirms that the granary of 1772 was gone, the church was back in its old location adjoining the convento, and a new granary had been built on the south side of the compound. This new granary had probably been built between 1772 and 1778, at the same time that the troJe of 1772 was converted to a church. The new granary still existed as ruins in 1824, when it was appraised and sold along with the other buildings of Espada. It is visible today as the long rectangular foundation extending south from the southern wall of the mission.

Equally important, the general tone of the statements that the church and convento form the middle of the west wall and that the granary is on the south wall indicates that the extension of the pueblo compound to the east had already been carried out by 1786. If the plan of 1772 was still the general layout of the mission, the convento and church would have been referred to in the same way as in

earlier reports; that is, forming the entire south side of the square of the pueblo, not half of the west side.

Partial Secularization in 1794:

The inventory completed in 1794 was concerned with the distribution of the temporalities (non-religious goods and properties) of the missions, and the available records deal only with the distribution of goods, livestock, and fields outside the mission proper. Documents dealing with the actual appraisal and legal transfer of buildings other than the church and friary within the mission in 1794 may exist, but are not as yet known.

The Appraisal of 1824

The next complete inventory which included the size, shape and composition of the buildings of the mission was associated with the final secularization of the missions in 1824, as at the other missions.

The Pueblo:

The plan of Espada in 1824 shows many changes from that of 1772. The most striking change was the result of the extension of the muralla to the east in ca. 1780. Along the south and east sides of this muralla a new series of houses were built, following a different design than that used for the Indian quarters in the original pueblo. The new design incorporates a series of two-room houses rather like those described earlier at San José, with a principal room about 25 feet long and a kitchen about 11 feet long, interior measurements. The width continued the standard of about 11 feet followed in the older Indian quarters. Documentation does not indicate how many houses of the new design were built, or whether the entire interior of the new muralla was lined with these houses. Archeology has shown houses along the east wall extending somewhat further north than the buildings recorded in 1824, but whether these were built before or after the final seculari is not known; only that they were not standing during the appraisals in the mid 1820s. Several of the older houses along the west and north walls of the older section of the pueblo continued in use.

The change in design of the newer houses indicates that they were intended for people with a differing life-style than those for whom the original houses were built. The extension of the pueblo and the change in house plan may have been the result of an influx of new residents to the mission who were citizens of New Spain, rather than Indian neophytes. This began to be significant as early as 1778, when Fr. Morfi remarked that Espada's population consisted of 133 persons and 40 citizens, In 1786 Lopez counted 57 Indians in the mission. He did not mention any Hispanics, probably because he didn't consider them to be pertinent to his discussion. By 1790 Espada had a population of 46 Indians of all ages who were still considered Mission Indians, and 94 persons (not including children) of various races who were not. This would imply that in about 1785 the number of mission Indians would have roughly equalled the number of citizens.

The most likely time for the construction of the new plaza was 1778-1780. By 1824 many of these new houses were already badly deteriorated or roofless. The older Indian quarters were also considerably changed by 1824. Only the dwellings along the north wall were still relatively intact, and some of these were also without roofs. The houses along the west wall had decayed to the point that only four were

referred to at all in the 1824 appraisal, and these were apparently little more than heaps of rubble. These were replaced by new jacales after 1824. A small gateway had been opened through the north wall after removing the walls of one house between the structures numbered 9 and 10 in the appraisal. This opening was called the pasadiso para el rio or sometimes the zaguan nacional. A second pasadiso had been incorporated in the new plaza. It was called the pasadiso para la labor, and was apparently a planned gateway, since the house structures on either side are symmetrical around it. The west gate was called the puerta mayor. No trace of the castillo guarding the main gate of 1772 remained in 1824, indicating that it had probably stood by the east gate, and was removed with this gate and the associated wall when the muralla was extended in ca. 1780.

Of interest is the lack of any reference in the 1824-1827 appraisals to the bastion on the southwestern corner of the muralla. The uncertainties inherent in these appraisals make it impossible to say if the bastion existed as of 1824, but strongly imply that it did not. Other historical information implies that it was probably built in about 1825-26 by a small garrison of Mexican cavalry stationed at Espada, but this is far from proven.

The Chapel and Sacristy:

In 1824 church 3 was still in use, The church was 61 feet long and 14 feet wide. The building had a beam roof described as "very ruined, "and a choir loft of beams with a wooden bannister and stone stairs. A door opened into the sacristy, and the church had three windows. In addition to the main double door (the present entrance into the church) and the door into the sacristy, the church had one other double door, described as "in the middle of one side. " These doors could have opened northward into the cemetery, and may have been the "doors for the dead," used to bring coffins into and out of the church during funerals. They would have been located about where the north transept of San Francisco de la Espada is today. The campanario had three bells, one of which had no clapper. Neither the size of the sacristy nor its location relative to the church is given.

The church had no transepts in 1824. These were added as an afterthought by Bouchu in 1885-1890. There was no second story over the sacristy and its roof was described as "ruined." The reconstructed church and sacristy had been neglected in the years before 1824 long enough for their roofs to severely deteriorate.

The Convento Compound:

In 1824 the friary was in ruins. No roof or floor structure of the two-story building or of its corredors are described or appraised in BCAMR 64: the entire building, upstairs and down, is lumped together as "Five rooms [of the convento], 58 feet long, 28 feet wide, including the length and width of the portales belonging to the said useless rooms, with 100 cartloads of rock at 2 reales..." The count of five rooms indicates either that at least one room was still recognizable on the second floor, or that the stairwell was being counted as a room. Photographs and drawings done in the middle to late nineteenth century and Smith's investigations show that the room containing the stairway and privy, oficina 4, and celda 3 without its alcove on the second floor all survived in sufficiently good condition to be restored by Bouchu as his dwelling in the mid-nineteenth century, while the remainder of the second floor and first floor rooms were only fragments of wall and piles of rubble.

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On the south wall of the convento compound, only the cocina and antecocina remained in 1824. The obraje and the bread-making room had been removed. The cocina and antecocina were in good condition, and had been occupied since about 1800 by a resident of the mission. He was granted legal title to both of them as a single house in 1824. Included in the sale was a portal, which implies that the last arch of the corredor on the first floor was still standing in that year. The reference to the other arches is vague, but implies that some of the first floor row of arches still stood. In 1890 Corner indicated the ruins of the southernmost arch to be still recognizable in this area (Corner 1890:plan of Espada Mission, ff.16). The two rooms are described as having flat earthen roofs, although the antecocina had a desvan (a second roof, probably gabled, enclosing an attic) added over its flat roof.

The Granary:

With the conversion of the troje to a church, the mission built another stone granary south of it, extending southward outside the muralla. It survived as ruined walls in 1824. In BCAMR 58 (1824) it was described as "a granary of which only the walls remain," and later in the same document as the "old granary. " In the l89O's residents of the mission still remembered its location and use (Corner 1890:23)- It probably was abandoned at the time of partial secularization in 1794.

Auxiliary Buildings, Labores and Acequia:

The appraisal of 1824 and the associated documents through 1827 do not mention any of the auxiliary buildings and other structures listed in 1772. It can be assumed that many of them were still in existence in one form or another, but were not significant enough to be appraised. Jacals present in 1772 would have long since disappeared, and stone buildings, unless maintained, would have gone to wall fragments and rubble. Lime kilns and hornos were relatively transitory and could be expected to be rebuilt frequently. They would have been considered private property, not subject to appraisal or sale. Deed records of individual mission lots in the county courthouse would give some information on the history of these auxiliary structures. The lands of the mission were divided among the Indians in 1794, but by 1824 much of this land was abandoned or under cultivation by new occupants who had no clear titles, and a wholesale regranting of this property occurred. A study of these fields and the associated water management network is outside the scope of this report, but is well documented in the above-mentioned deed records.

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Chapter 9
THE POST-COLONIAL PERIOD, 1824-1860

Introduction

This chapter deals with the period beginning with the secularization of the Spanish missions in 1824 through their reactivation by the Church in the mid-nineteenth century. it are discussed structural alterations and changes in property ownership based largely on deed records research supplemented by graphic illustrations of the period. The last include drawings and lithographs produced by local artists and travelers recording the turbulent events of the new Republic. Photography was not widely used until during the Civil War, but limited photographic information is available for Mission San José as early as 1855.

Travelers' Descriptions as Source Material

The Mexican independence movement began in 1810 and concluded with the formation of the Republic of Mexico in 1821. Anglo settlement of East Texas began in that year, and the first events leading to the Texas Revolution occurred soon after. By the time of the establishment of the Republic of Texas in 1836, San Antonio had experienced almost thirty years of warfare between Spanish troops, rebel troops, Mexican troops, mercenaries from the United States, and Comanche Indians. Many families lost sons, daughters, and other relatives during this period of conflict, as well as land, cattle, and personal wealth.

The Anglo travelers of the 1840s and 1850s saw not the occupants of the river valley of the colonial days, but survivors of a period of social disruption which had left many of them poor, landless, and shattered in spirit. All the familiar laws and traditions were gone except what they could recreate bit by bit in their private lives. They had lost even the right to govern themselves.

The Anglos perceived only poor, lazy people who did nothing to better themselves. They were unable to envision nearly thirty years of social destruction and conflict, when to have goods, crops, or cattle meant only that one was prey to any army passing through. The "Mexican" of the Anglo travelers was a person whose society had been destroyed around him, and who had not yet found an understanding of the new culture he was being forced into. The period from 1810 to 1836 marked the collapse of colonial society in San Antonio. The mission populations which emerge from that era are no longer colonial, but only refugees from this collapse. The stereotype of Mexicans was not derived from the original Hispanic culture of San Antonio, but was based on the shattered culture and broken people seen by the Anglos immediately after the wars.

Included in the travelers' commentary are raciest statements which are offensive to any rational person, particularly the descendants of those described. After due consideration, it was determined not to delete these statements for several reasons. However prejudiced, the comments illustrate the mood of the times, and as such constitute a part of the missions' historical record. Moveover, the traditional view of the nineteenth century missions is one of deserted, ruined monuments. The presence of descendants of Hispanicized Indians and Hispanic settlers, indicating the continuity of the mission communities, has been either romanticized or ignored. Therefore, the travelers' mention of these individuals, even in derogatory terms, provides historical proof that throughout the decline of mid-century, the missions continued to harbor a vestigial community.

Soldiers were also chroniclers. Although accounts of battle seldom contain detailed information on the appearance of the mission structures and lands, a handful of documents offer clues to the missions' physical condition during the Texas Revolution.

The Writers and Travelers of the Period

One of the more vivid accounts of the period is the Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition by George Wilkins Kendall, a New Orleans journalist who accompanied the 1841 expedition.[1] Kendall describes the missions in general terms:

> By far the greatest curiosities in the neighborhood of San Antonio are the missions. . . . They were all most substantially built; the walls are of great thickness; and in their form and arrangement they were frontier fortresses. They have generally, though not always, a church at the side of a square having one entrance. Seen from without, they present the form of a blank wall surrounding a square enclosure; within is a large granary, and the wall forms the back of a series of dwellings in which the missionaries and their converts lived. There was a large appropriation of the surrounding district for the support of the mission, through which small canals were made for the purpose of irrigation. (Kendall 1841:49)

As the nineteenth century reached its mid-point the travelling professional man joined the wayfaring soldier as chronicler of the mission structures. Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, a German scientist, exemplified a new, rational approach to the structures, which were now being described for their scientific value as well as the romantic feelings they evoked. This required an emotional detachment and a systematic method of evaluation on the part of the observer which differs greatly from the accounts of men who had fought battles on the mission grounds.

Another "scientific observer" was Frederick Law Olmsted, a landscape architect who was later to gain fame as the designer of Central Park in New York City. In his 1857 book, A Journey Through Texas, Olmsted provides a broad overview of San Antonio and its missions:

> THE MISSIONS
>
> Not far from the city, along the river, are these celebrated religious establishments. They are of a similar character to the many scattered here and there over the plains of Northern Mexico and California, and bear a solid testimony to the strangely patient courage and zeal ofthe old Spanish fathers. . . .
>
> The Mission of Concepción is not far from the town, upon the left of the river. Further down are three others, San Juan, San José, and LaEspada. On one of them is said to have been visible, not long ago, the date, "1725." They are in different stages of decay, but all are real ruins, beyond any connection with the present--weird remains out of the silent past.

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[1]The expedition, consisting of 325 men, was launched from Austin to secure New Mexican trade by the capture of Santa Fe.

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> They are of various magnificence, but all upon a common model, and of the same materials--rough blocks of limestone, cemented with a strong gray stucco. Each has its church, its convent, or celled house for the fathers, and its farm-buildings, arranged around a large court, entered only at a single point. Surrounding each was a large farm, irrigated at a great outlay of labor by aqueductsfrom the river.
> The decorations of the doors and windows may be still examined. They are of stucco, and are rude heads of saints,and moldings, usually without grace, corresponding to those described as at present occupying similar positions in Mexican churches. One of the missions is a complete ruin, the others afford shelter to Mexican occupants, who ply their trades, and herd their cattle and sheep in the old cells and courts. Many is the picturesque sketch offered to the pencil by such intrusion upon falling dome, tower, and cloister.
>
> THE ENVIRONS
>
> The system of aqueducts, for artificial irrigation, extends for many miles around San Antonio, and affords some justification for the Mexican tradition, that the town, not long ago, contained a very much larger population. Most of these lived by agriculture, returning at evening to a crowded home in the city. These water-courses still retain their old Spanish name, "acequias." A large part of them are abandoned, by in the immediate neighborhood of the city they are still in use, so that every garden-patch may be flowed at will. (Olmsted 1857:154-56)

John Russell Barlett, a United States commissioner who surveyed the U. S. boundary after the 1846 war with Mexico, published his Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in 1854. His concern for the condition of Spanish colonial documents in the office of the Bexar County Clerk is one of the earliest references to archival materials existing in the San Antonio Area:

> We saw in the County Clerk's office a large collection of old Spanish documents, which have been accumulating ever since the first settlement of the town. Doubtless their careful perusal by some persevering antiquary would develope many interesting facts connected with the early history of the country. It is to be hoped, that measure will ere long be taken by the enterprising State to which they relate to rescue them from oblivion and decay, and cause them to be collated and given to the world. The Northern States have spent immense sums in sending agents to England, France, and Holland, to procure similar papers from the State archives to illustrate their Colonial history. Texas possesses in her own record offices voluminous documents of equal value, in which the scholar and historian of every State feels an interest second only to that of her own people. (Bartlett 1854:41)

Deed Records as Source Material

Deed records form an important part of the history of each mission. Not only do they give the name of the owners of each tract or structure, but they may also offer structural details about the various buildings on a lot--such as their size, shape, material, location, and use--which give a picture of their change through time. This occurs often enough to make the compilation of deeds for the missions worth the time spent. Occasionally, however, particular lots or even groups of lots never receive any detailed attention during transfer, and deed research results in nothing more than the size of the lot and

its owners. At San José, for example, there is very little structural information for most of the compound from about 1850 until about 1925, other than what can be obtained from photographs.

A second difficulty with deed records is that on occasion they were not always made part of the public record. Many transfers of mission property occurred without the deeds being recorded at the Courthouse. Sometimes these deeds were made part of a later transfer and so became a deed of record, but sometimes not. The Church tended to be the worst offender in this sort of activity. Many deeds between landowners and the Church, whether of purchase or sale, were filed in Church records, but never copied into public records. This was not a great difficulty as long as the records were kept locally, but in the case of particular groups such as the Benedictines, the records were stored elsewhere in the United States and have become extremely difficult to trace. The result is that many transactions do not have available documentation, a difficulty which affects not only the historian, but also the landowner, when asked to prove that he actually has title to a given tract. If he cannot produce a copy of the deed, his ownership could be invalidated. However, there were defenses against this situation, as will be discussed in the section dealing with San José.

Equally complex was the practice of "squatting." There are undoubtedly many examples of this method of acquisition in the missions, but they tended to be discussed obliquely at best in the official documentation. Only on rare occasions did a land user indicate that he had no direct title to a given tract, but only what claim a long and continuous use may have given him. Sometimes there is a grey area between squatting and legitimate but unrecorded title transfer. Many landowners of the 1870s and 1880s at San José fall into the indeterminate area.

A fourth problem was that of inheritance. If a property remained in the hands of a family or families in linear descent of ownership from the original purchaser, very little descriptive material was recorded about the property. Occasionally detailed appraisals are made in wills or probate records; more often, only very brief listings occur. Detailed partitions did occur with a survey of the properties and a careful record of the distribution of the new titles, but even when this happened, the records are frequently inaccessible or lost. The older probate records are stored in the Archives in the Old Bexar County jail, and because of the usual difficulties associated with low budget and staffing levels, they are not available for historical study.

In spite of these obstacles, deeds and other such records form an important part of the documentation of each mission. An initial attempt to access these records is made in this chapter. However, because of time constraints a large number of documents were not examined. These include names of owners, transfers, probate records, tax records, wills and other resources, any of which could contain important contributions to our understanding of this period in the history of the missions. In addition, the Bexar Archives, on file at the Barker Texas History Center in Austin and available on microfilm, undoubtedly contain a number of documents pertinent to the structural history of the period. For example, occupation and construction by the Mexican army is more likely to be recorded here than in any other repository. The vast quantity of records in this collection for these years makes this a very difficult undertaking. The following must be regarded only as a beginning.

The Status of the Missions, 1824-1860

The four missions entered a period of neglect after 1824. Concepción, for example, was used for the quartering of troops in 1835 and again in 1849. Apparently because of the condition of the structures, San Antonio's two priests, Rev. Refugio de la Garza and Rev. José Antonio Valdez, conducted no

services in the mission churches. In early 1840 Father John M. Odin, the first vice-prefect of Texas, arrived in San Antonio, removed de la Garza and Valdez from office, and appointed Father Michael Calvo to be pastor of San Antonio and the missions. After 1840 occasional services were held in the mission churches, and their use as such was never officially discontinued.

In 1841, through a suit brought by Odin, the Republic of Texas confirmed the title of the Catholic Church to the Texas confirmed the title of the Catholic Church to the churches of each mission and associated land (Webb 1952.2:302). This apparently was interpreted by the Church as giving it title to any mission land not actually claimed by another owner. Beginning in about 1850, Odin initiated a program of purchasing which added to the holdings of the Church at each mission and eventually resulted in the return of large portions of each mission compound to Church ownership.

The percentage of landowners willing to sell their homes and farms varied at each mission, and the evidence suggests that the relative economic health of each area influenced their choice. At Concepción, for example, the church eventually bought back the entire compound, all mission buildings except the granary, and a large chunk of the labores. At San José, perhaps half of the owners sold to Odin. At San Juan and Espada, on the other hand, the purchasing program was not carried as far during this period.

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Travelers' Descriptions
of the Mission and Church

The journalist Kendall, viewing Concepción's church in 1841, is impressed with its imposing scale:

> About two miles lower down the San Antonio River [from the Alamo] is the Mission of Concepción. It is a very large stone building, with a fine cupola, and, though plain, magnificent in its dimensions and the durability of its construction. It was here that Bowie fought one of the first battles with the Mexican forces, and it has not since been inhabited. (Kendall 1841:50)

The next description of Concepción is by a Texas militiaman who visited the mission during the summer of 1846. In "A Journal of Travels Out West," D. R. Woods offers information on various activities underway at the mission:

> We then turned down the San Antonio [River] 10 miles and camped near another old Catholic church called Conseption. This also presents a solemn and interesting scene to the visitor. Being built in the same form of the Alamo, but not so much decayed. Much of the walls are still standing. On the top are two cupolas which I suppose are near 60 feet high. Many of the rooms are yet in [use]. Broken in one is a grocery. Kept in another is a smith shop. Many of the rooms are used for stables. The dates are about the same as the Alamo. In the hall and in the tower we saw many things that we did not understand. There are large basins of stone on each side and in the back end over which is yet to be seen the remains of profiles of the Virgin Mary &c. (Woods 1982:12)

Woods's reference to rooms used as stables may have included the convento. The "hall" of which he speaks is the nave of the church, and the "many things" not understood are likely the wall paintings adorning the nave, sacristy, and baptistry.

The year 1846 saw another visitor to Mission Concepción. In an article, "Notes from My Knapsack," an anonymous soldier -- somewhat lacking in historical knowledge -- described Concepción:

> The "Mission Concepción" is one of the numerous structures for quasi religious purposes, created by the Spanish Jesuits for the conversion of the Indians to Romanism. They are all now deserted, and abandoned literally "to the moles and the bats," and there is nothing visible in the condition of Mexican or Indian, to indicate any knowledge or any appreciation of the pure doctrines and divine morality of the New Testament. From an imperfect inscription now almost obliterated, on the building -- which is stone and of stately appearance -- it seems to have been erected or completed in the year 1754. But little is left of the interior finish, and that hardly visible, as the building was so darkened by bats and so offensive that entrance was almost impossible. ("Notes from My Knapsack" 1854:176)

In recollections written between 1855 and 1861, ex-soldier Samuel Chamberlain also reiterates the gruesome state of Concepción in the late 1840s. Chamberlain's mention of caverns entered from steps "behind the altar" lends credence to local tales about such subterranean passages:

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> One day Colonel Harney ordered the old Mission to be cleaned out, intending to use it to store forage for his command. A large detail of Dragoons well provided with shovels and brooms commenced to clean out the nave of the Church. The floor was covered to the depth of two foot with the excrement of Bats. While some of the detail were at work, others provided themselves with torches to explore the subterranean vaults and passages under the buildings and said to connect with the Fortress of the Alamo. Behind where the Altar formerly stood, a flight of stone steps descended into the dark and gloomy place. It was one mass of Bats! They hung on the walls and arched roof in clusters like bees when swarming, the floor was covered, and yielded under the step like a bog. Out of sport some of the Dragoons fired their Pistols into the living, squirming mass, when like a tornado the Bats flew out of the passage, extinguishing the torches but fortunately carrying the men out of the vault with them. The party in the Church rushed for the door in the wildest alarm and though some were knocked down and badly frightened, allgot outside in safety. The little winged animals poured out of the great door for two hours, making their way to the Mission of San José,six miles below, their column being so dense as to resemble a suspension bridge! Thousands lay in the church and on the ground dead and dying from the crush. The stench in the Mission prevented its being used. (Chamberlain 1956:43-44)

Bartlett's description of Concepción reveals that the appalling condition of the mission church had not been remedied by 1854. At this time it was in use as a stable for cattle:

> It was late when we reached Concepción, which is nearer the town than either of the other missions. The two towers and dome of the church make quite an imposing appearance when seen from a distance; but on approaching it, we found it not only desolated by desecrated; the church portion being used as an inclosure for cattle, the filth from which covered the floor to the depth of a foot or more. Myriads of bats flitted about, which chattered and screamed at our invasion of their territory; and we found nothing of interest within the church to repay us for encountering their disagreeable presence. (Bartlett 1854:44)

The Convento

Changes in the convento building after 1772 are undocumented until 1824-1860. During this later period, the convento was used as a residence or rented to others by Ramon Musquiz, the political chief of Bexar County from 1827 to 1835 and governor of Texas and Coahuila from 1835 to 1836 (Webb 1952.2:253). Musquiz described these rooms in his deed of transfer. When Musquiz owned the convento the western arcade served as a porch, the three main cells were "a saloon [salon] with an adjoining room and gallery," and in the eastern arcade the corridor to the guest room had its arch filled. The corridor and the guest room were then converted to a kitchen: "a porch on the east of eighteen (18) varas [50 feet] with two arches closed to form a kitchen" (BCDR S1:480).

Bishop J. M. Odin purchased the convento from Musquiz in 1860 and transferred the buildings to the Brothers of Mary, who had been using part of the mission land since 1855 (Schmitz 1965:26).

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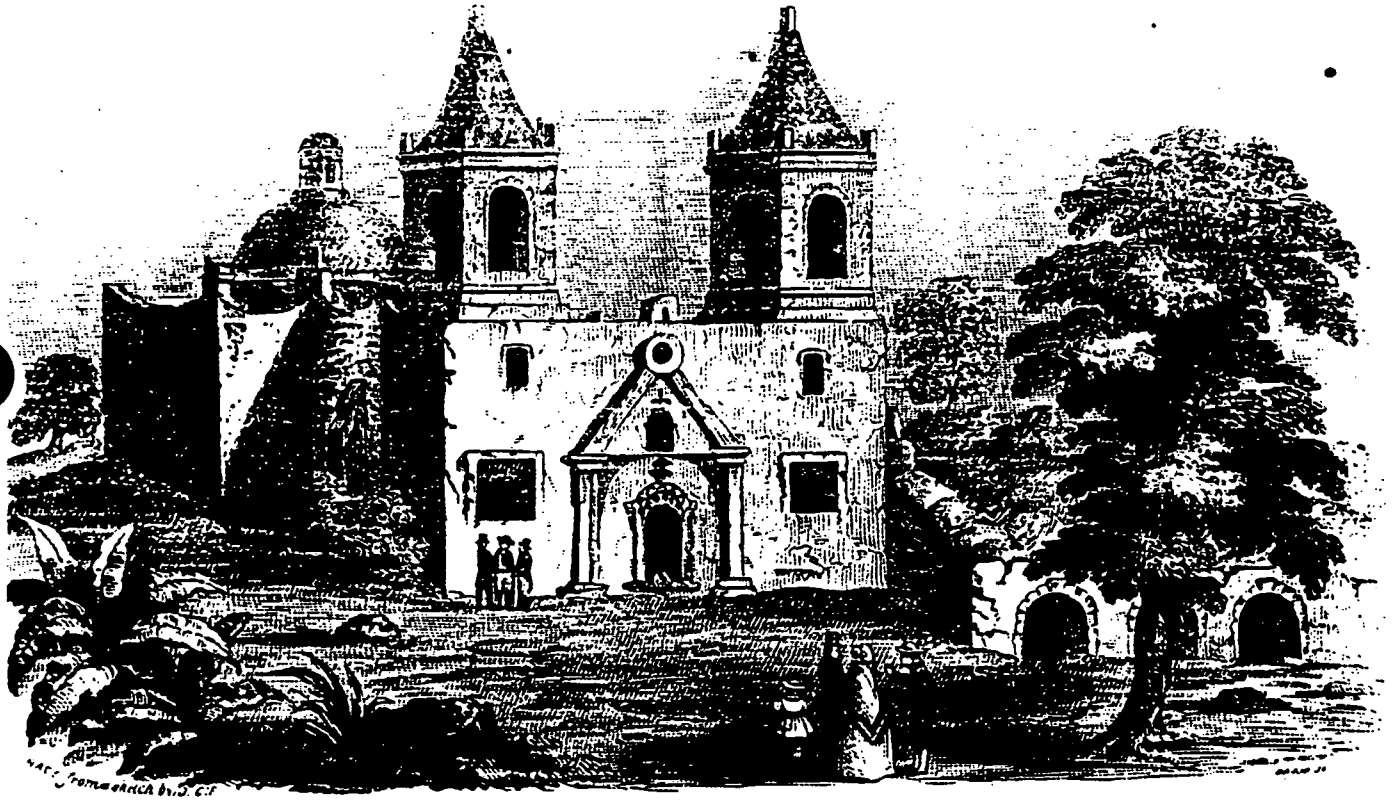

Figure 24. An etching of Concepción which appeared in Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion in 1854. This is a fairly accurate rendering of the church. The arches are shown as open, which is known to be factual, but the arch on the north end is missing. Courtesy ITC. (34/82)

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Figure 25. A lithograph by Hermann Lungkwitz showing Mission Concepción from the southwest (1850). The ruins of the granary are in the foreground, and the vaulted ruins of the convento at the left. Courtesy ITC. (32/82)

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Workshops and Granary

At the time of secularization in 1794, the granary roof was in need of repair because it was leaking (BCAMR 18). In February 1806, José Antonio Huizar, the alcalde (governor) of the combined missions of Concepción and San José, petitioned for possession of the granary at Concepción. He stated that it was partly in ruins and that he would rebuild it for a dwelling. This property was granted to him in March 1806 (BCAMR 70).

In 1815 Huizar repetitioned the government. He explained that a series of events had prevented his receiving full title to the granary at Concepción, one of which was the abandonment of that mission in about 1810. He asked instead for the granary building at Mission San José, and received full title to it in 1815 (BCAMR 70, 71). The Concepción granary was finally granted to Manuel Yturri y Castillo in 1823 (BCDR A2:77). The property used by Yturri y Castillo actually included both the granary and a workshop room added to its south end after 1772. He may have done some rebuilding of the granary. By 1838, when he sold the building to Asa Mitchell, the granary and workshop were described as "three rooms, built of stone, and connected together in a row, which adjoins the said church at its South East corner" (BCDR A2:74). This statement implies that a dividing wall had been added within the granary structure, similar to the partitioning by the Huizar family at the San José granary. In 1849, when this tract was surveyed, some portion of the granary was still standing: ". . . . to the S. W. corner of an old house formerly occupied by Yturri; Thence N 5° E along the West wall of said house 32 varas to where said house joins the Concepción Mission" (BCDR P1:619).

The actual date of collapse of the granary is not known, but drawings made in the 1850s indicate that it had fallen by early in that decade. For example, a drawing by Lungkwitz in 1851 shows only low, ruined walls in the area (Pickney 1967:87), as does a Pentenrieder drawing printed in 1856 (Ibid.:150, see figure 26). Since it is unlikely that this much collapse occurred between 1849 and 1851, it should probably be assumed that the building was already in ruins by 1849, and that the surveyor simply did not see fit to mention it. Therefore, the date of collapse was between 1838 and 1849, or about 1845.

The Mission Compound

Few Indians continued to live in the Indian quarters along the compound wall after 1794. By 1823 and the final secularization of the mission (when the church and sacristy were released by the missionaries into the hands of the local bishop), none of the original Indian families remained. Most of the mission properties were regranted to new owners. By this date the Indian quarters were in such bad repair that none was sold. Instead, Ramon Musquiz purchased the entire length of the east and north walls as part of the suerte (farm lot) extending from Mission Road and Mission Concepción to the road to San José on the east, apparently at the same time he purchased the convento (BCDR H2:250).

By 1857, the houses and walls of the compound had disappeared. The survey along the east and north walls in that year followed the old wall lines only generally, and probably are a record of nothing more than the tops of the rubble mounds and ridges marking the outline of the mission plaza (BCDR H2:250).

The Issue of Stone Robbing

It is popularly believed that the deterioration of structures within the Concepción compound was hastened by local area residents, who were said to have gradually dismantled the buildings to obtain

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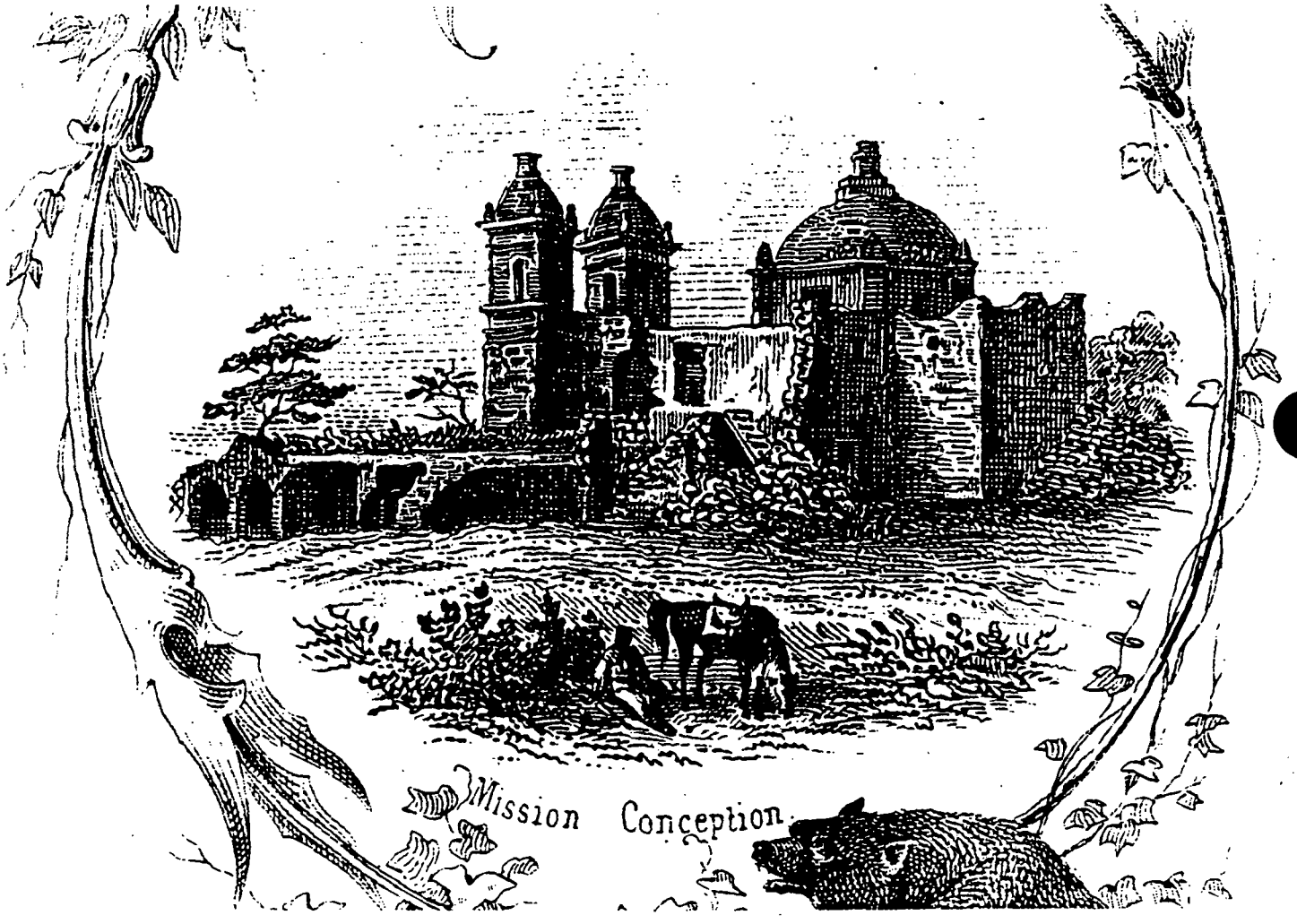

Figure 26. Detail from the engraved letterhead by Erhard Pentenrieder, San Antonio merchant (1856). Note the steps leading to the fallen landing of the father president's office and remnants of the trefoil arched doorway. Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. (134/82)

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Figure 27. An Erhard Pentenrieder etching, "Drawn after Nature," on a letter sheet, ca. 1856. In addition to the Main Plaza, the etching depicts Missions San José, San Juan, and Espada. San Antonio de Valero (the Alamo), and other San Antonio landmarks. Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. (277/82)

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Figure 28. A lithograph by Konra D. Huver showing the church and convento of San José from the southwest (1856). Note the large flying buttress east of the gable roofed section of the convento, and the *canales* along the convento roofline. Vegetation can be seen on the roof of the sacristy. There is a square window in the west sacristy wall. The first story of the porteria does not show any openings, which implies that arches dating from the colonial period had been sealed by this time. Courtesy San Antonio Museum Association. (181/82)

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stone for their houses. Archeology leaves no doubt that such stone robbing occurred, but documents of the period indicate that much of the stone from the mission was used in the construction of large-scale institutional buildings rather than private residences. As early as 1841, for example, Bishop Odin was authorized to purchase cartloads of stone from the Concepción convento to be used in the repair of San Fernando Cathedral (Castañeda 1958:50). By 1845, Odin was making a case for the construction of an educational complex, possibly what was to become the Germam-English school in La Villita:

> The ruins of the Mission will furnish [m]ore material than is needed to build a magnificent college. The lime costs very little, sand is plentiful in the neighborhood and labor costs only sixty of a hundred sols a day. The workmen support themselves. There are excellent French and German masons here and good stonecutters sent by Mr. Castro [founder of Castroville] who work quickly at the lowest rate if they are given considerable work. (Casteñeda, Foiks File, CAT)

Mission San José

Travelers' Descriptions of the Mission and Church

Kendall continued his 1841 journey to San José. His comments on the condition of the structures and compound reveal that prior to mid-century the sculpture on the church had not been damaged. It is not known at present who was responsible for the repairs to the church made shortly before Kendall's visit:

> The Mission of San José is about a mile and a half down the river. It consists, also, of a large square, and numerous Mexican families still make it their residence. To the left of the gateway is the granary. The church stands apart from the other buildings, in the square, but not in the centre; the west door is surrounded with most elaborate stone carving of flowers, angels, and apostles. The interior is plain. To the right is a handsome belfry tower, and above the altar a large stone cupola. Behind the church, and in connexion with it, is a long range of rooms for the missionaries, opening upon a covered gallery or portales of nine arches. Though the Texan troops were long quartered here, the stone carvings have not been injured. The church has been repaired, and Divine service is performed in it. (Kendall 1844:50-51)

Five years later, in 1846, D. L. Wood visited San José. The Texas militiaman's mention of "100 rooms," while no doubt exaggerated, would suggest that portions of the quarters built into the compound walls were still standing. The "dark and gloomy looking cells of the old church" are the rooms of the convento:

> 22nd: [month unknown] Moved about one mile down the creek where we found better grass, and on the 23rd I rode across the creek about one mile to see the Mission St. Hosea [San José] which is an extensive Roman Catholic church and has in time been a splendid piece of workmanship. It bears the date 1782 and from its age and abuse the beauty of it is greatly defaced. The main entrance is closed by a splendid folding door about 15 feet high and 8 wide which leads into a splendid hall which is about 100 feet long and probably half as wide. In the roof of this hall is a concave [dome], the top of which is probably 50 or 60 feet from the floor. At the right and left of the

> entrance are images. Standing on the right one represents the Virgin Mary [St. Anne]. On the left [is] a very grave looking man with a book open in his hand [St. Joachim]. Immediately above the door a personage is represented wearing a crown, the palms of the hands placed together, and inclining on his breast [Our Lady of Guadalupe]. On either side of the door and above are images of similar appearances. The images are about the size of a child 10 years old. They are standing on pillars of stone, some being carved like the head of a man and all manner of splendid carvings can be seen. This church has one cupola. We was enabled to ascend to the top of this by [a] narrow flight of stairs. The cupola is the 4th storey. The part described is but a small part of the building. There are many rooks, entrys, galeries, arches, concaves, &c--which we were not able to learn the use of. I believe there has been nearly 100 rooms. In one of those small dark rooms are the image of the Virgin Mary with the child in her arms, also the image of Christ when a young man, and also when he had grown to manhood. they are kept under a veil standing in a pit in the middle of the floor. This presents the most solemn scene I eer witnessed. The whole concern seems to be one mass of ruins. The walls have been battered down with cannon. The ball and shot holes can be seen from the steeple to the ground. The wall which enclosed the mission is entirely battered down. There are several families of Mexicans and Negroes living round in miserable huts. Some live in those dark and gloomy looking cells of the old church. In one of those rooms is kept a grog shop. (Woods 1982:15)

The same anonymous soldier who visited Concepción also offers a detailed description of San José's church in 1846. His mention of the church floor, earthen except for stone at the altar, is noteworthy:

> On the right bank of the river, and about six miles below San Antonio, stands the "Mission of San José." It is a building of more pretension in its size and style of architecture than the other, and doubtless retains at present much of the imposing appearance designed for effect on the Indians. The front is of elaborate finish, the doorway being surrounded with six figures in alto relievo, and other richly sculptured ornaments. The ground forms the only floor, except at the altar, where an area of twenty-five or thirty feet square is covered with stone. As you enter, an apartment at the right displays through a grated door, a statue of the Virgin, apparelled in an old, faded calico gown; and as well calculated, perhaps, to stifle any sentiments of devotion, and substitute those of derision, as any design that could be erected in a temple to the Almighty. There are small chapels on either side of the principal aisle, but untenanted even by the symbol of a saint in sackcloth. The roof is formed by three cloistered arches, resting upon massive pillars, and a dome, of perhaps thirty or forty feet in diameter. The altar still preserves its elaborate workmanship, but the rich gilding is seen only in a few spots, which have eluded the corroding touch of time. ("Notes from My Knapsack" 1854:1-76-77)

The soldier reveals the location of the date, 1782, mentioned in the Woods passage quoted above. Furthermore, he observes a major crack in the structure, one likely leading to the collapse of the roof and dome between 1868 and 1872:

> By the aid of steps cut into a log, extending from the ground to a stone stairway, the visitor is enabled to ascend to the tower. He there finds two cracked bells, bearing date, "Seville, 1782." A large stone cross, which originally rose over the entrance, has been broken off, and its fragments still remain on the roof. Here, too, may be best

> seen how the old pile is crumbling into ruins, from the devastations which time and neglect have already wrought. There is a broad fissure in one of the arches, which must be constantly widening, and unless speedily arrested, will not long hence bring the old edifice to the ground. Peach-trees are springing from the roof, and round the highest point of the turret, the nopal, or prickly pear, is winding its branches, and yielding a most abundant growth of fruit. (Ibid.:177)

The unnamed soldier issues one of the first recorded pleas for the preservation of the structure:

> In any other part of the United States, a building, so venerable and classical in appearance, rising as it were from the midst of a vast solitude, yet in the vicinity of hundreds starving for the bread of life, would become an object of wide-spread interest, and might perhaps induce some liberal man of wealth to interpose the "almighty dollar," to arrest, if possible, its downward progress, and convert it not only in name but in reality to the uses of a pure Christianity. But here it is only a haunt for the half-starved, semi-civilized, mongrel and dissolute descendants of the Spaniards and Aztecs, whose stagnant energies would permit the golden fruit of Hesperides, to remain unplucked forever. (Ibid.:177)

Traveling on the road to San José, also in 1846, the German scientist Roemer passes through a ford, "the only one in the vicinity, where the river can be crossed without danger," before the mission comes into view:

> On the other side of the river, extending four miles, was a wooded plain from where we had the view of a large stone building. It was a church similar in style to the due [Alamo] in San Antonio. A square but not very high tower rose over the main entrance and a flat-arched cupola covered the rear of the building. Everything was quite well preserved, although large cactus bushes, which grew picturesquely on the cupola, gave evidence that the building had been abandoned long ago. Doors and windows had long disappeared and we could ride into the interior. The walls, blackened with smoke in many places, gave evidence that this place was occupied at various times. Of another building adjoining the church, and no doubt the house of the priests, only the walls and window openings are still remaining. (Roemer 1935:7)

Roemer notes that the compound wall is partially intact, and that "within it several Mexican families live in miserable huts built out of ruins of the building." They have planted the compound with corn and fruit, in a "hapliazard [sic] way" (Ibid.:7-8). He states that San José is no doubt the best preserved" of the San Antonio mission churches, an assertion which other writers of this and later periods might have challenged, as Concepción was generally held to be in better structural condition. The German scientist then describes San José's building materials:

> The material used in the construction of this building as well as the other Missions is composed of two kinds of stone. The one is a light, porous, tufaceous limestone or travertine, which is also found in many parts of Germany, as for example in the area of the Lciner Valley in the vicinity of Goettingen, where it is valued highly as a building material on account of its lightness. This stone formation finds its peculiar origin in the deposits of springs containing lime. The cupolas and arched ceiling of the churches in the Missions are built out of this material.

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> The other stone used is a greenish grey limestone, containing clay, which has the peculiar property of being almost soft enough to be cut with a knife when taken from the quarry, but later hardens when exposed to the air. This peculiar mineralogical product is mentioned in several writings as being found in the region of San Antonio. The peculiarity noted above of hardening after exposure for some time to the air is simply due to the fact that the water which is endlosed [sic] in it mechanically, and which produces a condition of slight mobility among its particles, evaporates and thus makes this limestone especially adopted for sculpturing. For this reason it was used for the sculptured portal of the church of San José Mission. The limestone, whose geological age can be determined by the numerous fossils, - particularly species of the family Exogyra, - enclosed in it belongs to the cretaceous formation and is found in several places in the neighborhood of San Antonio. (Ibid.:8-9)

By the time of Bartlett's visit in 1854, the statues on the church facade had been mutilated. His is one of several accounts that mention the statues being used as targets.

> A ride of about five miles through a mezquit country brought us to the mission of San José, situated upon the right bank of the river. This was the largest and wealthiest mission; and its buildings were constructed with greater display of art, and still remain in better preservation, than the others. Entering the inclosure formed by the granary and other out-buildings, we alighted in front of the main edifice or church. This is constructed of stone, and plastered. The principal doorway is surrounded by elaborate carving, which extends the whole length of the front, and includes numerous figures, among which is an José,the patrōn of the church, and the Virgin and Child are conspicuous. The material of this work has the appearance of stone; but we found on exanlnation that it was a hard kind of stucco. The action of the weather has done much to destroy the figures; and the work of ruin has been assisted by the numerous military companies near here, who, finding in the hands and features of the statues convenient marks for rifle and pistol shots, did not fail to improve the opportunity for showing at the same time their skill in arms and their contempt for the Mexican belief. That portion of the front of the church not covered with carving, was ornamented with a sort of stencilling in colors, chiefly red and blue. But few traces of have withstood the rain. The most perfect portion of the church is an oval window in the sacristy, which is surrounded with scrolls and wreathwork of exceeding grace and beauty.
>
> The interior presents but little of interest. The dampness has destroyed the frescoes upon the walls, and the altar has been stripped of its decorations. It is now seldom used for religious purposes; as the Mexicans of the neighborhood are poor, and cannot often afford the fifty dollars charged by the San Antonio priests for officiating.
>
> . . .
>
> A fine view of the surrounding country may be had by ascending the tower, which is accomplished in part by means of a spiral staircase, and in part by a rude ladder, consisting of a stick of timber with notches cut in its sides. The plan of the building evidently included two towers; but only one of them was ever completed. (Bartlett 1850:42-44)

Bartlett's assessment of the damage done to the facade of the church by military companies is further substantiated by Cora Montgomery in her 1852 book, Eagle Pass; or, Life on the Border:

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> A ride of five miles over the pastoral plains that environ San Antonio brought us before what was once the beloved school and abundant home of hundreds of reclaimed Indians. Silence now reigns in the desolated mission. We drew up before the broken arcades of the cloisters, and glanced hastily at the plan. The ground floor had been divided and occupied, as is generally seen in religious houses, by a refectory, or dining hall, and the other larger rooms of the community. The second story was devoted to the cells or sleeping apartments of the fathers. They were plain, substantial, and reasonably commodious, all opening in a line on the gallery over the ground arcades. We then went round to the church front, to observe if it could be true, as we had heard, that parties of volunteers during the Mexican war had in mere turbulence of spirit defaced the old sculptures that dated back almost to the first Christian settlements. On one side of the old carved doorway stands the statue of Joseph, "the just man," the husband of Mary. He is the San José to whom the church is dedicated. On the other side in a corresponding niche is Mary and her child Jesus. All these figures have been shot at, disfigured and mutilated by parties of Americans, who thus evinced their dislike to bigotry by a bigotry still more intense. They proved the soundness of their Christian and republican instruction, by a dishonest waste of others' property and spiteful intolerance of others' creeds. (Montgomery 1852:40)[2]

The two statues flanking the entrance to the San José church were frequently misidentified by early mission visitors. Montgomery mistook the statue of St. Joachim, father of Mary, for St. Joseph; and that of St. Anne holding the infant Mary for the Virgin and Child.

In a special manuscript prepared in 1934 for Congressman Maury Maverick, early San Antonio historian Frederick C. Chabot cites an incident which occurred in the early 1840s. Although his source is unidentified, it is likely that Chabot was quoting the account of a volunteer in the Texan army camped near San José in a 1842 campaign. His description of the desecration of the statue of "Jesus" probably refers to that of the Young Virgin, whose head is revealed to be missing in photographs of the 1870s.

> Around the door-facing of this church, as most churches in Mexico, there are a number of scriptural images cut in stone, and among them one of the fathers with the infant Messiah in his hands. On this occasion, one of our buckskin Republicans, who had struck for liberty, rode up, and not finding a convenient swinging limb to hitch his 'critter' to, he threw the lariat over the head of the young Jesus. Very soon the animal took fright, pulled back, and carried away the head. At the sight of which, the men, women and children, old and young, swarmed around the desecrated image, crossing themselves in prayer, showing by their countenances a degree of grief, indignation, and horror which it would be impossible to describe. (Chabot 1934:46-47)

The Church and Mission Lands

After the secularization of 1824, San José entered a period of neglect by the Church also experienced by the other three missions. As part of Bishop Odin's efforts to bring in new clergy to staff the

[2]Cora Montgomery was the pen name of Jane McManus Cazneau, who came to Texas in 1832, and later was a newspaper contributor and political activist in Washington and New York (Webb 1952.2:122).

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Figure 29. A Doerr & Jacobson photo showing a detail of the damage to the facade statues as described in the text (1872-79). The head of the infant Mary is missing. Courtesy Mr. Tex Treadwell, Texas A&M University. (4/83)

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individual missions, arrangements were made with Fr. Leopold Moczygemba to establish a residence at San José. Moczygemba, a superior of the Conventuals of Saint Francis, founded the parish of Panna Maria in 1854 (Habig 1968b:146). Presumably, the convento of San José was to become headquarters for the work of the conventuals while in the San Antonio area, but before this could happen, the title to the convento had to be transferred to Moczygemba (BCDR P1:496). The Conventuals left Texas in 1859, and Odin turned to the Benedictines to establish a school or training center at San José.

The Benedictines sent Father Alto Hoermann, who was to be the prior of San José,and four associates to San Antonio in 1859 (Habig 1968b:147). In October of 1859 Odin, in a rapid series of purchases, bought the titles to most of the northern side of the compound of San José and a last fractional interest in the convento. Presumably he then transferred all the Church holdings at the mission to Father Hoermann, although the deed for such a transaction is not part of the public record. After this date, recorded transactions of the Catholic Church at San José during the nineteenth century are virtually nonexistent in the county records. One of the very few located so far is a transfer of a small lot on the west side of the mission from Blasa Villareal to Fr. Alto Hoermann (BCDR 51:597).

Odin transferred all Church-owned land to Hoermann, and subsequent acquisitions and sales were handled by the Benedictines during their stay at San José. For the most part the Benedictines did not record any of these transfers in the county clerk's office. Fortunately, the material dealing with Texas in the Benedictine archives at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, was selectively microfilmed by the Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, and some of the transfers from local landowners to the Benedictines are recorded there.

The Convento

Travelers' Descriptions:

The earliest available account of San José in the post-colonial period was written in German by a soldier. Hermann Ehrenberg and his company were ordered to search the Mission for supplies of weapons or food that might have been hidden there by the enemy. Their investigations led them into the church tower, through the corredor, and eventually into a "narrow, dark cell," presumably one of the rooms of the convento:

> A faint suspicion of trickery in the excessively desolate aspect of the place made us push aside this rubbish of dust and plaster, and a careful scrutiny of the floor showed us that one of the stone slabs was loose. Removing it from its socket, we found it concealed a hole so dark that we could not see whether there was anything inside or not. After flinging a few stones into this mysterious cavity, we concluded that it was not very deep, and I decided that I would jump in while one of my friends went outside for a rope to pull me out after my explorations were over. After I had let myself down through the narrow aperture as far as my arms would allow, trusting to luck I dropped into the unknown space. Our suspicions were correct and our hopes brilliantly fulfilled, for after a fall of some ten feet I landed upon twelve or fifteen wagon loads of corn hidden here by the Mexicans. (Ehrenberg n.d. :112)

The existence of such a storeroom may explain the stories of secret underground chambers and tunnels that for some students of the missions, have never been satisfactorily disproven. However, the location

of this room at San José is unknown. Possibly Ehrenberg was climbing into the underground chambers of the old mill north of the compound wall.

Ehrenberg was at San José in 1835. Twenty years later, the atmosphere of disuse and decay noted by most early visitors had not changed. The anonymous author of "Notes from My Knapsack" found the convento occupied:

> Back of the main building extends a long wing, to which arched porticoes are appended, which an old negro, sole occupant, and not unworthy successor of the Jesuits, represents as having been constructed for, and occupied as, a convent. ("Notes from My Knapsack" 1854:177)

John Russell Bartlett, a V.S. boundary commissioner after the 1846 war with Mexico, visited San José about the same time as the previous writer. He also found the convento occupied, and the nearby fields in use:

> The convent in the rear of the church, as that portion of the building occupied by the fathers is called, remains in tolerable preservation, and is at present inhabited by an American who cultivates the adjoining lands. (Bartlett 1854:43)

The Deed Record:

Sketches of the convento made in the 1840s and 1850s indicate that no major changes to the building occurred between the 1823 appraisal and the Benedictine reconstruction in the 1860s. The convento of San José was sold to Juan Martin Veramendi in 1824, and only a few deeds refer to it after this date. It was partitioned along with the rest of the Veramendi estate after his death in Monclova in 1833 (Webb 1952.2:837). This partition has not yet been examined; however, subsequent deed records give some details. Marie Antonia Veramendi de Sierra purchased the "east" room of the convento from Teresa Veramendi Cantu and her husband Jesus Cantu on August 31, 1848 (BCDR M1:512). This included the "basement" room and the second story room, "said upper story being used and known as a kitchen." Maria Antonia Veramendi de Sierra and her husband Antonio Sierra then sold all of her portion of the convento to John Twohig on November 22, 1854 (BCDR Ml : 513). The sale included rooms #5, #6, and #7 on the first floor and room #4 on the second floor.

The reference to a second story room on the "east" room in the Cantu deed (BCDR Ml : 512) must indicate, therefore, that the room transferred by Cantu was room #5 on the ground floor and room #5 directly above it on the second level. It appears that this second story room was being used as a kitchen at the time. Twohig transferred his section of the convento to Fr. Moczygemba in 1855. With the arrival of the Benedictines in 1859, Moczygemba presumably transferred his title to Odin, or directly to Hoermann.

Apparently, the remaining four rooms were also acquired from Veramendi heirs, but the deed for this property has not been located. The closest thing to such a deed is a transfer by Maria Antonia Veramendi de Sierra to Odin of all her rights to the portions of the old convento "to which she may be entitled as one of the heirs of Ursula Garza, daughter of Rafael Garza and Josefa Veramendi" (BCDR

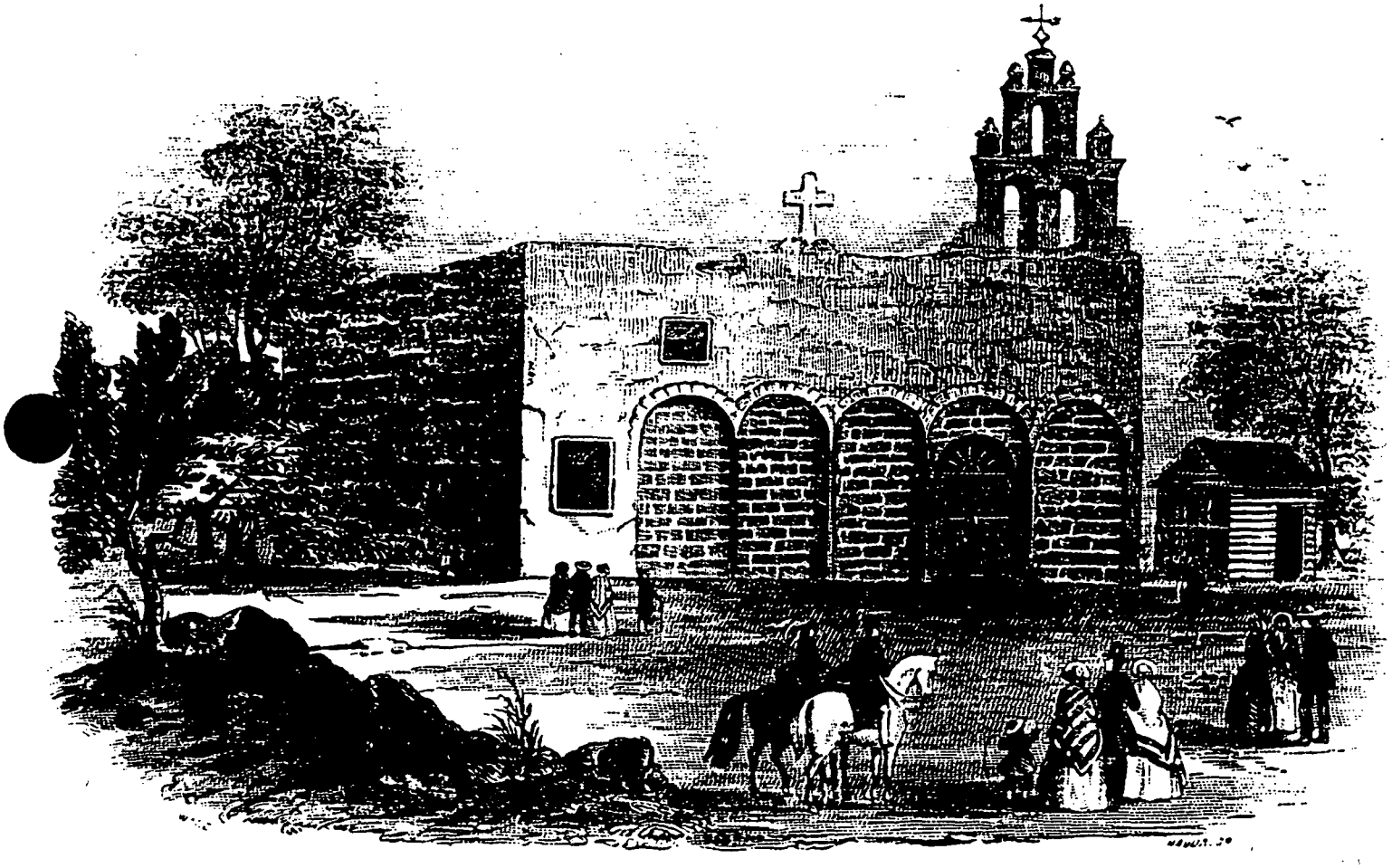

Figure 30. Etching or engraving from Gleason' s Pictorial of the church from the southeast (1854). Although crudely proportioned, the illustration offers several important details such as the blocked-in arches, the east door (shown arched rather than squared), and the stone cross on the roof at the mid-point of the nave. Both this etching and Pentenrieder's show the present sacristy door as a window. The small wood frame structure at right is incongruous, as is the attire of the figures. Courtesy Institute of Texan Cultures. (56/82)

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H2:264). This may indicate that Josefa Veramendi received some portion of the remainder of the convento as her share of the Veramendi property.

The remainder of the convento, rooms #1 on each floor and the room outside the sacristy, had apparently remained in the hands of the Church. In a letter in the St. Vincent Archives at Zatrobe, Pennsylvania, Bishop Odin stated that he had purchased "all the lots of ground which might have interfered with the entire seclusion of the community" except two small lots which he expected to acquire within the next few days (October 26, 1859). In this letter Odin estimated that the convento would require at least $3,000 for restoration.

The Mission Compound

After the appraisal of the mission buildings in 1823, discussed in the previous chapter, the history of the buildings forming the enclosing square of San José becomes extremely fragmented. Each tract into which the enclosure was divided followed its own individual development, according to the desires of the owners.

1824-1859: During this period the deed records contain some information on the structural changes occurring in the compound. Most of the sales of unowned property occurred along the north and east walls. Apparently the majority of the west wall was already owned at the time of the appraisal. Little interest was shown in the south wall.

Bishop Odin began the acquisition of properties in the 1850s, and eventually almost all of the lots north of the road belonged to the Catholic Church. Odin also purchased most of the south wall lots, and perhaps a third of those on the east wall. A few of the lots along the west wall were purchased by the Church; but from what can be determined from the records, it never acquired title to the north half of the granary, the room just east of the pasadiso (passageway), most of the west wall, and some part of the southern half of the east wall. Occupation and maintenance of some Indian quarters along the west wall apparently continued through the 1870s, and perhaps later.

Unlike the two northern missions, San Juan and Espada present few difficulties because of missing or unrecorded deeds. The problem is quite the opposite. Both have extensive ownership histories--so extensive that the volume of information becomes difficult to manage. At Mission San Juan, the ownership of most lots can be traced from their original sales to the present. The ownership history can be characterized as a series of transfers of individual lots between small holders until ca. 1840, when Francis Guilbeau began the purchase of virtually all of San Juan, including the unfinished church.

Mission San Juan

Travelers' Descriptions of the Mission and Church

There are few descriptions from this period. Visits to the missions of San Juan and Espada were considered mainly overnight trips. Lodging was not available, and creature comforts were limited to what a man could carry on his horse. There were only few places where a man on horseback could ford the river to get from one mission to another. Fewer people traveled to Espada than San Juan because

at the former, the church consisted of only the single facade wall. However, some did make the journey, and it is from these intrepid travelers that the following accounts are drawn.

In 1844, Kendall scarcely mentioned San Juan, but his reference to a granary--the sole description of the period--is significant. His is also the only reference to a tower at San Juan during this time:

> The church forms part of the side of the square; it is a plain, simple edifice, with little ornament. The adjacent buildings are poor and out of repair. The granary stands alone in the square, and on the northwest corner are the remains of a small stone tower. (Kendall 1844 : 51)

At present it is not possible to associate Kendall's tower and granary with any known structures.

In 1854, Bartlett gave the following account of San Juan. He is the first to mention paintings in the church:

> About two miles below San José,and upon the opposite side of the river, are the ruins of San Juan. This was never a building of much pretensions, and is in a more ruinous state than San José. The interior show the remains of some exceedingly rude paintings; and we noticed that the earthen floor was broken up in several places where graves had recently been made. (Bartlett 1854:44)

The Convento Area

The northern portion of the convento, (rooms #16, #17, and #18 using the 1823 appraisal numbering system), and their associated rooms of the corredor, were originally sold to Colonel Juan Castañeda of the Compania Volante del Alamo. He soon transferred the structure to Ramon Musquiz, the man who conducted the appraisal of the secular structures of San José and the purchaser of the convento of Concepción. Musquiz sold his portion of the convento to Francis Guilbeau in 1860 (BCDR R1:514). In 1875 Guilbeau purchased the remainder of the convento, room #14 and the associated arch of "room" #15, and the room built into the entranceway or porteria (room #13) from the heirs of Thomas Devine (BCDR 1:423). As can be seen from the drawing made by Hermann Lungkwitz in ca. 1850, at right, the arcaded corredor and room #18 were still standing, but had been removed by 1868 when the first photographs of the area were made. It is possible that Guilbeau dismantled them as a source of building stone, as happened to much of the south end of the mission.

The Mission Compound

Most of the rooms and lots along the south side of the compound were purchased by Guilbeau during the 1850s. These deeds are difficult to work with because they seem to transfer a total length of wall greater than that actually present along this side. This is undoubtedly because some deeds which appear to be for separate lots actually cover portions of the same lots, according to partial or fractional ownership of these lots among heirs of previous owners. Among the few structures referred to in this area are a jacal in the approximate position of room or lot #10, where National Park Service archeologists found traces of a jacal structure in 1982. More deed work is needed before a complete picture of structures and owners can be established. Photographs and archeology reveal that much of the south side stood relatively intact, although without roofs, until stone robbing destroyed perhaps 50

percent of the structures after about 1870. One new house was built on the south side during this period, but because of the confused ownership history, the building as yet cannot be connected with a particular person or date. This is the house which was converted to the present restrooms on the south compound wall.

There are indications of a house having been built along the wall extending south from the ruined church on the east side near the southeast corner, as referred to in a deed from Julian Cobarubio and wife to Guilbeau in 1858 (BCDR P2:498). There are apparent conflicts with other deeds which convey what seems to be the same lot without reference to the Cobarubios (e.g. BCDR K2:108). Some traces of foundation extending eastward from the restored wall are visible today, but no specific archeological investigation has been made.

North of the ruined church is a second area where the deed record is confused. The difficulty both here and along the south side stems from a recurring problem: the deeds often seem to transfer complete ownership, where in fact the seller may have owned only part of the lot. This could amount to as little as one-eighth or less of the actual title.

The house immediately north of the church stood in 1824 and "was sold to José Maria Dias on July 24, 1827 (BCAMR 27). North of this house, several lots went through a series of transfers among heirs, but the complete set of deed records has not been assembled.

The present post-colonial house (LCS #315) was built ca. 1850. Although there is confusion in the deed records, the house may have been constructed by Father Francis Bouchu. Some deeds have been examined for lots north of the post-colonial house. None of them refer to houses in this area, but the number of transfers suggests that interest in the area was strong. Further deed work might well establish the presence of houses in the area between 1824 and 1890. No structures are shown here in drawings or in Corner's map of 1890, but it is safe to assume that there were some buildings along the west wall.

The entire northeast corner was sold to Father Francisco Maynes in 1824 (BCAMR 20). The property was later transferred to Jacob Linn, although this deed has not yet been located. Linn sold to Guilbeau in 1860 (BCDR R1:543). There are no indications of a house constructed in the area during this period.

West of this lot was another parcel adjacent to the main north gate into the mission, sold by the Mexican government to Barbara Torres in 1827 (BCAMR 27). A house "as built on this lot between 1827 and 1853, apparently the one east of the gateway in the Lungkwitz drawing of ca. 1850. No traces of this house are visible today, and it is not known what it was made of. The house was gone by 1890, as can be seen on the corner map of San Juan.

The gate itself was apparently framed by an ornate atone gateway forming a formal entrance into the mission. This can be seen in the anonymous rough sketch dating from about 1841, a copy of which was found in the files of the National Park Service Southwest Region Office in Santa Fe. This entranceway resembles those built above the main gates of the larger ranches of northern Mexico. Foundation traces located by Harvey P. Smith in the 1930s give enough detail that with the sketch, the general appearance of the gateway can be worked out.

The Indian quarters built between 1762 and 1772 ran from the north gate west to the northwest corner, and from there south to the present church of San Juan. These were occupied almost continuously

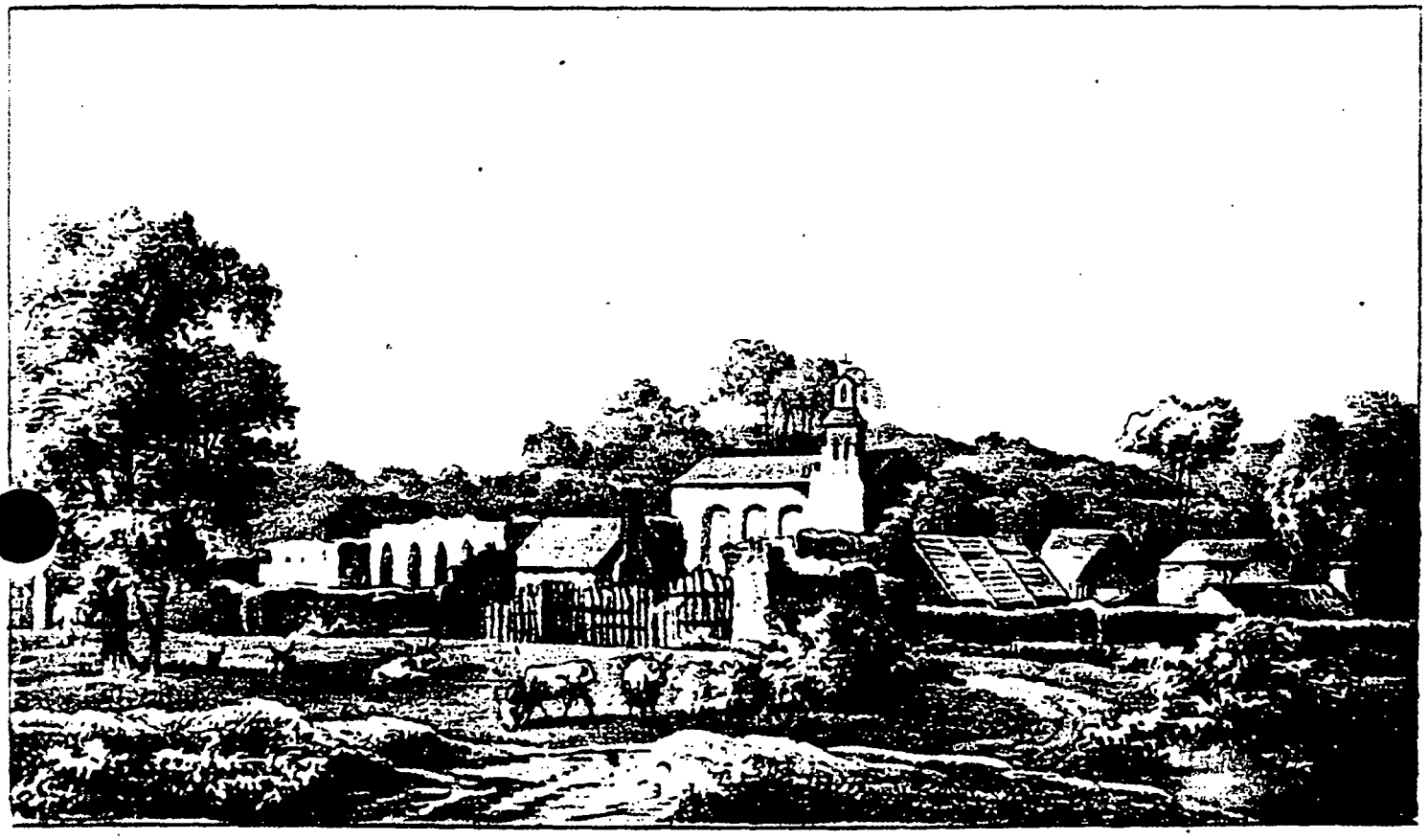

Figure 31. Hermann Lungkwitz's lithograph of the compound at San Juan (ca. 1850). The roof of the chapel is complete, and the gabled structures indicate a functioning community. Courtesy ITC. (69/82)

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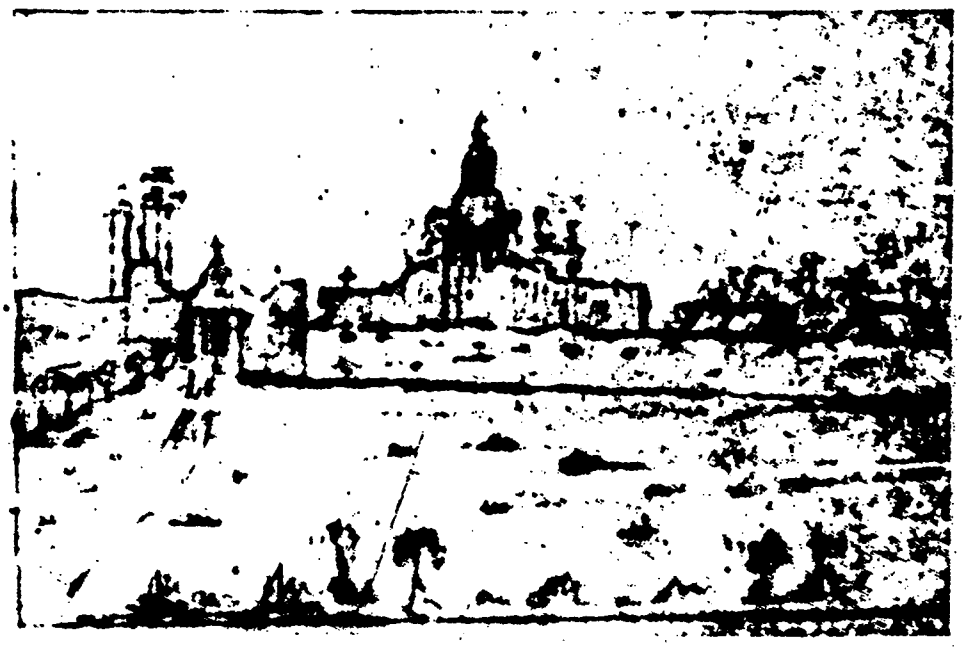

Figure 32. Rough sketch, ca. 1841, showing an ornate stone gate as the mission's formal entrance. Denver Service Center, NPS. (472/60004)

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through the mid-nineteenth century, and probably in many cases until 1900. Again, deeds concerning ownership of these houses have not yet been located because of the extremely complex ownership history; until they become available, the sequence of structural changes will not be clear. Most of these houses and their associated lots had been purchased by Guilbeau in the mid-nineteenth century from the individual owners. Photographic evidence indicates that the first few lots north of the present church were not used after Guilbeau's purchase. However, the northern houses on the west side and several of the houses along the north wall apparently were kept in good repair until 1908 or later. This indicates that Guilbeau and the owners of the mission buildings after him rented the houses to various occupants. Rental agreements were sometimes recorded in the Bexar County Deed Records. It is possible that agreements between Guilbeau or Villemain and occupants of houses at San Juan may be found in these records.

A number of changes occurred to the houses north of the church, which continued in use. Several rooms were added to the west side of these houses, and the old gateway still present in the area in 1824-27 was filled by the construction of a house. Once again, the actual date of construction and the ownership of these houses cannot be determined until further deed research is conducted. Along the north wall of the compound, Corner lumped together several of the houses adjacent to the north gate and labelled them "Granary" (Corner 1890:16). None of the available deed records prior to the mid-1850s indicates that these rooms were used for anything other than dwellings, and it is unlikely that they would have been converted to a granary after the purchase of the rooms by Guilbeau in the late 1850s. It may be better to consider this an error on Corner's part until evidence to the contrary is found.

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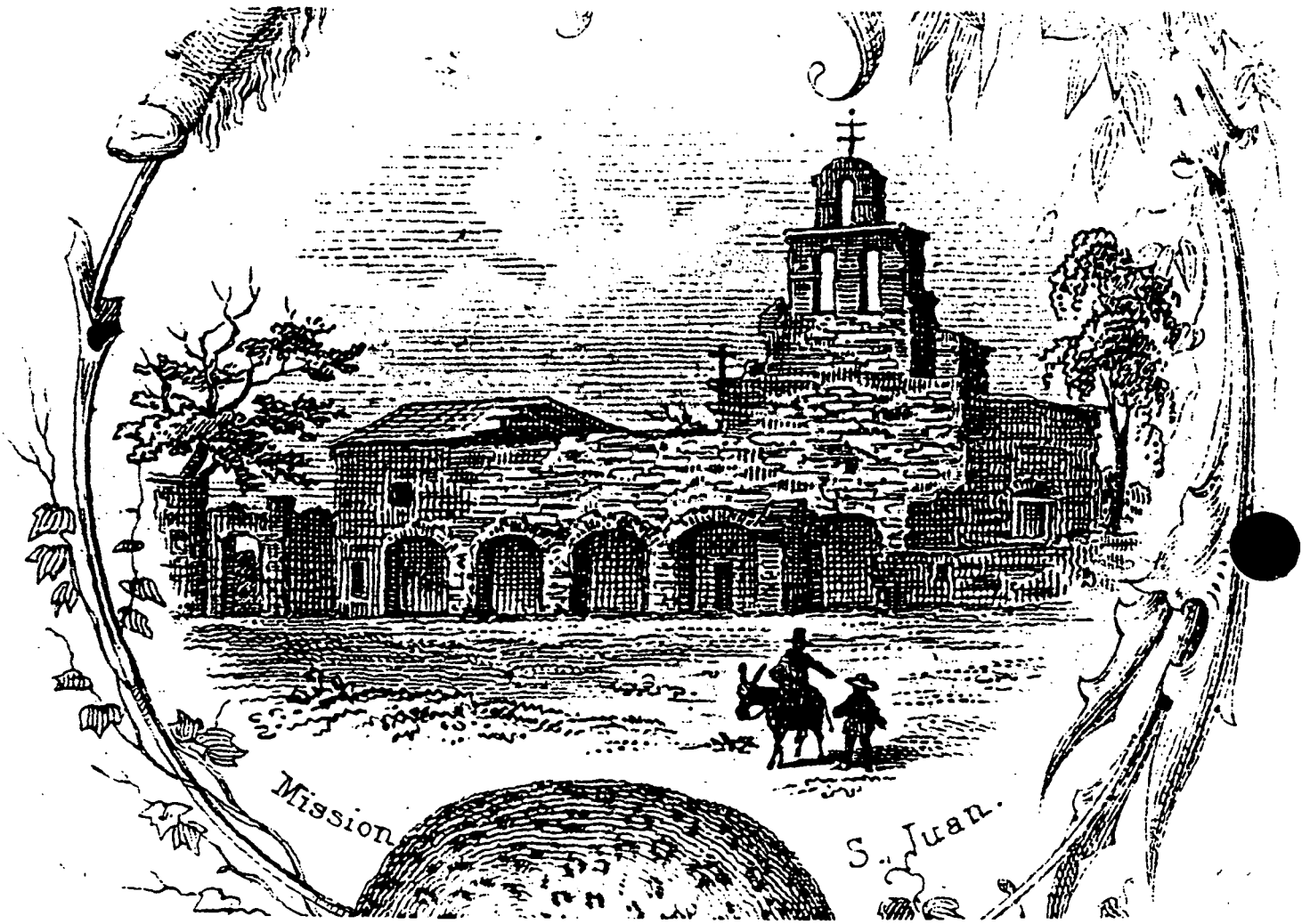

Figure 33. Detail of the Pentenrieder letterhead showing the church at San Juan (1856). The main roof of the building is gone. Note the relieving arch above the window in the north wall. There appear to be two windows on the southern end of the building. An arched gateway is located between the south end of the church and the convento. Two crosses are associated with the belfry. Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. (136/82)

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Mission Espada

As at San Juan, travelers' reports on Mission Espada are few. However, accounts of soldiers during the Texas Revolution offer some clues to the appearance and condition of the mission in 1835. James Bowie and J. W. Fannin relate the taking of Espada:

> Thursday night 12 oclk.
>
> Mission of Espada 22d. octr 1835
>
> Genl Austin
>
> At half after 4 oclk p.M we took possession of this Mission, with out any resistance--A guard of five men, escaped us by only a few minutes--We find the Citizens well disposed and quite communicative
>
> A large number of the Citizens of Bexar and of this place, are now laying out, to prevent being forced to perfom the most servile duties-- We can place the most implicit confidence in all the information read from Bexar which is up to 5 oclk p.m. Great consternation was manifested there when our approach to this point was made known--The fortifications are nearly or quite such as before made known to you, with this addition, the tops of the houses at the entrance of the streets are forified [sic], with UNBURNT Brick, with port holes, for their Infantry--
>
> They have 8 pieces (4 lb) mounted--and one of larger size preparing for us. They have none on the Church--but have removed all their ammunition to it, and enclosed it by a wall, made of wood, six feet apart and six feet high, filled in with dirt, extending from the corners to the ditch, say sixty yards in length--
>
> We are informed that they have not got in corn or other provisions, and we find it all growing, or rather, yet in the fields: and are informed that it is the Case above Town. Then our approach--was ascertained the alarm was great, and 14 Beef Cattle was ordered to be pened up--The men with whom we have conversed--are decidedly of the opinion, that in five days, they can be starved out.-- (Jenkins 1973:190-91)

Visiting a decade later, Kendall says that the church was in ruins, but that the mission was inhabited. He notes that although two sides of the square were made up of "mere walls," the other two sides were composed of dwellings (Kendall 1844:51).

Deed records of the post-colonial period and the several archeological investigations conducted at Espada give additional information.

The Mission Compound

At least one house was built after the 1824 distribution of lands in the enclosure south of the convento compound, which once housed most of the workshops. This may be the structure which stood on the foundations extending eastward into the compound from the west wall, measuring 20 feet east to west and about 28 feet north to south. The other foundations in the area, which run through this rectangular outline, extend inward about 16 feet, and are probably the remains of some of the workshops.

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Both stone granaries of the mission were little more than traces of stone alignments after 1824. The site of the granary of 1772, converted to a church for a brief time soon afterward, was sold as an unnumbered lot in 1827 to Juan Casillos. It continued to be transferred as a lot within the plaza until 1857 (BCDR U2). The south wall from the 1824 granary to the bastion, and from the bastion north for perhaps 80 feet, was the area apparently occupied by troops from San Antonio during the 1820s and perhaps the early 1830s (Habig 1968a: 224- 22@). Details of construction and alteration of the occupied buildings are likely to exist in the Bexar Archives. Mexican army troops probably built the round bastion at the southeast corner of the compound and the brick arches along the inner faces of the rooms on either side of the bastion.

These rooms continued in use through the 1930s with new gabled or hipped roofs and the addition of extensions or new structures outside the traditional compound buildings.

North of these structures on the east wall were several lots, some of which had structures built on them at various times. The deed histories of these lots are not yet fully researched, so that the locations and changes to any such houses are still unknown. The same is true of the north wall and the north portion of the west wall. Photographic records of these areas do exist, however, and are discussed in the following chapter.

The Church

At the time of final secularization and the distribution of the lands of the mission in 1824, the church of Espada was once again housed in the building originally constructed as the sacristy for a larger church. This structure had extended the church westward into the former sacristy, and the function of sacristy had been taken over by another room of the convento. The modification and renewed use of the old church/sacristy is estimated to have occurred in ca. 1780 or perhaps a little later, and by 1824 the church and the room then in use as a sacristy were in poor repair.

Renewed interest in Espada as a military post may have kept the church in operation until 1836, but after the Texas Revolution, it suffered the same kind of neglect as the other missions. The church roof and walls fell in, and by 1858 only the facade at the east end and the back wall at the west end of the church stood relatively intact (Habig 1968a:225). The side walls were no more than one to two feet high, and apparently, the sacristy had also collapsed.

Conclusion

Recommendations for Future Research on the Post-colonial Period

A great deal of information remains to be found in the records of Bexar County. The difficulty with this information is not its lack of availability, but its bulk. A research effort of approximately a month for each mission would clear up a number of gaps in our histories of San Juan and Espada in the period from 1824 to 1890, supplying important information on the size, shape, material, date of construction, and builders of most of the extant structures of the two missions. This is one of the few remaining periods where such basic knowledge is lacking--a critical period for the proper explanation and documentation of many of the surviving buildings at the two missions. The research would result in a definitive chronology of the missions from ca. 1740 to the present. Without this work, the structural

history of the two missions will remain vague during the last major episode of construction prior to the stabilization and reconstruction work beginning at Espada in 1955 and at San Juan in 1963.

Missions San José and Concepción have already been researched to the practical limits of an initial study of major chronological structural changes. Any further work on the past of these missions should have clearly defined and limited goals. A great deal of detail remains to be filled in.

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Chapter 10
CIVIL WAR AND LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

After the Civil War there was some reselling of mission property by the Church both as an adjustment of holdings and as a method of acquirIng funds for repair or rebuilding of Church structures. Not until after about 1930 did the Church renew the attempt to acquire the entire compound enclosure of each mission. In the interim, although there was much activity at each mission site (a fact which has been frequently overlooked), the structures continued to suffer from neglect:

> Every one of these missions is now a ruin; the grass grows on so much of the roof as is left, the mesquite starts up in the long cloisters where the fathers used to pace, the cactus sprouts and blossoms in the crannies of the outer wall, the wild thyme hangs in bunches there, and sweetens all the lonesome summer air. (Prescott 1877:840)

Travelers' descriptions of the missions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century are even more florid than the accounts written in the first half. A highly romanticized view of the past had taken hold. Visitors felt compelled not only to describe what was actually seen, but also to populate the missions with spectral images. At Concepción, the traveler Edward King indulges unashamedly in romantic fantasies, conjuring up "patient Indians, " "old friars in their coarse robes," and "cavalcades of gayly-costumed cavaliers," only to have these reveries interrupted by the realities of 1873: "--but the Present, in the shape of a rail-fence and four excitable dogs anxiously peering at me from behind it, would obtrude itself, so I gave meditation the good-by" (King 1875:153).

Nevertheless, the information gained from these descriptions is for the most part sound. By the second half of the century, a whole new documentary source had become available: photography.

Photographic Documentation of the Period

The Civil War ushered in a new era in photography. During the war, technological advancements allowed the art to move out of the studios and into the open country. As the war ended there was increased demand for photographs--and particularly for stereographs--of romantic, faraway places. Formerly isolated towns and villages were visited by traveling photographers and recorded on photographic plates. This missions of San Antonio were seen as the monumental ruins of an romantic and detached past.

Photography supersedes all other recording processes by making an objective, exact and repeatable visual statement. It provides the only unbiased evidence remaining from the past other than that obtained from archeology and architectural analysis, with their inherent subjectivity. The historic photographs of the mission structures and grounds constitute a record which corresponds to the structural descriptions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The record also provides specific visual detail on many of the missions' original construction features before they were masked by restoration.

The dating of the photographs that now comprise the San Antonio Missions collection was accomplished by several methods. Photographic techniques have evolved continuously since their inception, and each process can be dated. The most common photograph associated with the missions was the stereograph. This process dominated commercial photography from the latter part of the 1800s to the early 1900s. To establish the dates of photographs to within five years, it was necessary to find more precise methods. This was accomplished by identifying the specific commercial photographers in the San

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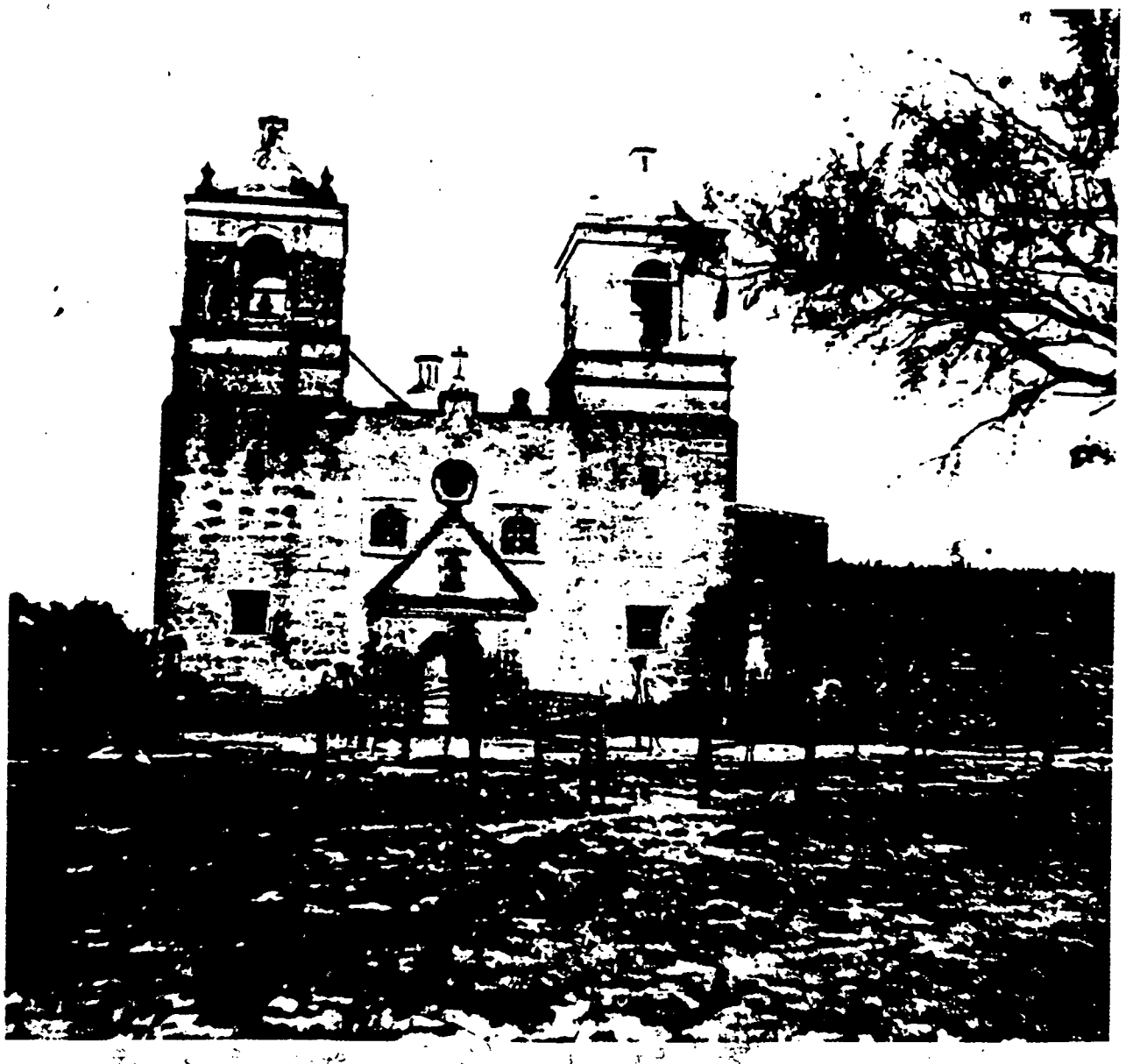

Figure 34. Mission Concepción near the departure date of the Brothers of Mary (1868). The compound is bare of ground cover with the exception of five saplings planted in a row. The arches are blocked up with stone, and there is a wooden slat over the window which fills the northernmost arch. Note the bell in the north tower, the stone cross between the two towers, and the iron cross over the lantern on the dome. Traces of floral decoration can be seen above the ocular window, and remnants of painted ovoid designs on the frieze below the towers. There is evidence of rising damp on the facade wall to a height of approximately 2 feet. Courtesy of Texas Catholic Archives. (143/82)

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Antonio area, whose photographs often carried business names and addresses. This information was then verified in city directories of the period. In instances where the photographer was unknown, it was necessary to research the image for historic objects which would date the photograph. These included fashions in clothing, wagons and carriages, automobiles, and landscape features.

Original photograph collections, such as those of Fr. Bouchu, who photographed the missions from the 1870s to the 1900s, and the stereographs of Tex Treadwell of Texas A&M, provide yet another means of dating. The large number of items contained in these collections allowed dates to be derived from the physical characteristics of the stereograph itself, such as composition of the photograph, and color and thickness of the card mount. Combined, these research methods have resulted in a collection of photographs which provide definitive visual documentation of the evolution of the San Antonio Missions.

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Use and Function

After the church had been cleaned up and repaired by the Brothers of Mary, it was reopened in 1861. Brother Andrew Edel, who headed the small order at Concepción, described the event:

> On Tuesday, May 28, [1861,] early in the morning, we left in procession with banners and flags and the statue of the Blessed Virgin richly ornamented, carried by our students who were decorated with silk red and light-blue sashes tipped with gold tassels. All of our students were in the procession; also a large number of little girls dressed in white, many parents, and a crowd of people. Father Amandus celebrated Mass, and Msgr. Madred preached, as did also Father Faure and Amandus. Our students sang during Mass. We spent the entire day at the Mission and before leaving sang several hymns in honor of the Blessed Virgin. At noon, we furnished refreshments to all the school children and to others who so desired. Brother Lawrence had baked about a thousand cakes and peach pies. Everything was eaten. It was a day of joy and pleasure for all. Father Faure intends to say Mass there from time to time on Thursdays. We will probably go there next Thursday with the students. (Schmitz 1951:47-48)

Under the administration of the Brothers of Mary, another of the traditional roles of Mission Concepción was revived and expanded. It was now a farm "first and foremost," the produce of which helped to maintain the school of St. Mary's, a facility for the instruction of youths located in downtown San Antonio. The Brothers' continued stewardship of the mission was dependent upon their ongoing operation of the school (Ibid.:48, 240-41).

From 1861 until 1866, the mission was also used for the training of candidates for the order. After this training program ended, a few brothers lived on the grounds and farmed the land until 1869. From 1869 until 1911, most of the land belonging to the mission (probably the fields west of Mission Road) was leased to private farmers, and the structures were used as summer houses and retreats for the brothers (Ibid.:40-48).

Inhabitants and Visitors

The late nineteenth century has been traditionally viewed as the "period of neglect" or the "era of decline," and the missions popularly thought of as deserted ruins. This is particularly true of Concepción. Strangely, the writers of the period persist in the deserted ruin myth, even as they mention people of all descriptions in and around the compound. It is as if they could not believe their own eyes:

> A group of awe-struck girls lingered about the door-way as an old man rehearsed some legend of the place . . . . The barefooted German maiden, naive and bashful, seemed strangely out of place in the shadows of the mission. (King 1875:152- 153)

> At the Mission lives a family, which is in charge and some one of them will bring you the key of the chapel and show you what there is to be seen, but it would be useless to try and elicit any information. To them the past of the Mission is as a sealed book and it has no romance for them. (Corner 1890:15)

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Following the Civil War, the road to the mission became popular for outings. Even night excursions were made with little regard to the dangers which had plagued earlier travelers to San Antonio:

Concepción By MOONLIGHT

> The same party of festive individuals who were sold on Menger's imitation ice, paid a visit to Mission Concepción last Friday night. To one of the party, a stranger in the city, the view was beautiful, and a sketch was taken for "Frank Leslie's Illustrated," the magnificent ride was enjoyed hugely by the entire squad, with the exception of one, who insisted on "playing circus" along the road, and the being his first attempt, he felt rather sore next morning, (San Antonio Herald, July 18, 1869, in Everett 1975:15)

A First View of Mission Concepción

The main approach to Mission Concepción was probably from the west, at the confluence of the San Antonio River and San Pedro Creek. Exposed bedrock could support the weight of the carriages where the combined force of the rivers had washed away the sediment. Travelers were inevitably impressed with their first glimpse of the mission:

> The carriage rolled suddenly through a ford in the deep, swift stream, came out upon a stretch of open field, and at a distance I saw, peering above some graceful trees, the twin towers of Concepción--saw them with a thrill of joy at their beauty and grandeur, just as hundreds of weary travelers across the great plains had doubtless seen them a century ago. In those days they were a welcome sight, for they guaranteed comparative security in a land where nothing was absolutely certain, save death. Approaching, I could see that the towers arose from a massive church of grayish stone, once highly ornate and rich in sculpture and carving, but now much dilapidated. (King 1875:152)
>
> Nothing can describe the solitary grandeur and beauty of the Concepción, and the marvelous piece of color that it makes, as you drive over the prairie, first approaching it when, a mile and a half from the town, its twin towers and dome darkly rise on the luminous sky. It is the first religious ruin you have seen in America--indeed, these ruins are, we think, the only thing of the sort in the country; its existence is a romance, its condition a mystery, and a vague pathos haunts its broken arches and disused cells. (Prescott 1877:840)

Land and Landscape

King delights in the mission landscape:

> It was sunset, on a beautiful April evening, when I first climbed to the roof of the Concepción mission. As the day had been heated and dusty in town, I was glad, toward evening, to steal away down the lovely road; past the dense groves and perfumed thickets, along the route which wound among trees and flowers, and fertile fields watered by long canals; past quiet cool yards, in whose shaded seclusion I could catch glimpses of charming cottages and farm-houses, where rosy Germans or lean Americans sat literally under their own "vine and fig-tree." (King 1875 : 152)

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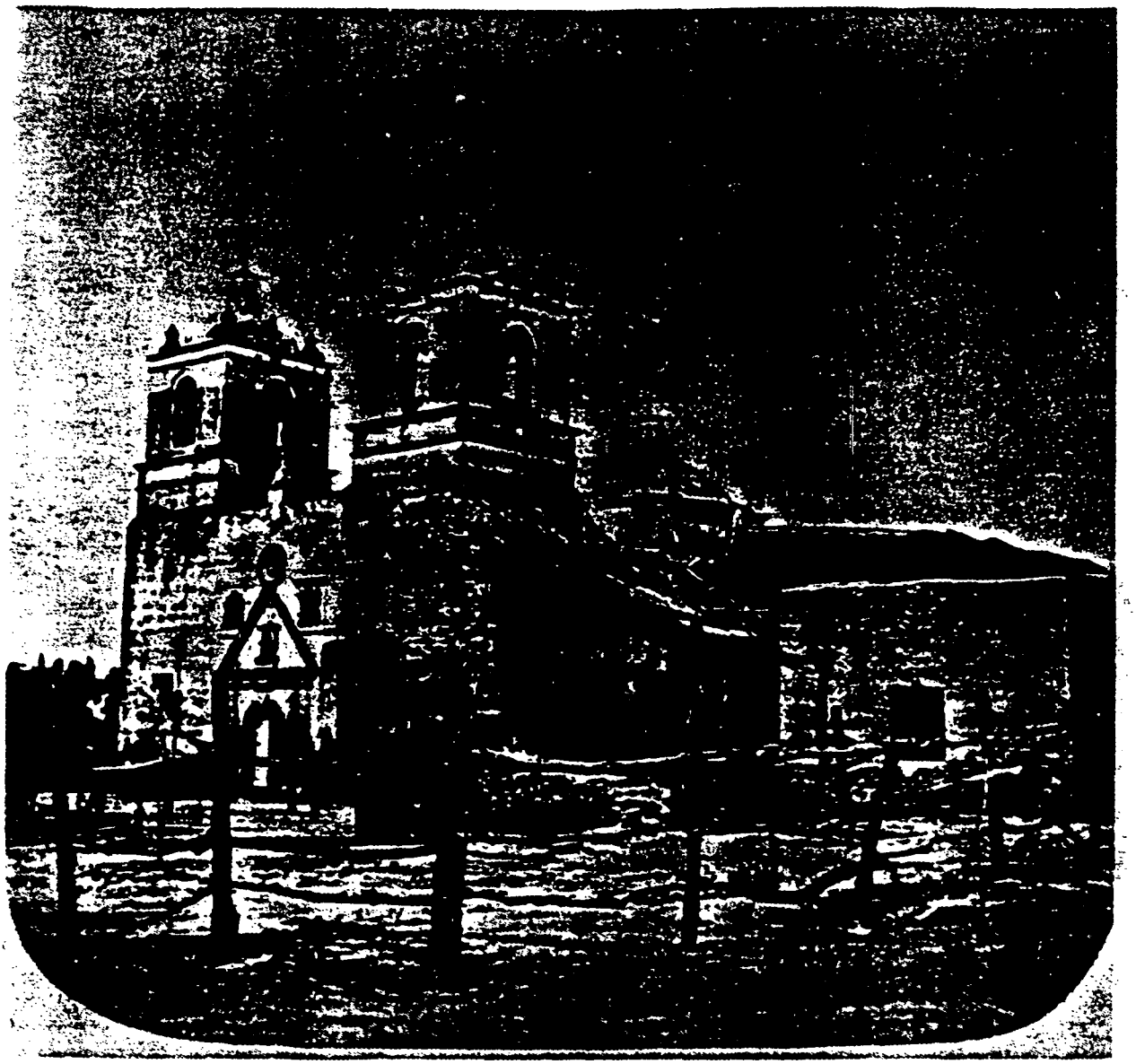

Figure 35. Mission Concepción ca. 1868. There is a makeshift roof over the workshop area, and a thatched roof over the workshop ruin, which has a square opening in its only remaining wall. The well is built low to the ground and has a wood casing around it. Saplings are still present on the compound. The door to the church appears to have been whitewashed. The crosses above the towers and dome have been re-touched in the photograph. The stone cross between the towers is still present. Courtesy of the Library of Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (38/81)

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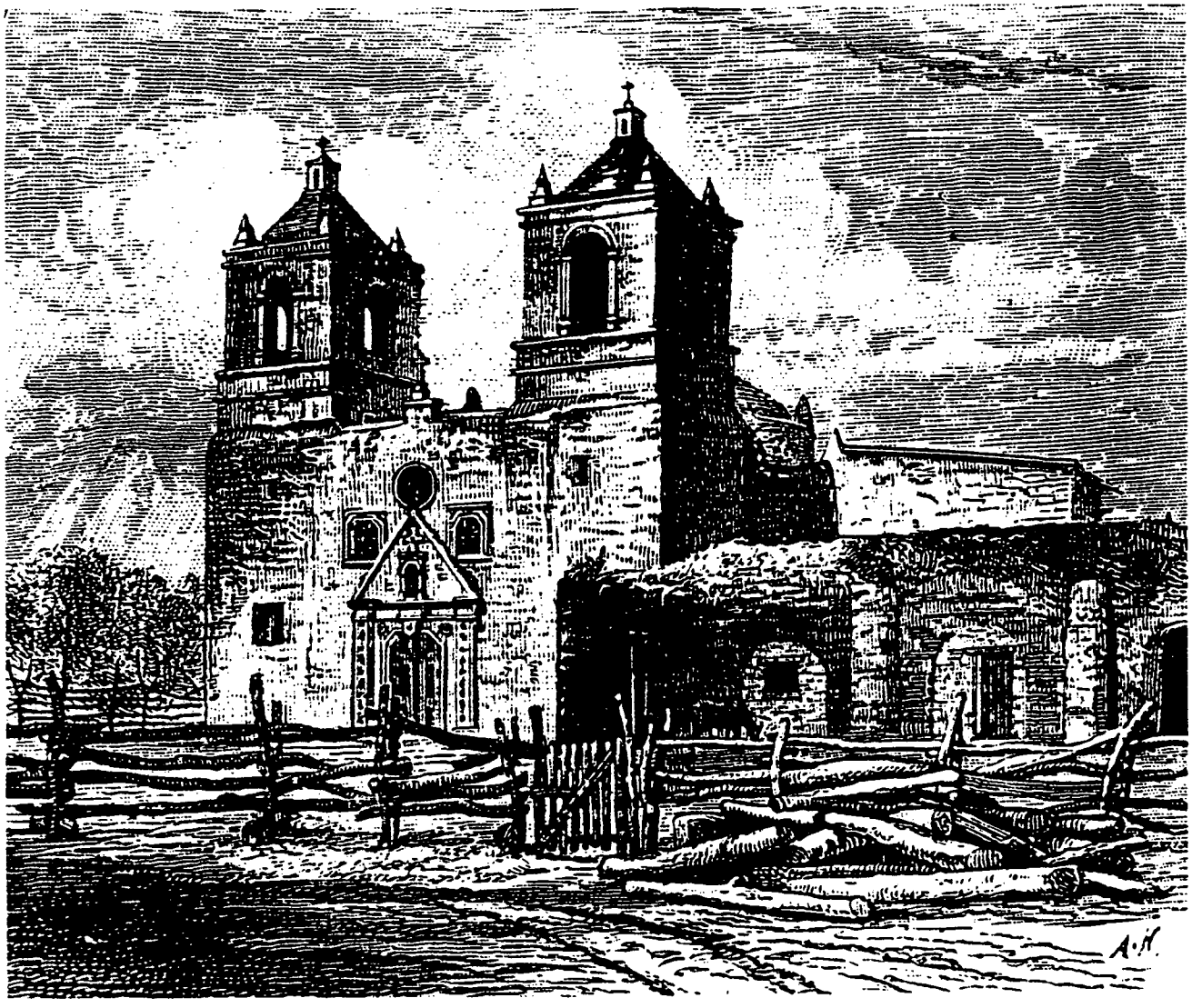

Figure 36. Mission Concepción in 1879. Drawings such as this one were used to illustrate magazine articles. The fencing has been changed from a single post to a double post corral, the well has a wooden well head, and the third arch of the corredor is open. Courtesy of ITC. (33/82)

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Figure 37. Mission Concepción, 1870-1875, showing the northwest elevation of the church and land immediately north of the compound. Courtesy of ITC. (50/82)

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From his vantage point on the roof of the church, he offers valuable information on the character of the surrounding area:

> For miles around, the country is naked, save for its straggling growth of mesquite, of cactus, of chaparral; the forest has never reasserted itself since the fathers cultivated the fields; and one can very readily trace the ancient limits. (Ibid.:153)

The Church

By 1873, when King visited Concepción, the Brothers of Mary had leased the mission lands to sharecroppers. However, during the last quarter of the century a succession of Brothers managed the property. It is somewhat curious that neither King nor other travelers of the period mention the presence of churchmen. The romantic view prevalent in the late nineteenth century is evident in his description of the church:

> The edifice bore here and there hints of the Moorish spirit, the tendency to the arch and vault which one sees so much in Spanish architecture. The great dome, sprung lightly over the main hall of the church, was a marvel of precision and beauty. In front, jutting out at the right hand, a long wall now fallen into decay showed the nature of the mission's original defenses. This wall was of enormous thickness, and the half-ruined dwellings in its sides are still visible.
>
> As I wandered about the venerable structure, the gray walls were bathed in the golden light of the fervid Southern sunset; numberless doves hovered in and out of the grand towers; lizards crawled at the walls' base; countless thousands of grasshoppers flashing in the air, nestled on the mission's sides; the stone cross between the twin towers stood up black against the sky. Curious parapets along the roof, contrived at once for ornament and shelter, showed loop-holes for muskets. There were mysterious entrances in the rear, and the stone threw a dark shadow upon the short, sparse, sun-dried grass. (Ibid.:152- 53)

King ascends to the roof, then as today from the south tower. In 1873, however, access to the tower was gained by mounting "a crazy ladder. The "huge opening" to which he refers is the east belfry door, where a stone stairway was attached, and the "doves" which inhabit the place are no doubt the ancestors of the pigeon flocks which continue to reside at Concepción.

> Getting in at the huge opening, I startled the doves, who flew angrily away, and then clinging to the wall on one side, I climbed still another flight of stone steps, and emerged on the roof. A giant piece of masonry, my masters of today! You can certainly do but little better than did the poor friars and Indians a century ago. Being built of the soft stone of the country, the ruin has crumbled in many places; but it looks as if it might still last for a century. (Ibid.:153)

William Corner, a San Antonio bookseller who wrote a guidebook to the city in 1890, offers a refreshingly factual account of each of the four missions. of the writers of the period, Corner offers the best architectural descriptions. In discussing the plan of Concepción, "built in the form of a cross, with towers forming two wings at the foot of the cross, "he notes: "This design corresponds exactly with that of the Church of the Alamo," a fact most writers overlooked. He also states that although "quiet and

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Figure 38. The north elevation of the church of Concepción (1868-1872). The mounds in the foreground may be the remains of walls. Courtesy of the Witte Museum. (159/82)

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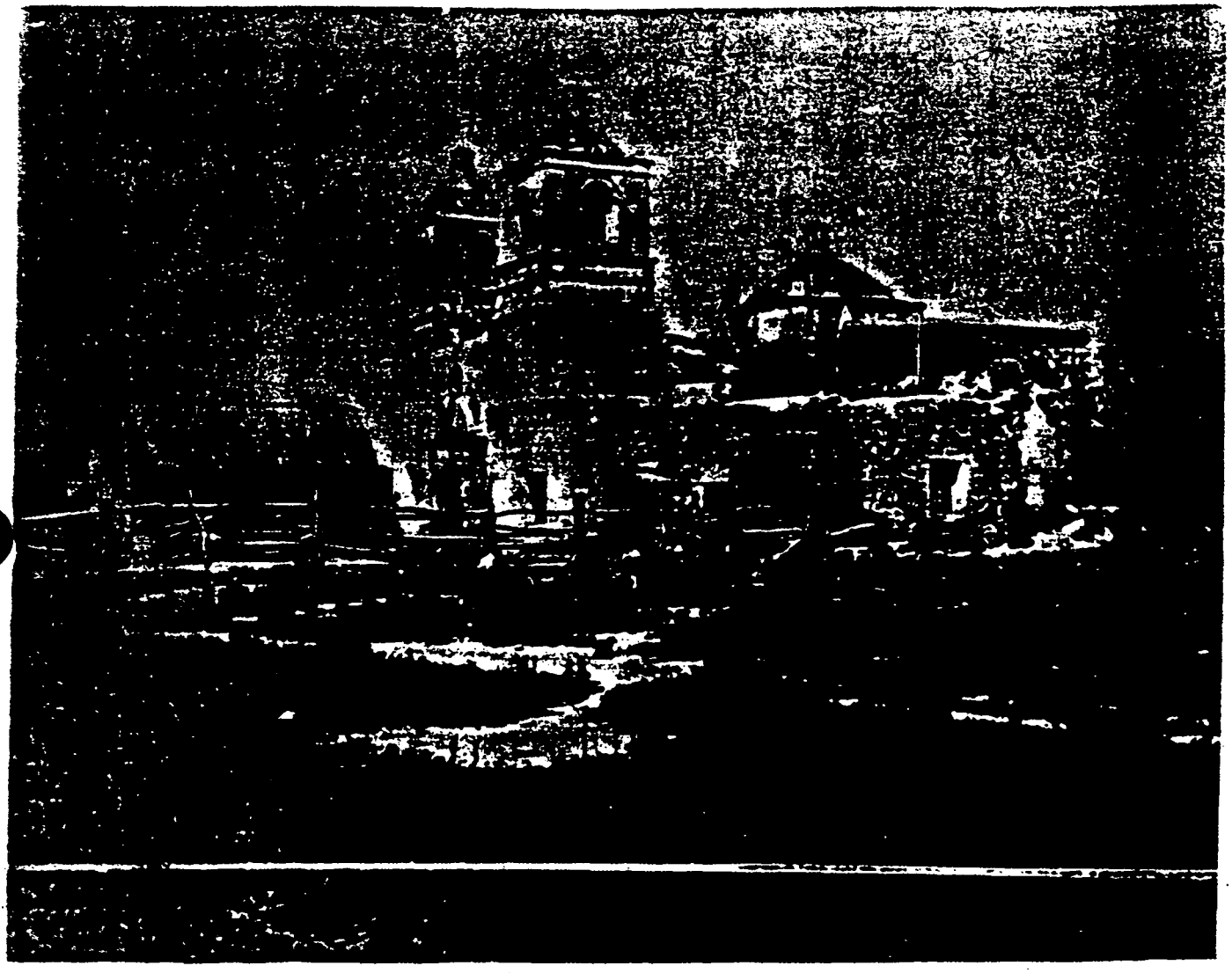

Figure 39. Mission Concepcion in 1875, showing the southwest side of the compound. The roof over the gift shop has disappeared, and a new thatched roof has been placed in the workshop ruins. Courtesy of the Library of Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (34/81)

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Figure 40. Mission Concepción 1880-1884. An H. A. Doerr photo showing the mission compound from the south and the area immediately adjacent to it. Note the opening in the wall of the workshop ruin and the slatted fence in the convento area. Courtesy of the San Antonio Museum Association. (168/82)

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deserted, a relic," and "an institution that has served its day," Concepción is nevertheless "the best preserved Mission of Texas."

> The front gateway is worthy of close examination. The upper part of the ornamented facade is not an arch but a simple triangle and the arch of the doorway is, for want of a better definition, a divided polygon. In the division or center of the arch is a shield with arms and devices, and here and there on the portal facade are cross and scroll, and carved relief pillars at the sides ornamented with carved lozenges. In angular space over the archway as shown below is legend: A SV PATRONA, Y PRINCESSA ESTA MISSION, Y DEFIENDE CON ESTAS ARMAS, ATIENDE EL PVNTO DE SV PVREZA. Which, being interpreted, is "With these arms be mindful to the Mission's patroness and Princess, and defend (or vindicate) the state of her purity." Over this winds, circling in and out, the flagellum or knotted scourge[1] of the order of St. Francis, realistically carved--"If it wasn't for the knots, 'twould be like a hair lariat," as a boy once remarked. It also was an uncanny suggestion of a hangman's noose. These are again surmounted with other designs, and above all on the summit of the facade is a stone bearing the date 1794, and immediately underneath this is a shield with the initial, M AVE meaning "Ave Maria." (Corner 1890:15-16)

Corner then describes the appearance of the church facade, remarking that the red and blue quatrefoil crosses and the yellow and orange squares which had covered it must have made the facade "very gorgeous with color. . . . This frescoing is rapidly disappearing, and from but a little distance the front looks to be merely gray and undecorated stone." (Ibid.:16)

Corner concludes his description of the church's architectural features:

> The topmost roofs of the towers are pyramidical and of stone, with smaller corner pyramidal capstones. The upper stories of the towers have each four lookout windows of plain Roman arches. The tops of the side walls of the Church and the circle wall of the central dome have wide stone serrations in the Moorish character, the points of which around the finely proportioned dome stand out like canine teeth. The towers have belfries, and at their bases, on either side of the entrance are on the right, a baptistry llxll feet with massive thick walls, and on the left a similar small chamber used as a vestry. The baptistry walls are frescoed with weird looking designs, dim and faded, of the Crucifixion and "los dolores." It is quite dark in this room, there being no window, and a light must be procured to examine it. A semi-circular font projects from the south wall, its half bowl carved with what appears to be a symbolical figure with outstretched arms supporting the rim. It is a rude piece of carving, but is artistic. Inside, the stone roof of the Chapel with its series of arches and central dome, is massive but plain. In each wing of the cross are altars or altar places. In the west end is a choir loft. In the east, an altar gorgeously decked and painted in the Catholic manner, for Mass. The walls, roof, and ceiling are newly whitewashed, the floor is "Mother Earth, "but some bran [sic] new seats have been provided. The chapel up till recently, was in a very neglected state. To Bishop Neraz belongs the credit of having

[1]It is now thought that the "knotted scourge" is actually the Franciscan waist rope, or cordeliere (Scurlock and Fox 1977:23).

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Figure 41. Mission Concepción in 1877. An Alexis V. Latourette photo showing the west elevation of the church. The stone cross shown in earlier photos is missing. The gate opening has also been removed and the fence has become a more corral-like enclosure. Note the iron crosses over the towers. The sign is unreadable. Courtesy Texas State Library. (108/82)

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Figure 42. A closeup of the entrance to the church of Concepción (1880-1885) taken with a circular-lens Kodak Brownie. This camera was one of the first commercial cameras manufactured for use by the general public. Courtesy San Antonio Conservation Society. (40/82)

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> it restored to its present state of cleanliness and comfort. He it was who re-dedicated it to Our Lady of Lourdes on May 2, 1887. (Corner 1890: 16)

The Convento

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, a succession of individuals lived in the convento. At some time during this period, the western arcade of the convento was filled, and the corredor converted to rooms. In 1873, King "wandered through" the kitchen, "an old nook in the wall" (King 1875:153). Corner describes the structure as having "a series of arches which were formerly cells, chambers and cloisters for the Mission inmates," and observes that by 1890 they were being used as storage rooms and stables (Corner 1890:16).

Strangely absent from the narratives is any description of the room at the southeast corner of the convento, with polychrome decorations attributed to the colonial period. Even Corner, usually so thorough in his architectural description, omits mention of the room. As a more or less continuously inhabited space, the room may not have been accessible to visitors. Another possible explanation is that the wall paintings were obscured by decades of accumulated soot and grime.

Workshops and Granary

The fallen stone and surviving wall fragments of the workshops and granary may have been used as building material for new structures in the area, as was so much of the Concepción rubble. By 1890 the foundation had been so thoroughly removed that Corner gave no indication of it on his plan of Concepción, even though he shows the foundations of other walls which had long since fallen (Corner 1890:16).

In 1934, traces of the foundation were noted by Harvey P. Smith during the WPA excavations. By the 1960s a restroom had been built in the middle of the granary remains, which damaged some of the foundations. A mound is still clearly visible today, indicating the approximate outlines of the granary foundations.

Father President's Office

Although there are few traveler's accounts of this specific structure, which is situated directly above the sacristy, photographic evidence shows it to be one of the earliest renovated at Concepción. Following their arrival, the Brothers of Mary reroofed the building with a shed roof and installed new windows and doors. Photograph 143/82 shows what appears to be recent mortar along the top of the structure. Corner makes passing reference to the structure:

> To the south forming a wing easterly are other buildings probably the sacristy, superior's vestries and quarters, these have two stories, the upper being approached by a stone stair-case. (Corner 1890:16-17)

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Chronic stone robbing of various parts of the ruins increased throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, and Mission Road was rerouted across the plaza about 1890 (BCDR 54:85). Corner was only able to make a rough guess at the outlines of the mission pueblo:

> The square of the Mission at this date, can very hardly be defined, but that the Mission [church] was situated in the southeastern corner of a ramparted square is without doubt. (Corner 1890:16)

The location of the church in relation to the original compound was verified by archeological investigations conducted by the University of Texas at San Antonio for the National Park Service in 1982.

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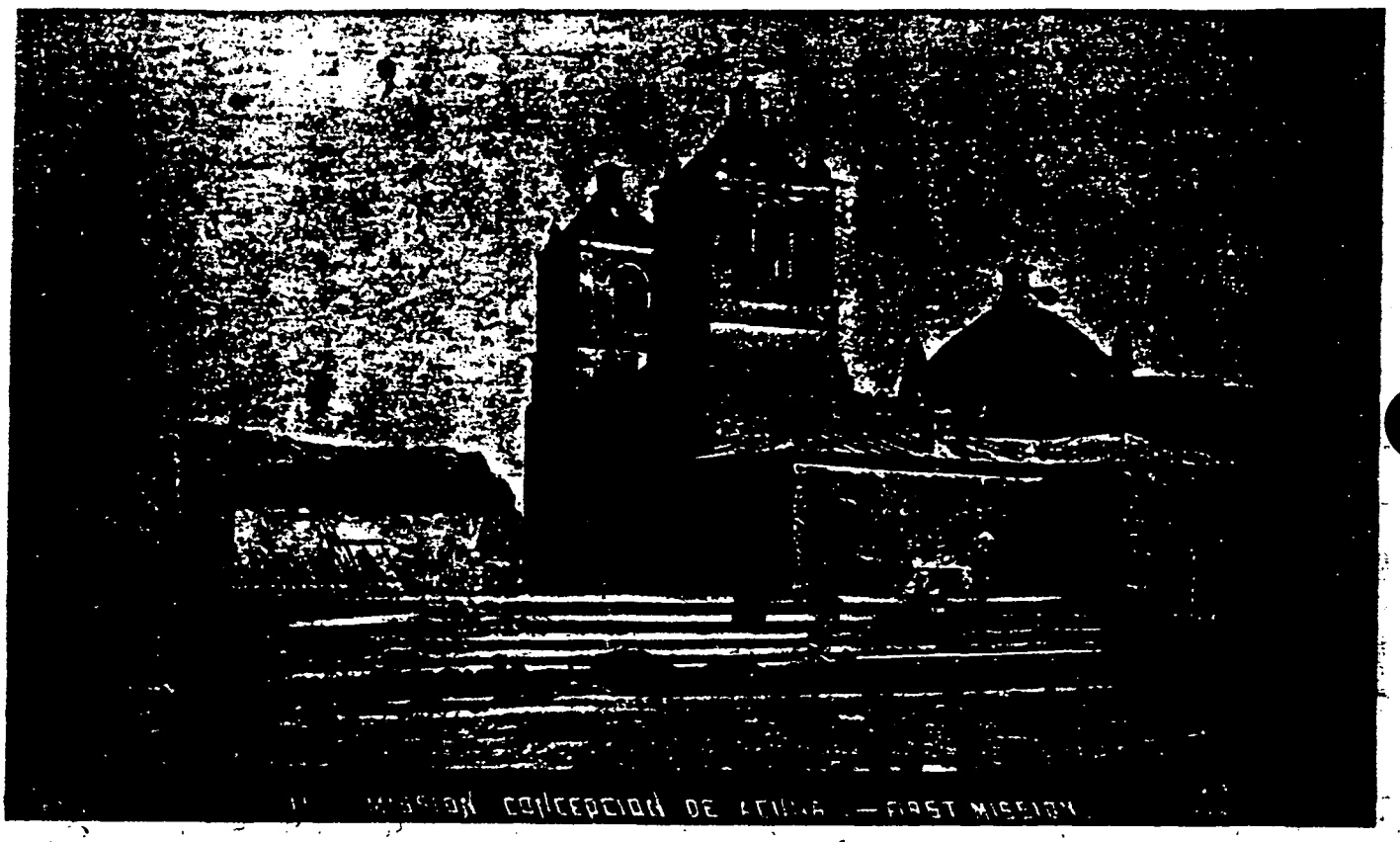

Figure 43. Mission Concepción in 1890. A Jacobson photo of the compound and church. Note the tin roof over the south wing of the convento, the lean-to next to the workshop ruins, and the board fence replacing the corral fence of earlier photos. Courtesy the Library of the Daughters of the RepubliC of Texas. (1/81)

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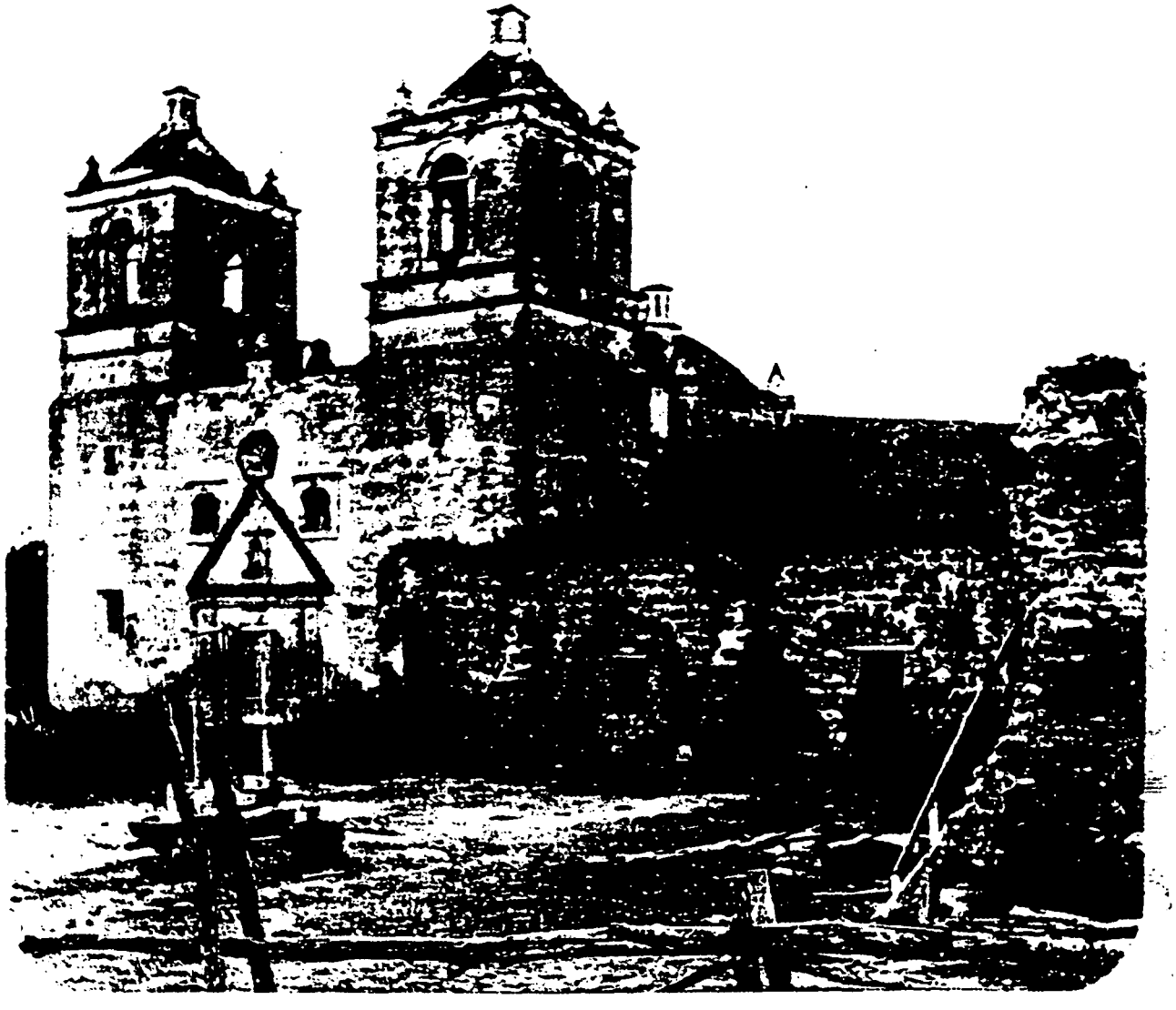

Figure 44. Mission Concepción, 1875-77. Two horses, wagon yokes, a barrel, a lariat, and a buckboard seat can be seen in the area of the *corredor*. Courtesy Tex Tredwell. (2/83)

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Figure 45. The compound of Concepción in 1887. This dated photo by Fredrick Snow of Chelsea, Massachusetts, shows the area greatly improved by this date. Courtesy Texas State Library. (106/82)

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Figure 46. The convento at Concepción in 1887-89. Note the lean-tos next to the sacristy's west wall, animal pens, and a bar gate where the buggy can be driven in. Courtesy San Antonio Museum Association. (176/82)

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Figure 47. The father president's office at Concepción in 1893. Note the picket fence separating the sacristy entrance and the convento. There appears to be a gate on the rebuilt buttress of the southwest corner. This stands to reason, for without it, there would be no way to get from one area to the other without going through the church. Note the broken springline of an old doorway on the second floor landing, the steps leading up to it, and the double door entrance. The roofline is casting a shadow over the building's south elevation. Courtesy Texas State Library. (98/82)

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Title Transfers

The Benedictines began an ambitious reconstruction program on the convento of San José in 1861, but were unable to complete the work. Father Alto Hoermann was replaced as prior by Father Armand Kramer, followed by Father Aemilian Wendel. The Civil War caused a severe disruption of the financial and social structure of Texas, and of the Benedictine effort at San José. The effort was abandoned in 1868, and the title to all lands transferred to Bishop Dubuis of Galveston (Habig 1968b:147).

The next owners of San José were the Holy Cross Fathers of Notre Dame, Indiana. Title for the mission and 600 acres of associated land were transferred from Bishop Dubuis to Notre Dame University on March 19, 1873 (BCDR W2:612). This transfer coincides with the arrival of the Jesuits from Mexico to San Antonio, where they were assigned to missions Concepción, San José, and San Juan Capistrano for a brief period (Castaneda 1958:226).[2] Title was returned to Bishop Neraz in 1885 (BCDR 40:605), and remained in the hands of the local Church until 1923, when the missions were passed on to the Redemptorist Fathers of San Antonio.

Descriptions of the Church

While praising the church of San José, King also laments its deterioration in the last quarter of the century:

> The vast pile of ruins known as the San José Mission stands in the midst of the plain about four miles westward from San Antonio. Mute, mighty and passing beautiful, it is rapidly decaying.
>
> The Catholic Church in Texas, to whom the missions and the mission lands now belong, is too poor to attempt the restoration of this superb edifice which one of the most famous of Parisian architects, in a recent tour through this country, pronounced the finest piece of architecture in the United States. San José has more claims to consideration than have the other missions, as the King of Spain sent an architect of rare ability to superintend its erection. This architect, Huizar, finally settled in Texas, where his descendants still live.[3]
>
> It is impossible to paint in words the grand effect of this imposing yellowish-gray structure, with its belfry, its long ranges of walls with vaulted archways, its rich and quaintly carved window, its winding stairways, its shaded aisles, rearing itself from the parched lands. (King 1875:154-55)

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[2]The role and responsibilities of the Jesuits at the missions is not clear. It is uncertain whether they lived at each mission or only conducted weekly masses, as Prescott indicates (1877:841). Neither are any structural changes known which can be attributed to this religious order.

[3]King's statement that Huizar was architect of San José is open to question. see Chapter 2, p. 56.

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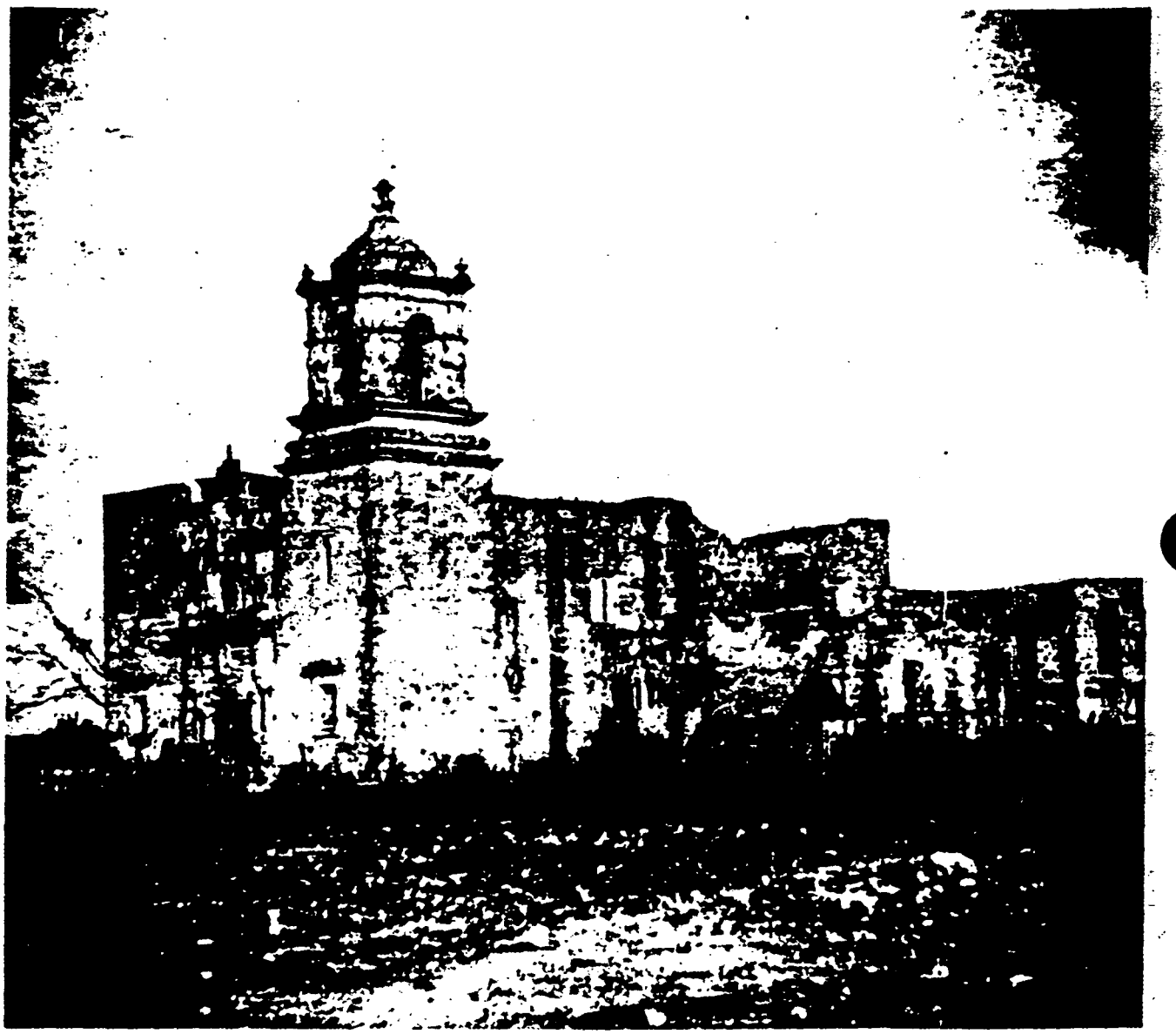

Figure 48. The southwest elevation of the church of San José after the collapse of the dome (1868-70). Note the gable-roofed structure on the southwest corner of the sacristy. The grave with a fence around it could be that of a Benedictine priest. Courtesy Texas Catholic Archives. (141/82)

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In a Harper's piece of 1877, Spofford Harriet Prescott makes several questionable observations. The matter of confusion in San Jose's name, for example, is not substantiated by earlier documents. The "great underground chambers, "which have also been attributed to Concepción, have never been located.

> The mission of San José, some four miles below the first [Concepción], is, however, both finer and more interesting. This is really, it is said, the mission of San Juan, but through a transmutation of names peculiar to Texas, in which, for instance, the original Brazos became the Colorado, and the Colorado the Brazos, the place is now always known as the San José. The buildings of this, the second mission, were not only of finer design and workmanship, but they were those of a scholastic as well as of a religious institution, inclosed a much larger space, and are left in much more detail. . . . The stone, although now lichen-eaten and weather-stained, is the soft cream-colored stone of their district, which is easily wrought, the surface walls frescoed with a diaper of vermilion and blue, of which only faint lines remain. All the lofty facade is a mass of superb sculpture of colossal figures, with cherubs, scrolls, and flowers; similar noble work surrounds one of the exquisitely beautiful windows; but for the rest, the great halls are roofless, the long arcades are crumbling into mounds of dust, and even the fine statuary has been defaced by wanton wretches who have enriched themselves with the hand of a St. Joseph or the head of an infant Jesus. Such as the carving is, it is regarded with superstitious idolatry by the simple Mexicans whose village surrounds the ruin, and the priesthood itself would not dare to take any measures for its preservation that should remove it from their daily sight. . . . There are said to be great underground chambers attached to this mission building, capable of holding two years' provision of wheat, together with secret passages to the river, so that the water supply could never be cut off; and owing to this, the mission was able once to endure triumphantly, according to tradition, a siege of eighteen months' duration from those warlike Indians who never ceased their hostility to the undertaking of the Spaniard and the Franciscan. (Prescott 1877:840-41)

Corner, who indulges less frequently in mission mythology, describes the embellishments on the Church of San Jose:

> San José Mission is the most beautiful of all, and its carving is surely a "a joy forever." The hand that chiseled the wonderful facade at the main entrance of the Church, the doorway, window, and pillar capitals of the smaller Chapel, that now goes by the name of the Baptistry, was one of marvelous cunning. The facade is rich to repletion with the most exquisite carving. Figures of Virgins and Saints with drapery that looks like drapery, cherubs' heads, sacred hearts, ornate pedestals and recesses with their conch-like canopies, and cornices wonderful. The door way, pillar and arch, is daring in its unique ornamentation-showing in its combination of form the impression of Moorish outlines. Otherwise the whole facade is rich Renaissance- figures and hearts alone with anything realistic about them. All other ornamentation is conventional but with nothing stiff, every curve showing a free hand. The window above the archway is a simple wreath of such acanthus-like curves and conchoids of surpassing workmanship. The south window of the Baptistry is considered by good judges the finest gem of architectural ornamentation existing in America to-day. Its curves and proportions are a perpetual delight to the eye, and often as the writer has seen and examined it, it is of that kind of art which does not satiate, but ever reveals some fresh beauty in line or curve. (Corner 1890: 17)

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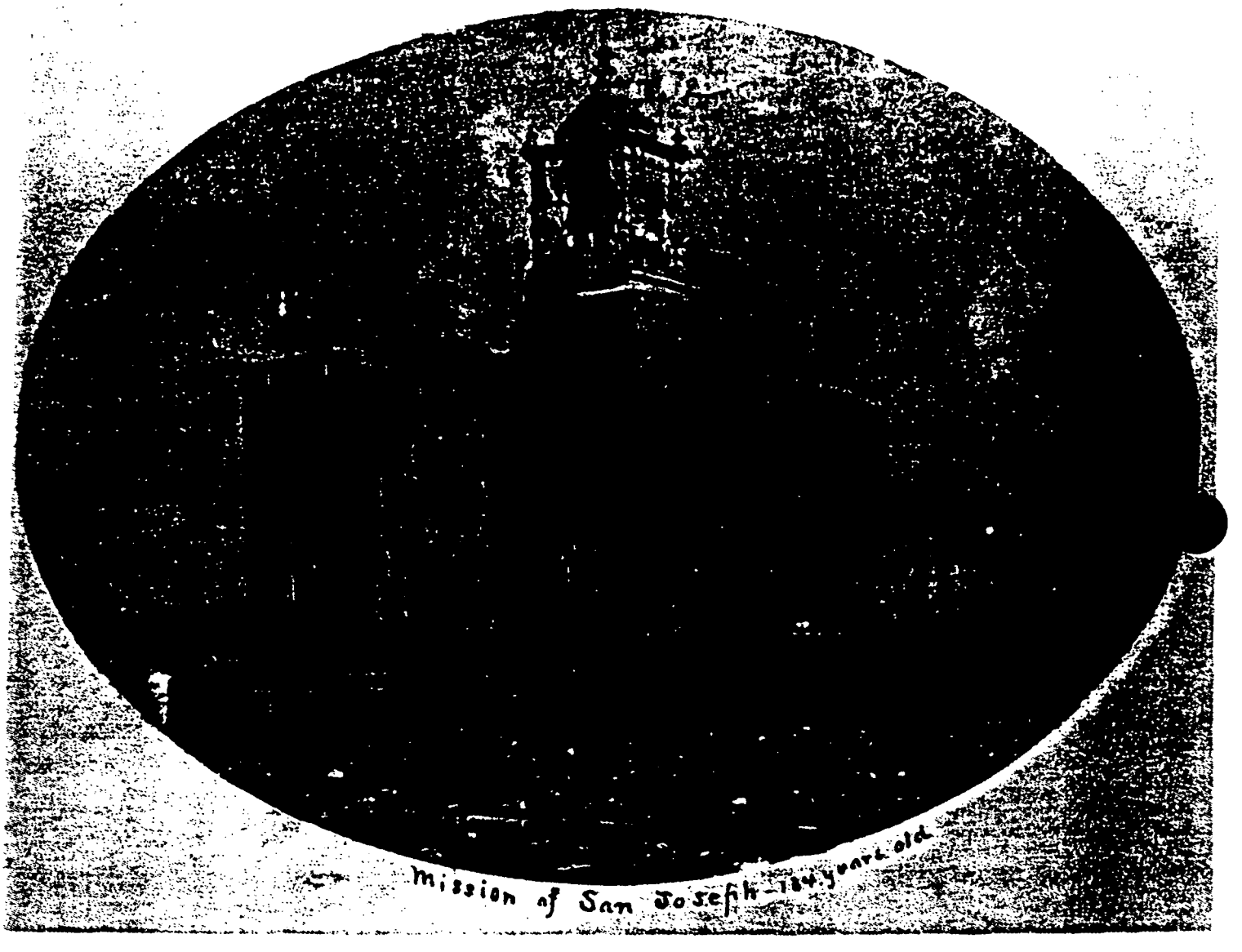

Figure 49. Southwest elevation of the church of San José (1855-61). This is the earliest photograph in the park collection depicting structures prior to the Benedictine work. Note the intact dome, the square sacristy window, and the single-story porteria. Courtesy the Library of the Daughters of the Republic ofTexas. (79/81)

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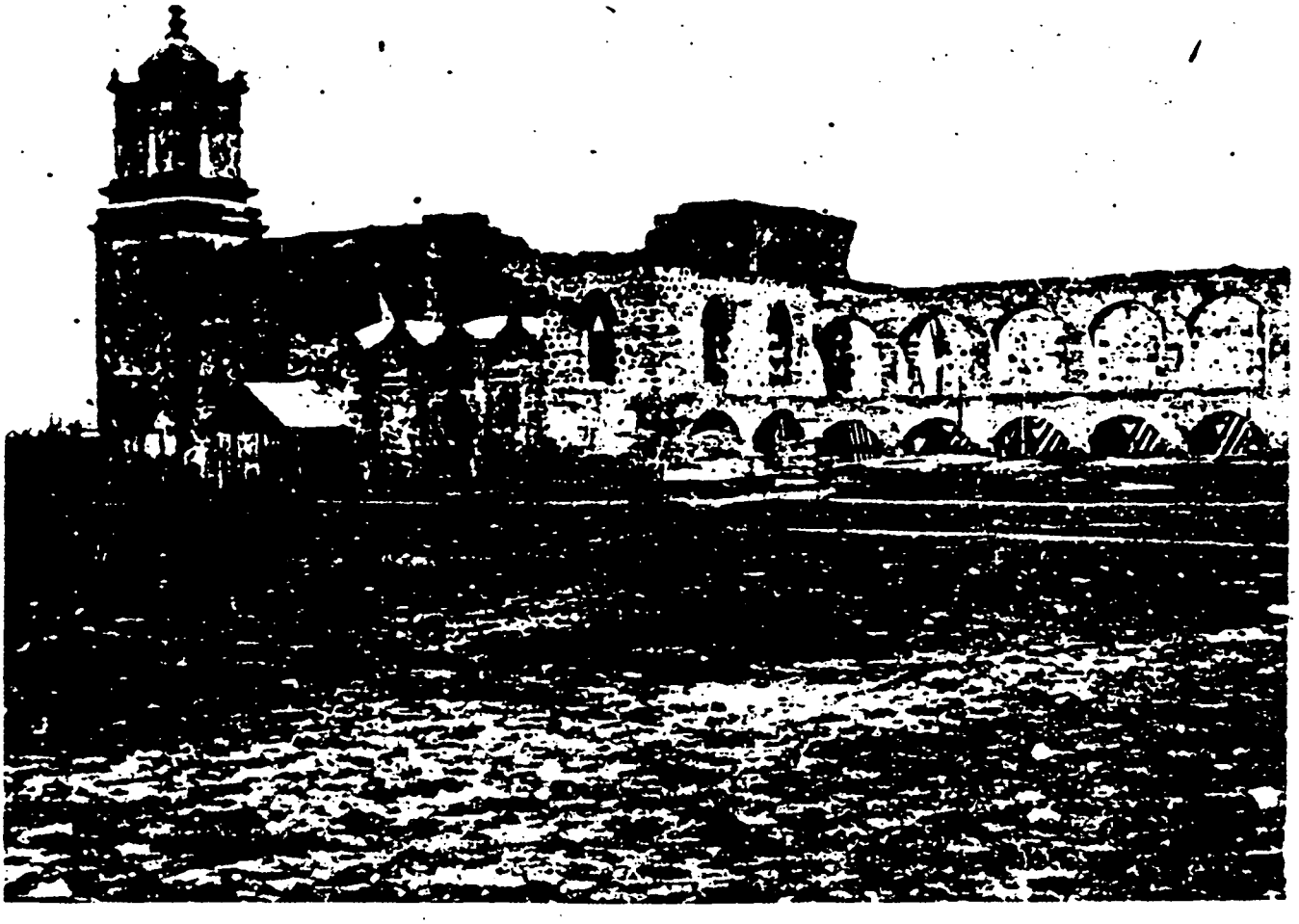

Figure 50. Southeast elevation of San José (1877). Note the well, the partially filled arch in the porteria, and shadows of rafters spanning the second floor level. Courtesy the Catholic Archives of Texas. (137/82)

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Figure 51. West elevation of the church of San José (1877). There is a wood fence enclosing the *camposanto*, and a recent coating on the sacristy roof. The stump of a stone cross is visible on the roof above the entry. Courtesy Texas Catholic Archives. (138/82)

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Figure 52. Northeast elevation of the church of San José (1877) showing damage to the north wall after the collapse of the dome. Texas Catholic Archives. (139/82)

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Figure 53. Detail of the church door of San José (1877-79). These are the original doors which vanished ca. 1885. The doors are coming off their hinges. The statues are intact, with the exception of the head of the infant Mary held by St. Anne, which Prescott erroneously identifies as the infant Jesus. Also missing is the hand of St. Joachim, whom Prescott mistakes for Joseph. Courtesy Tex Treadwell. (7/83)

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He says that Bishop Neraz thinks the figures are The Virgin, San José, San Benedict, San Augustine, and San Francisco, but "other authorities have given a slight variation of this list." The "pretty designs" on the church facade, says Corner, are "now very difficult to discern" (Corner 1890:19). In describing the church structure, Corner mentions the collapse of the dome:[4]

> At the southwestern corner of the Mission buildings is a belfry tower, about sixty feet high. It has four lookout windows and a pyramidical stone roof. Tucked in the angle made by this tower and the south wall of the large Chapel, is a peculiar round tower to accommodate the winding stairway of solid hewn wooden steps to the second story of the belfry tower. From the second story are very curious stairs or ladders made of solid tree trunks notched and dressed with an axe, leading to the upper lookout of the tower. Here, are to be had some fine views of the country. All over the tower chamber's walls are thousands of names of visitors. Only a small portion of the large stone roof of the main Chapel remains and much of the north wall has gone, leaving a great ugly gap on this side and the remnant of the roof very unsafe in appearance. These portions of the Chapel with its dome fell in with a great crash on a stormy night of December, 1868. (Corner 1890:18)

The Sacristy

King encountered inhabitants of San José living in the sacristy. The following passage is also revealing for its discussion of the collapse of the dome:

> As our party entered the rear archways an old, sun-dried Mexican approached, and in a weak voice invited us to enter the church.
>
> The old man and his bronzed wife had placed their household goods in the interior of the edifice; and in the outer porch dried beef was hung over the images of the saints. An umbrella and candlestick graced the christening font. Lighting a corn-shuck cigarette, the old man lay down on one of the beds with a moan, for he was a confined invalid. We climbed to the tower, but speedily came down again, as the great dome fell in last year, and the roof is no longer considered safe.
>
> Returning to the shade, the Mexican woman, clad in a single coarse garment, her hair falling not ungracefully about a face which, although she must have been fifty, seemed still young, served us with water in a gourd, and then seated herself on the ground with the hens affectionately picking about her. Was she born at the mission? We asked. No, senor; but in San Fernando. And where had she spent her youth? In Piedras Negras, senor. And did she not fear the roof of the old mission might some day fall and crush her? Who knows, senor. She answered, ambiguously; giving that vague shake of the head by which both Spaniards and Mexicans so accurately express profound unconcern. In the shade of some of the great walls were little stone cabins, in which lived other Mexican families. Bronzed children were running about in the

[4]Questions about the collapse of the church roof at San José are still unanswered. Corner was the first to use the now traditional date of December 1868 (1890:18). However, King states that the roof of the structure collapsed the year before his ca. 1873 arrival--in other words, in 1872 (1875:155). Contemporary writers have used both dates in their narratives (see Habig 1968b:117).

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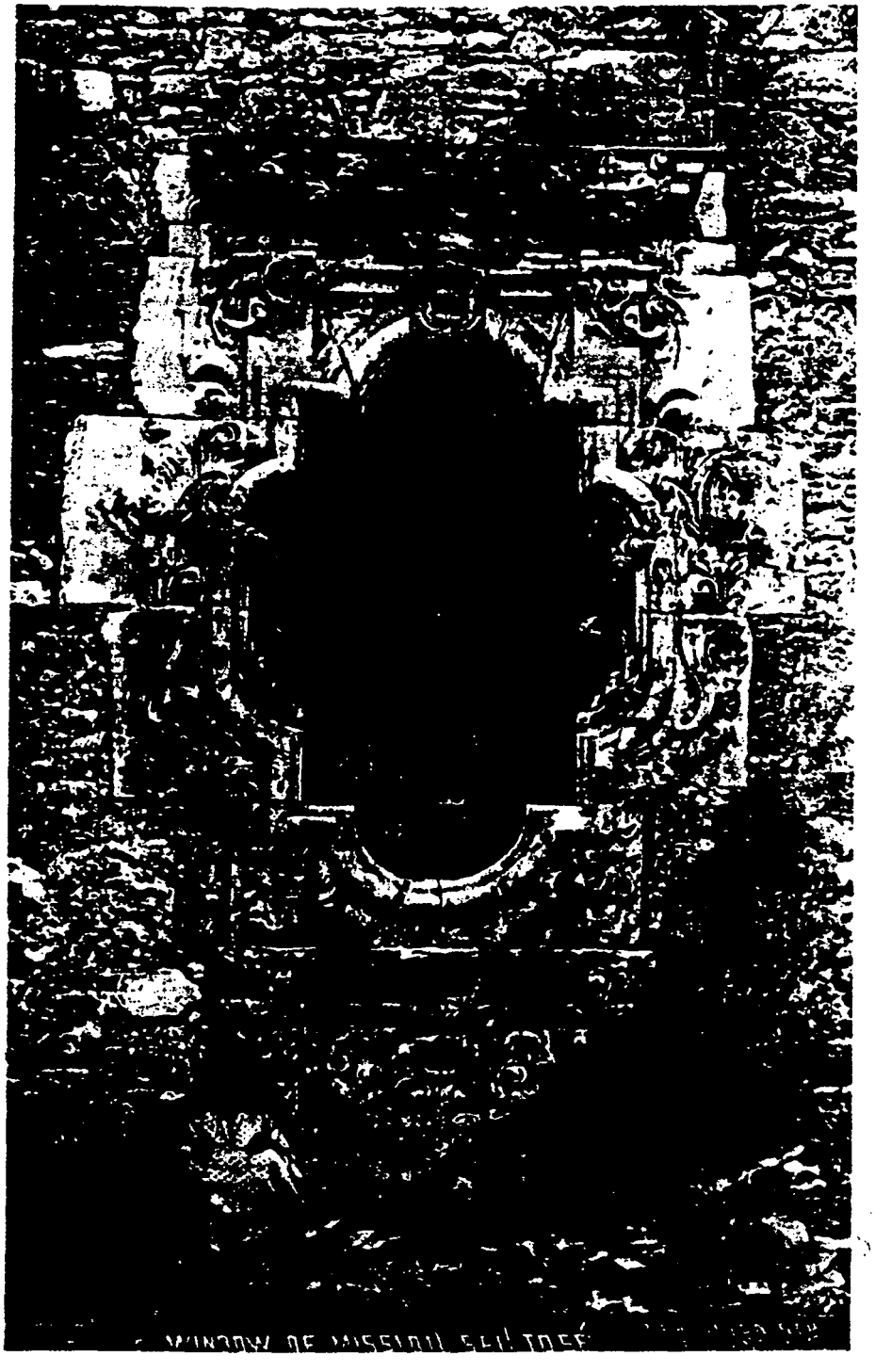

Figure 54. Detail of the south sacristy or rose window at San José (1890) by Mary E. Jacobson, the first woman photographer in San Antonio. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. (3/80)

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> sun, and bronzed fathers were working lazily in the field. In the distance, in any direction--chaparral, -- mesquite,--cactus,--short, burned grass, and the same prospect all the way to the Rio Grande. (King 1875:155)

By 1877, the residents King had found in the sacristy apparently were gone, and the structure was again being used as a chapel:

> The chapel attached to the mission is still in use, a weekly service being held there. In spite of its pretty font, and of the groined arches of its vaulted roof, it is a sad spot. Two or three old paintings adorn it, a sacred image stands in the lofty niche of the only window, which, lined with scarlet, surrounds the image in a blazing aureole, while the walls all about the altars are strung with the votive offerings of the poor worshipers, who, since they can not give lace and jewels and gold-wrought altar cloths, give curious patch work hangings which are inexpressibly touching to see. (Prescott 1877:841)

By 1890, according to Corner, services were held "occasionally":

> To the south of the main Chapel is a smaller one, the window and carving of which were referred to above. This is roofed by three domes, the tops of the enclosing walls being serrated, all quite in Moorish style. The entrance to this Chapel is from the east from an ante-chamber or wing of the cloisters. The arch and sidestones of the entry door are beautifully sculptured, and here, there still remain, much chipped, once finely carved, cedar double doors, and although so badly damaged they suggest to one's mind what the beauty of the front doors or gates at the facade of the main Chapel might have been. In this little Chapel services are still occasionally held. Its altar is decked with gaudy patchwork of a distinctly Mexican design, and many a little trumpery, by way of offering is placed there by the simple believing women folk of the place. Some of the details of the capitals of the pillars, the font and other carving of this little Chapel are illustrated in this book. There are two ancient Spanish pictures, one hanging each side of the altar, much the worse for age, scenes from the life of St. Joseph. One is very plainly the "Flight into Egypt." The other, more difficult to make out, is most likely a picture of the Circumcision. The fan-like fluted canopies of the window and recesses have pretty architectural effect. (Corner 1890 : 18-19)

The Convento

Soon after the Benedictine acquisition of the convento in 1859, the order began an extensive reconstruction of the structure. A letter from Rev. Amandus Kramer dated January 7, 1861, gives us some indication of the condition of the convento at that time: "The wall is up as far as to the second story, but F. Herman's idea is always for three storys . . . but since last summer he had to stop his work, because he has no money. The rocked wall--two story high-- without roof--the church just as before--is all the improvement of San José."

On April 12, 1867, Bishop Dubuis wrote to Abbot Boniface Wimmer that "the building of San José ought to be covered in, to save the walls, if nothing else" (Fellner 1956:8, n.35). These remarks suggest little improvement in the condition of the convento from January 1861, and indicate that very little major

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Figure 55. A south elevation of the sacristy and church of San José (1893) showing the deterioration of the stair tower. Courtesy Texas State Library. (103/82)

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Figure 56. Detail of the stair tower of San José prior to its collapse in 1903 (1893-1903). Note the design of the original window in the curved wall and the rubble at the base of the tower. Courtesy San José Archives. (11/84)

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Figure 57. Detail of the east elevation of the sacristy door of San José (1872-79). The profile of the stone carving is still fairly crisp, but there is evidence of mortar erosion between joints. Note the two blank replacement panels in the colonial door: the original carved panels have probably been taken by souvenir hunters. Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. (130/82)

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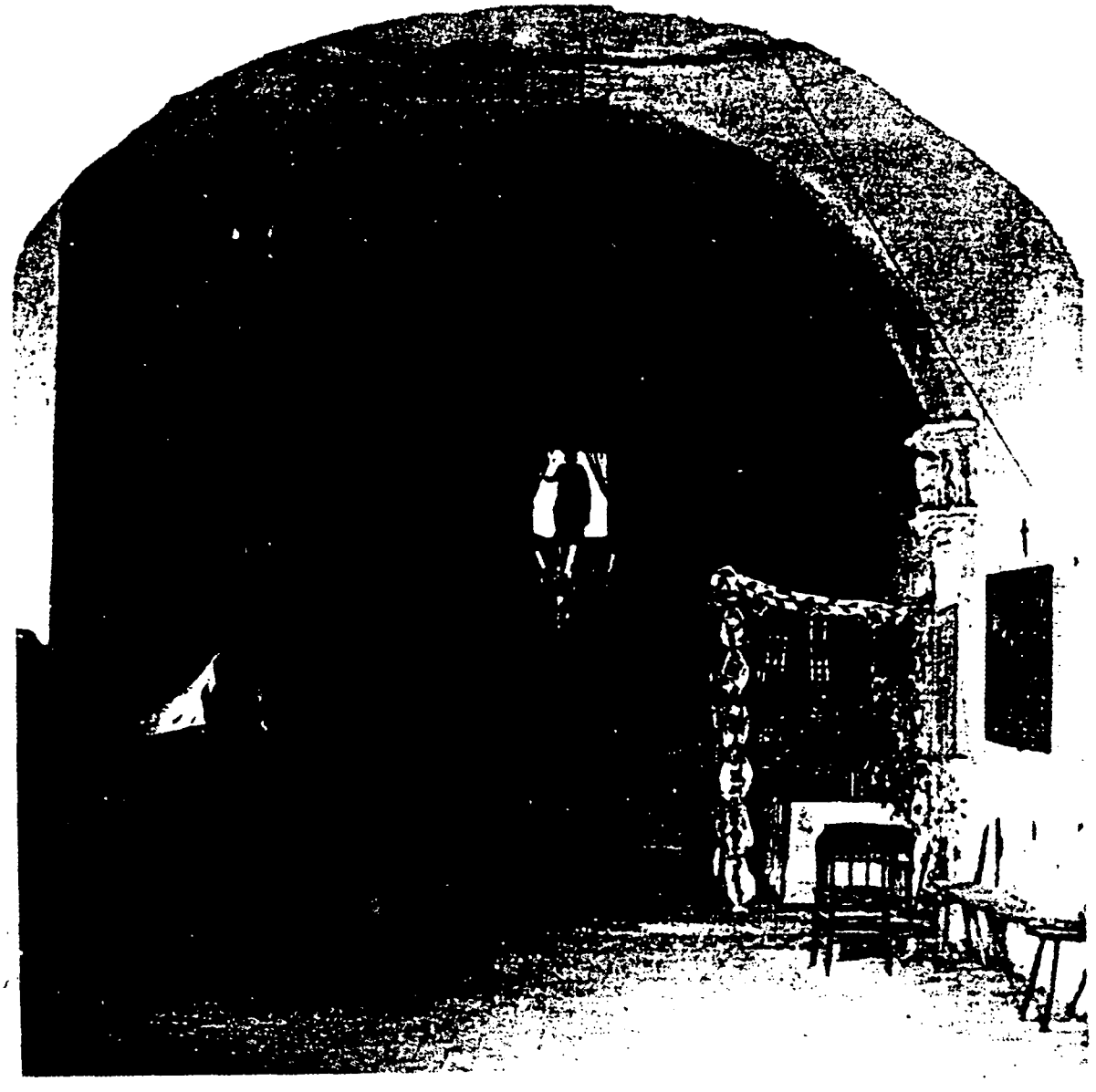

Figure 58. The interior of the San José "chapel" (sacristy) at the date of Prescott's writing (1877). The statue of St. Joseph in the window exists today. Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. (246/82)

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Figure 59. A Mary E. Jacobson photograph of the sacristy as Corner would have seen it (1890). The crack visible in the apex of the arch did not appear in an 1877 photograph. Note the exposed stone in the center dome where plaster has fallen away. Courtesy The Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (86/81)

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construction was carried out after that date. The majority of the work, therefore, was carried out by the summer of 1860.

The extensive Benedictine rebuilding project is difficult to trace. Detailed examination shows that all the interior walls are Benedictine in the east-west portion of the convento up to the wall separating the kitchen rooms from the rest of the structure. This means the Benedictines removed the central long wall containing the doors into the 1823 rooms, and replaced all the partition walls. That the surviving stub of the central long wall is almost 3 feet wide while the wall as it stands is only 2 feet wide is evidence for this conclusion, as well as the reuse of hard white limestone blocks with decorative carving. These blocks were probably taken from the ruins of post-1845 structures elsewhere in San Antonio. Such blocks occur frequently in San Antonio only after the influx of German colonists after 1840, and the subsequent construction of homes using their distinctive style of stonecarving.

All lancet-arched openings are of Benedictine construction or reconstruction. It is likely that the lancet-arched openings in the north wall were altered from the convento openings which predate the Benedictine work. The second story of the room in front of the sacristy door, the kitchen, and the room north of it are also Benedictine. Remains of wall plaster and the use of red brick in window reconstruction indicate that some portion of the top of the north wall was removed and rebuilt, incorporating the lancet openings. Counting from the east end of the convento, the fourth window opening on the second floor appears to have been much wider and was filled substantially at the sides before the construction of the present lancet window. This was probably the window or doorway which originally opened onto the balcony of the celda principal (main cell).

All second story walls beyond the east wall of Benedictine room #4 are also Benedictine construction, except the arcade wall and perhaps a portion of the east wall of room #5. Prior to 1860, the kitchen (Benedictine rooms #7 and #B) was partially divided by an arch supporting a flying buttress on the end of the arcade wall on the second level. This partial division may explain why rooms #7 and #8, built into room #6 of the 1823 appraisal, was called a "double kitchen."

At the time of the Benedictine work, ground level was slightly lower than when Smith emptied the convento patio area in the 1930s, but it was still considerably higher than floor level within the rooms of the first story. All evidence indicates that the original ground surface was about the same level as the present first floor interior surfaces. The depth of surrounding earth in the convento area has not been explained, but must have accumulated since ca. 1770.[5]

The Benedictines managed to lay flooring and build a roof for the two stories of room #1, but did not get past placing some joists for the rest of the second story flooring. The transverse arches between the arcade wall and the long central wall, and those within the rooms, were all of Benedictine construction. They were to be part of the support system for the joists of the second story flooring, never completed. However, archeology has shown that a row of rooms was built against the north wall of the convento sometime during these years. A series of filled rectangular openings are still visible in the north wall of the present convento. It is likely that at least some were doors opening onto the northern rooms. The foundations of these rooms were seen by both Smith in the 1930s and Fox in 1970 (Clark 1978:45). There is no hint of their existence in the 1785 inventory or the 1823 appraisal, and the artifacts

[5]See Part I, chapter 4, for a discussion of the convento ground level.

Figure 60. South elevation of the church and convento area of San José during the Benedictine reconstruction, 1859-1868. The second story room above the porteria has been built and a temporary construction ramp stands in the garden area. Courtesy Texas Catholic Archives. (144/82)

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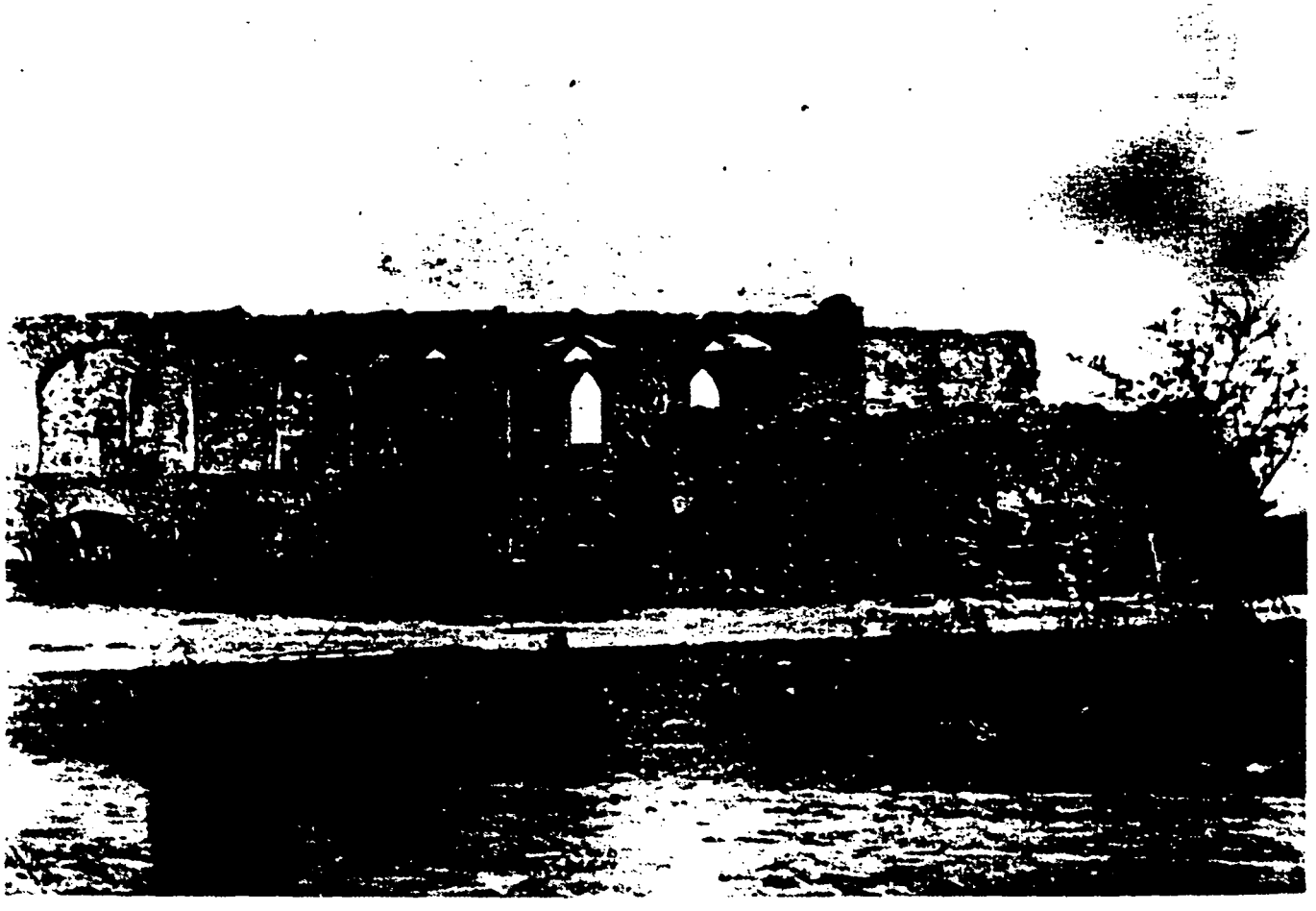

Figure 61. The convento of San José in 1983, showing the general appearance of the area after the Benedictines stopped construction. Courtesy Texas State Library. (104/82)

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Figure 62. Benedictine flooring built into the convento of San José, above the sacristy doorway. Note the painted plaster on the arch. Courtesy of the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (104/81)

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Figure 63. Floor joists built into the corredor of the San José convento by the Benedictines. Courtesy or the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (92/81)

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associated with them indicate that they were in use during the first half of the nineteenth century. Therefore they were built after the appraisal of 1823 by new occupants of the area.[6]

A sketch of San José that gives a view down the north wall of the convento was drawn by Seth Eastman in 1848, and it shows no row of rooms along this wall (p. 43). This . . . indicates that they were built after 1823 and torn down i: before 1848, an unlikely timetable, or that they were built after 1848. The artifacts could have been deposited as late as 1860. The most likely explanation for these structures, then, is that the rooms were constructed by the Benedictines in 1859-60 to serve as residences while they worked on the rebuilding of the main convento building.

Corner describes the convento's appearance in 1890:

> The cloisters and cells, which were of two stories, are quite extensive with a double series of arches stretching eastwardly from the main building. The outside arches are plain, wide semi-circular arches, and pointed Gothic arches inside and on the second floors. There monastic additions to the Mission had formerly fallen very much into decay, but in 1859 some Benedictine fathers arrived here from St. Vincent's Abbey in the Pittsburgh Diocese, Pennsylvania, with the intention of rebuilding these rooms and cloisters for scholastic purposes. The intention was only partially carried into effect. The industrious fathers rebuilt many of the upper Gothic arches, as far as can be learned, manufacturing their own red bricks for that purpose and the making of the big oven at the east end. What finally interfered with this purpose of the Benedictines it is difficult to discover, but it is more than likely that wars and rumors of wars and an unsettled epoch had much to do with the abandonment of their project, adding one more unfinished chapter to the heroic history of the Catholic Church in Texas. (Corner 1890:19)

The Mission Compound

Very few records of ownership or transfer are known from 1860 to about 1890 when landowners again begin to appear in the records. Most of them have little proof of title to their properties, but were able to legally transfer the lots after the deposition of affidavits showing proof of long use. Most of these affidavits indicate occupation beginning in about 1875-1880. Lot lines usually show only a vague resemblance to the pre-1860 divisions. Indications of some sort of continuous legal ownership can be found in only a few cases: several lots on the west side of compound, one on the east, and one lot and a portion of the granary on the north. By ca. 1890 nothing but a few fragments of broken wall remained of the Indian quarters south of the road, and nothing but the church, convento, and granary stood north of it. The mill disappeared from view and from the records after about 1825, and was forgotten until its remains were located in the 1930s.

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[6]Some of these are windows of the convento from before the Benedictine reconstruction, which made use of some of them and filled others. The rest were created by the Benedictines. There may be two sets of pre-Benedictine windows, one set filled at the time of the ca. 1770 renovation, and the second set filled or reused by the Benedictines.

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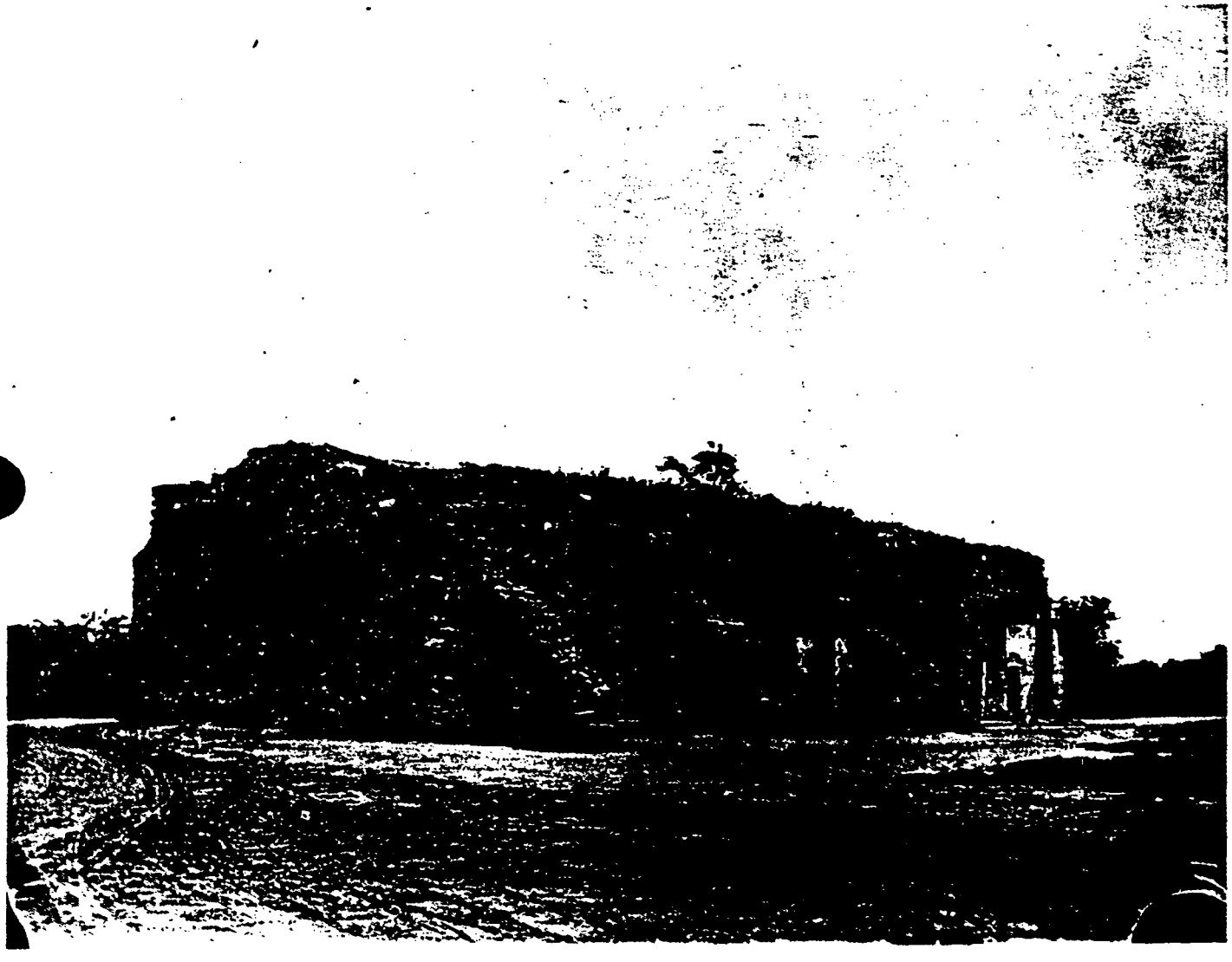

Figure 64. Southeast elevation of the San José granary at the time of Corner's writing (1890). Scars are visible along the east wall where the ancillary structure had been attached. Courtesy of the San Antonio Museum Association. (200/82)

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Figure 65. A detail of the west wall and northwest corner of the San José granary showing evidence of occupancy (1880). The doorway is the present one. Courtesy the San Antonio Museum Association. (201/82)

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Figure 66. The church at the turn of the century (1895-1900). St. Anne has disappeared, the head and arms of St. Joachim are gone, and the doors are missing. Note the increased number of grave plots, large structural cracks, the slipping keystone, and vegetation in the nave of the church. Holes above the entablature indicate an earlier railing. Courtesy the San Antonio Museum Association. (184/82)

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Wall traces within the compound along the east side cannot be attributed to any time period. Pending archeological investigation, it is probably safest to assume that they were low partition walls built around the yards of houses along the east wall after 1824.

In some cases this situation may reflect failure on the part of the Catholic Church to record the sales of Church-owned lands in the local courthouse. Then as now, it was next to impossible to locate a record of the transfer if the buyer had lost his copy of the deed. In other cases, the record probably indicates acquisition of abandoned property by simple use, or "squatting."

Taken all together, the evidence indicates that in the 1860s and 1870s, San José was virtually empty of occupants except for a few lots on the west side south of the road.

Corner offers a comprehensive view of the compound in 1890:

> Turn to the foundation plan of San José. It will be seen how extensive these Mission buildings are. They are placed in the northeast corner of the square, running almost due east and west. "The Mission San José consists also of a large square, and numerous Mexican families still make it their residence. To the left of the gateway is the granary." So says Kendall. The gateway is gone to-day. The granary, with its strong and curious flying buttresses and arched stone roof, is still there and in it families make a home. The road still enters the Mission Square just at the right of the granary, where the old entrance was. Here you are in full view of the facade of the Mission Buildings with the square spreading out to the right or south of the long main building of the Mission. The Mexican families still exist in huts erected upon the ruins of the ramparts of the Mission Square, and in a few years these now hardly to be defined foundations will have been "improved" from the place. (Corner 1890:18)

Vandalism

Following the Civil War, if not before, graffiti had become fashionable, as attested by this 1868 piece in the San Antonio Herald:

MISSION SAN JOSE

> Local items were scarce yesterday about the city, so we went on a tour of inspection to the Old Mission San José. By permission of Justo Maldonado, the old Spanish gentleman who appeared to be in charge, we clambered all over the building where so many pretty ladies and gallant gentlemen have been before our day. "Such a getting up stairs" we never did before, but when we reached the top we were amply repaid for our physical exertion. The scenery immediately around is beautiful; our dull pen cannot picture it--it should be seen on a bright day in the spring to be appreciated properly. We left our name by that of H. A. Maltby, editor of the Corpus Christi Advertiser, and near to that of our lamented friend Jas. F. Millhouse. Every one who visits this old Mission, man or woman, seems to think they are honorably bound to carve their name in large letters for after generations to muse over. After partaking of a cup of coffee, a cigarette, and a good look at the pretty black-eyed girls we found there we drove home, highly pleased with our visit. (December 31, 1868, in Everett 1975:15)

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Corner, however, decries the vandalism at San Jose:

> And to think that men can be found who can ruthlessly deface these for the sake of possessing a piece of the material. Was it not that the sculptor saw the perfect statue in the stone? Surely here the fool sees only the stone in the material that has been given a beauty not its own. If stones ever do cry out, it is when they are alive with this touch of genius.
>
> "Do you not know me; does no voice within
> Answer my cry, and say we are akin?"
>
> But can these desecrators have any kinship with Art? It is not the Texan or the Mexican who has done these things. Kendall says, writing of ' 42, "though the Texan troops were long quartered here, (San Jose) the stone carvings have not been injured. "And this was in wartime when men are more than usually bent on destruction. (Corner 1890:17-18)

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Francis Guilbeau owned the majority of the mission structures ca. 1875, after which the title was transferred to Celestine Villemain. Under Odin, the Catholic Church bought a few parcels of land in the suertes of San Juan, but never gained ownership of the mission buildings besides the two churches during the nineteenth century. Much of the Church-owned land near San Juan was sold by Bishop Neraz in the late nineteenth century.

Corner explains the title situation as of the last decade of the century:

> If there is any record of the partition of the lands of this Mission it has not been discovered, at any rate with regard to the rooms in the ramparts it seems to have been customary at the Missions that a number of years occupation of rooms or barracks in any Mission gave some kind of title or claim to those rooms to the occupants. The Mission Government was generous to its converts and dependents. The Missions were projected for their benefit. This must explain such documents as that which may be found in the County Records dated January 28th, 1826, which relates that Maria de las Santos Lopez and Barbara de las Santos Lopez who were then occupying three rooms in the Mission San Juan conveyed the same to the Province of Texas for the sum of $34.00 January 28th, 1826. This sum was paid to them by Antonio Saucedo, then Chief Justice. (Corner 1890:21)[7]

The San Juan/Berg's Mill Community

In the immediate vicinity of the mission was the small community of San Juan, also known as Berg's Mill. King visited the mission in 1875 and observed people living inside its walls, surviving on what they could raise from small plots of land. He paints a dismal scene:

> The San Juan mission, a little beyond the San Antonio river, some three or four miles farther down, like the Espada, which stands upon the bend in the river still below, is but a ruin. In its day it was very large, and many families lived within its bounds. Now there is little to be seen, except a small chapel and the ruins of the huge walls. A few families live among the debris, and there is even a "San Juan Mission Store."
>
> The scene about the humble abodes of the Mexicans, residing in or near these missions, is very uniform. There is a rude water-cart near the door; a few pigs run about the premises, and a hairless Mexican dog watches them; two or three men, squatted on their haunches, sit blinking in the sun. No one ever seems to do any work; though the Mexicans about San Antonio have a good reputation as laborers. (King 1875:156)

A decade later, an account by a San Antonio reporter depicts a thriving environment. The change can be attributed chiefly to the arrival of industry in the area. Berg's Mill, a wool processing plant, became fully operational in October 1879; a cotton gin was built two years later; and on October 6, 1880, the

[7]Corner had the transfer reversed. The judge conveyed the property and the Santos Lopez family bought it.

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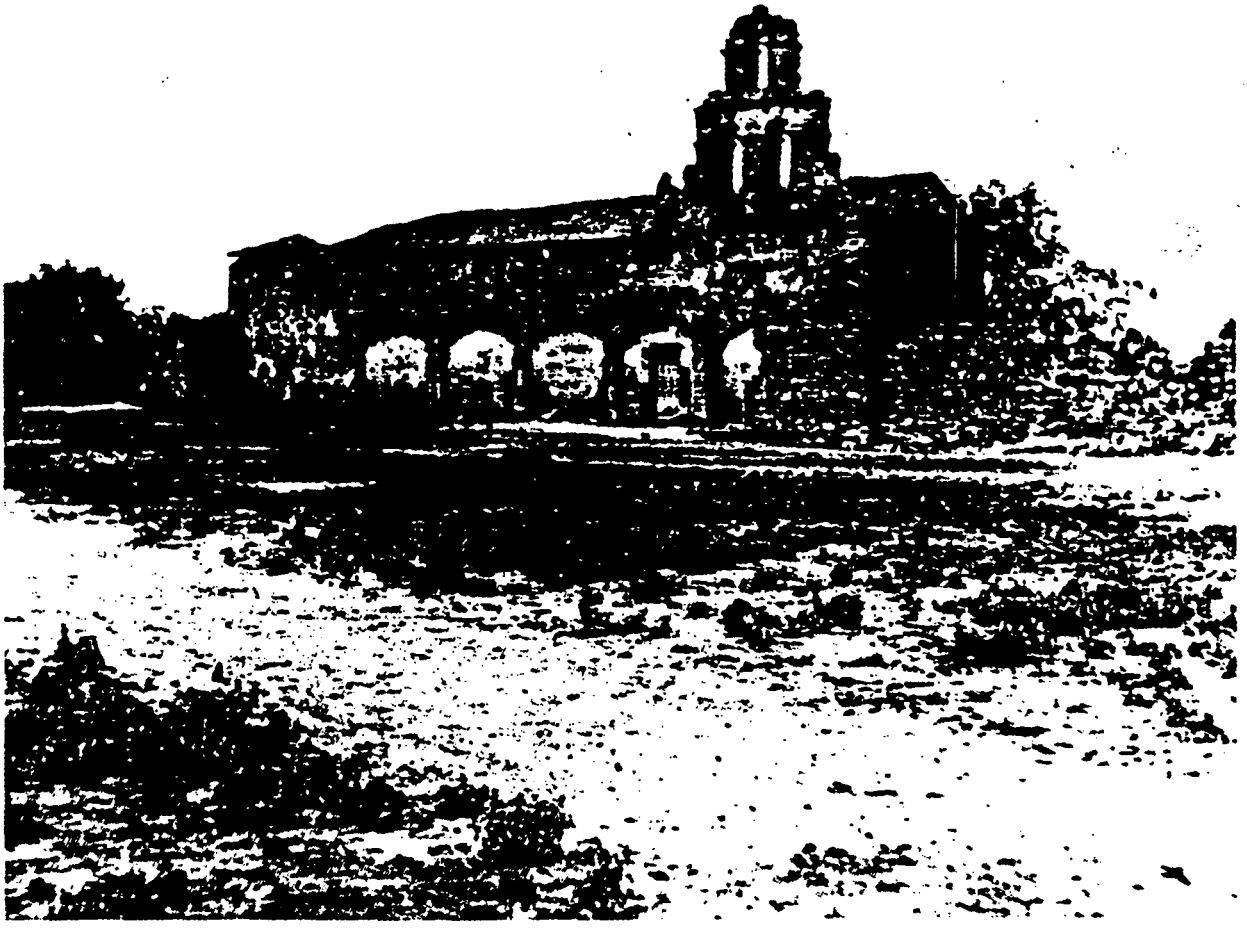

Figure 67. The earliest photograph of San Juan church (1865-70). A portion of the roof over the sacristy has collapsed. There are no bells in the *espadaña*. The cross has fallen to the roof below, where it is to remain for several decades. A stone structure projects from the wall at the northeast corner of the church. Photograph courtesy ITC, San Antonio Light Collection (54/82)

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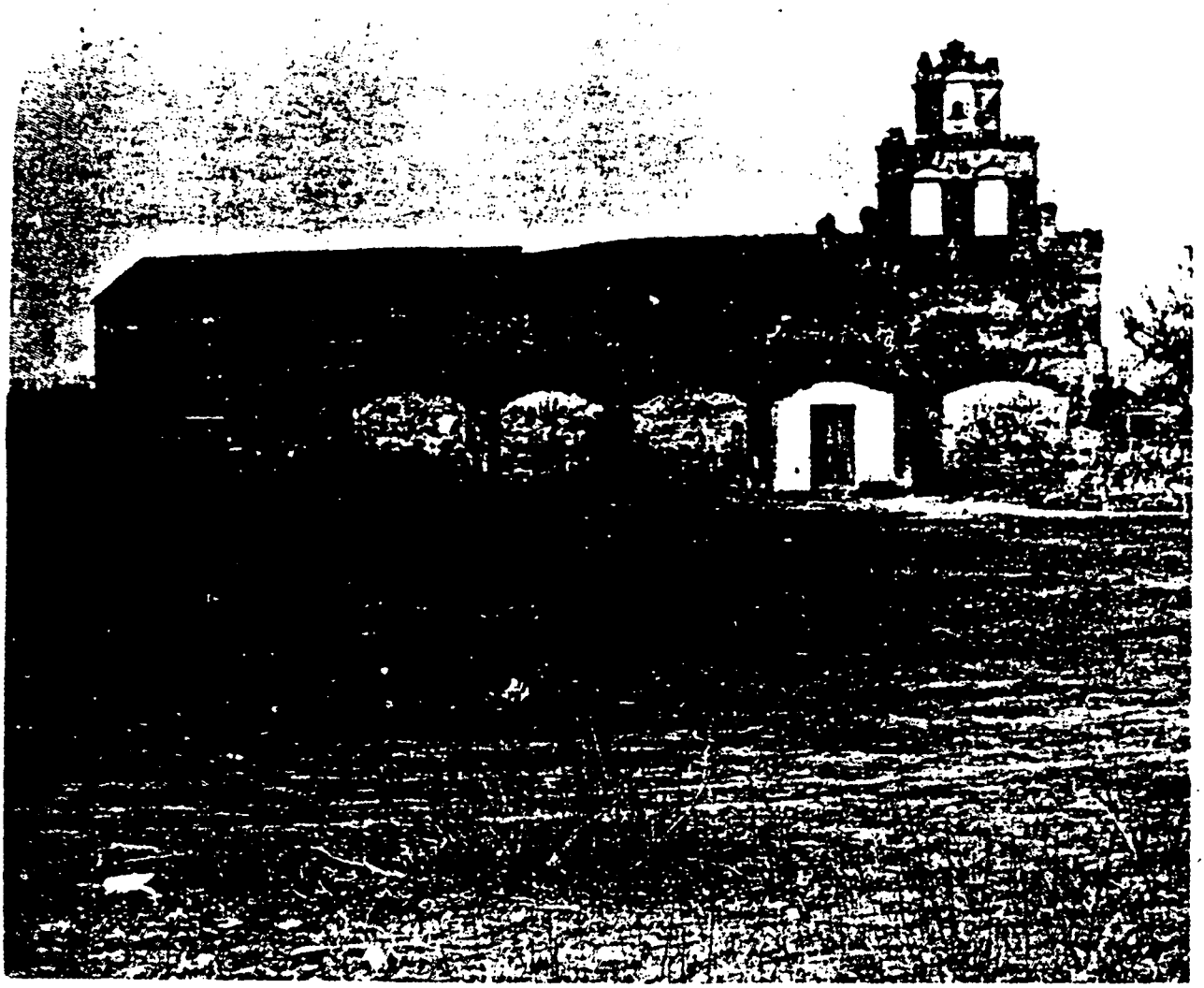

Figure 68. East elevation of the church of San Juan (1877). The sacristy roof has been repaired, but the roof over the nave is showing deterioration. A single bell appears in the tower, and there is now a metal cross on top of the *espadaña*. The blind arch containing the door to the church has been whitewashed, and the center door in the wall has been blocked up. Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. (124/82)

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Antonio and Aransas Pass Railroad opened its first station at Berg's Mill (Scurlock et al. 1976:130, 235). The mission community had entered a new era:

SAN JUAN/BERG ' S MILL

> A reporter of The Express visited the village of San Juan, on the banks of the San Antonio river about siX miles below the city and found the little community thereabouts to be in a state of content and prosperity which thrift and enterprise always insures. The little village is located in a picturesque valley close to the ford of the San Antonio. The old San Juan mission, whose history is familiar to all our readers, stands on the eastern bank of this stream and is surrounded by a number of rude and massive buildings, as ancient as the mission itself. It is on the west side of an open space or plaza almost half the size of main plaza, and this plaza the Mexican citizens were busily engaged in clearing off and raking over to render it smooth and clear, as this is the spot where they are wont to gather every Sunday, where they are to be seen in groups. Many of them live in dwellings around this plaza and nearly all of the houses visited presented an attractive and clean appearance, denoting the industry and taste of the occupants. A large number of them are employed as operatives at the wool scouring mill, located at San Juan. They make good mill hands. (San Antonio Express, February 5, 1884, in Everett 1975:16)

Corner (1890:20) also comments on the Sunday activities of the mission inhabitants:

> A number of Mexican families live here, some of the members of which possess marked Indian features. In the neighborhood of San Juan there are more traces of the Indian in faces and characteristics than anywhere else in Texas. The best time to note this is on a Sunday afternoon when they usually congregate at one of the houses near the ford for their weekly cock fight which seems to be the excitement of the community, that is among the men. (Corner 1890:20)3

Save for its own post office, San Juan had the basic complement of community facilities. There was a schoolhouse in operation "eight months out of twelve. " The "large school community" paid the teacher a salary of $45 per month. There was also a store, "which does a fair trade. " Getting to San Juan was apparently difficult. The condition of the "public roads" had caused suspension of the post office and the daily mail service the residents had previously enjoyed (San Antonio Express, February 5, 1884 in Everett 1975:17)

Land and Landscape

The same reporter describes the area's agricultural activities in 1884:

> Around the San Juan mission are a number of the farms and pastures as well as dairies and stock ranches. The Falls Farm of Fergus 0. C. Robinson is a very fine one, but the possession to it is in litigation, Unfortunately for both parties to the suit. The place of C. Villemain is a very fine one also, and contains a 500-acre pasture and 300-acre tract, which is in cultivation. Mr. Villemain is engaging somewhat extensively in grape culture, and has planted five acres in grapes of the very best quality and in great variety.

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Figure 69. Northeast elevation of the church of San Juan with the convento in the background (1880-85). The wall extending northward from the church has been lowered and capped. Otherwise, the church is similar in appearance to photograph 124/82. The gable end of the convento structure is visible. The roof is gone. A gable-roofed addition, now the*****? visitor contact station, projects eastward from the south end of the building. Courtesy Barker Archives, the University of Texas at Austin. (117/82)

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Figure 70. The east elevation of the church of San Juan, with the compound in the foreground (1886). The photograph shows the newly planted saplings, and the church roof intact. It blew off the following August. Courtesy Barker Archives, the University of TexKas at Austin. (116/82)

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> This he regards as a venture which will prove of great profit to him, as some of his neighbors, who have smaller vineyards raise grapes enough to sell a great many grapes at good figures in the city. (Ibid.)

Visiting the nearby ranch of a county commissioner (a 600 acre spread, 400 in pasture and the remainder in cultivation) the reporter is impressed with its modern water supply system:

> Mr. Braden's residence is about half a mile from the river but he is well supplied with water and runs a waterworks monopoly of his own. He has an automatic hydraulic ram which forces the water into a tank at an elevation of sixty-five feet. The water runs in two-inch mains from this tank to two others, which supply his premises. He has a hydrant on his gallery, another in his kitchen, a third at his dairy, a fourth from which supplies his calves, and another is placed at his barn where his stock are watered. He has a fountain which supplies a flow sufficient for his large fish ponds, containing a good supply of German carp, bass, trout, perch, cat and other fish. (Ibid.)

The Mission Compound

Although "less remarkable and distinguished than the other two," Corner concedes that Mission San Juan does have its "points of interest":

> Its square is well defined ad the design of a complete Mission can be made out with less difficulty here and at the Fourth Mission [Espada] than at the others. Its little granary, its chapel, its ruined convent or monastery which must have been a building of some importance in its day, and the foundations of a chapel which was never completed are all objects of interest. These main buildings unlike those of the First and Second Missions [Concepción and San José, respectively] form parts of and are built into the boundary or rampart walls. (Corner 1890: 20)

Efforts to improve the appearance of the grounds were initiated in 1886 by C. L. Dignowity, as described in a 1936 newspaper interview. Dignowity, who had acquired the mission lands from M. C. Villemain, planted a number of trees in the compound. There was an unexpected discovery: "[he] found human bones, flint arrow heads, and other relics buried there" (J. W. Schuhardt, January 26, 1936).

The Church

Speaking in a San Antonio Express interview in 1936, an old timer recalled that fifty years earlier San Juan had not had its own priest. Father Francis Bouchu, the priest of Espada, "occasionally held service in the San Juan church," he said, "until the old roof was blown in during the August 1886 storm" (January 26, 1936).

In 1890 the church was still roofless and its deterioration was being hastened by exposure to the elements, as Corner ascribes:

> The Chapel of San Juan is very plain and simple in construction. Just four walls--the tower being merely an elevation of a portion of the East wall with open arches in it for bells. There is still one bell left. The chapel is roofless except for one small room at

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> the south end which is walled off by an adobe wall and which is used as a Sacristy, vestry, and receptacle for the small remaining stock of figures, books, pictures and other such bric-a-brac. The inside of the walls of the Chapel, however, will afford to such as care for that sort of thing a few minutes interesting study in rude frescoing. The frescoes are almost obliterated by exposure to the weather and the wonder is that they have not long since been washed entirely off by heavy rains. (Corner 1890:20)

Corner continues with a detailed discussion of the church's wall paintings. This is a particularly important passage because the paintings were obliterated early in the twentieth century, and his is the earliest and most reliable description known.

> They are a curious mixture of Old and New World ideas. Detail of Moorish design, a Roman arch, an Indian figure and pigments. "These frescoes, " says Father Bouchu, "I think are of later date than the completion of the Chapel and they were probably permitted, to satisfy the Indian nature's love of color." A painted rail about four feet high running around the Chapel first attracts the eye, and then the elaborately painted Roman Arch in red and orange over the doorway. The design of this decoration is decidedly of a Moorish caste, zigzag strips and blocks of color with corkscrew and tile work, and pillars of red and orange blocks. These pillars are about twelve feet high and support another line or rail of color and upon this upper lines are a series of figures of musicians each playing a different instrument. The figures for some reason are much more indistinct than their instruments, the latter being accurately drawn and easy to distinguish. There is one of these figures over the frescoed arch of the door. It is a mandolin player. The player is indistinct, portions of his chair and instrument plainer, the latter can be made out to be of dark brown color with the finger board and keys, red. To the right of him is a violin player, the best preserved sample of all--the violin and bow are quite distinct, so are the features of the face of the figure, his hair is black, lips red, face and legs orange, feet black, the body of the violin orange, the rest of him and the bow red. To the right of him again is a guitar player, dressed in a bluish green color, sitting in a red chair, the instrument is quite distinct. Directly opposite this figure vis a vis is a viol player; the instrument being held by the player, finger board up, from the left shoulder across the body; head, hands, instrument and bow being distinct, but the body of him is "played out." To the right of this ghostly looking viol player is a harp and a chair but the player is either invisible or vanished. The lower rail, which is the much more elaborate of the two, supports here and there a flower pot and flowers in incongruous colors of bluish green and dull red--carnations and roses being prime favorites, with an occasional cross on a painted pedestal or dado. (Corner 1890:20-21)

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1889-189

Figure 71. East elevation of the church of San Juan in 1890. The roof is gone. Saplings are still growing in front of the church. The roof of the sacristy is in deteriorated condition. Courtesy the Library of Congress. (1/80)

Figure 72. North and west elevations of the church of San Juan in 1890. Note the "tie-stones" and the absence of openings in the west wall. Courtesy ITC. (53/82)

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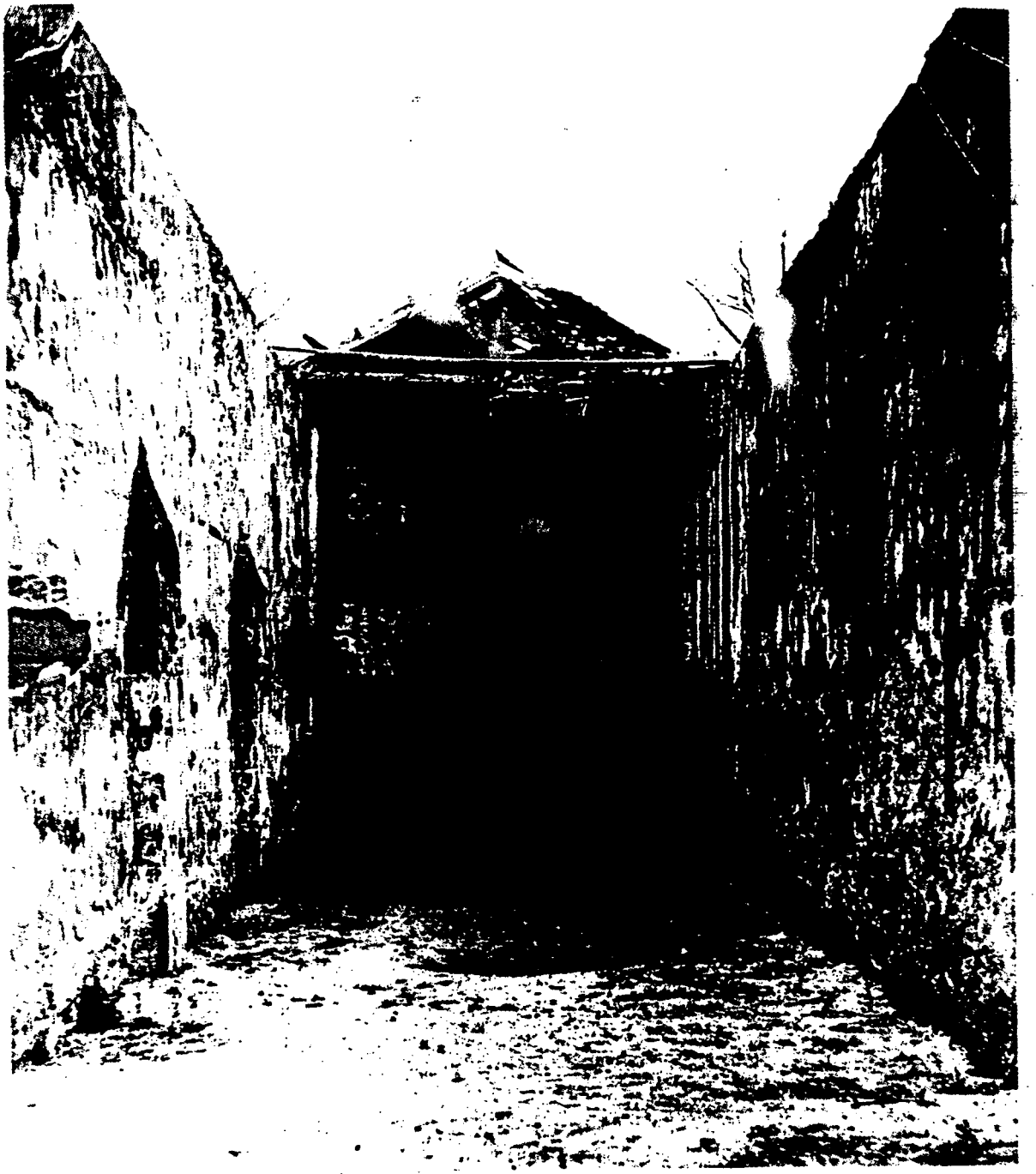

Figure 73. San Juan Church interior with a view of the adobe wall at its south end (ca. 1890). Note the door opening, which would have led to the adjoining sacristy. This wall is not "keyed in": a visible crack at its east edge indicates that it was a later addition. The door opening between the two pilasters has been blocked up and is obscured by plaster. The continuity of the painted motifs indicates that the opening was blocked when the interior was plastered and painted. The floor appears to be earth. Courtesy ITC. (57/82)

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Figure 74. "Bric-a-brac" in the San Juan church, referred to by Corner (ca. 1890). These same statues are presently in the church. Courtesy Texas State Library. (97/82)

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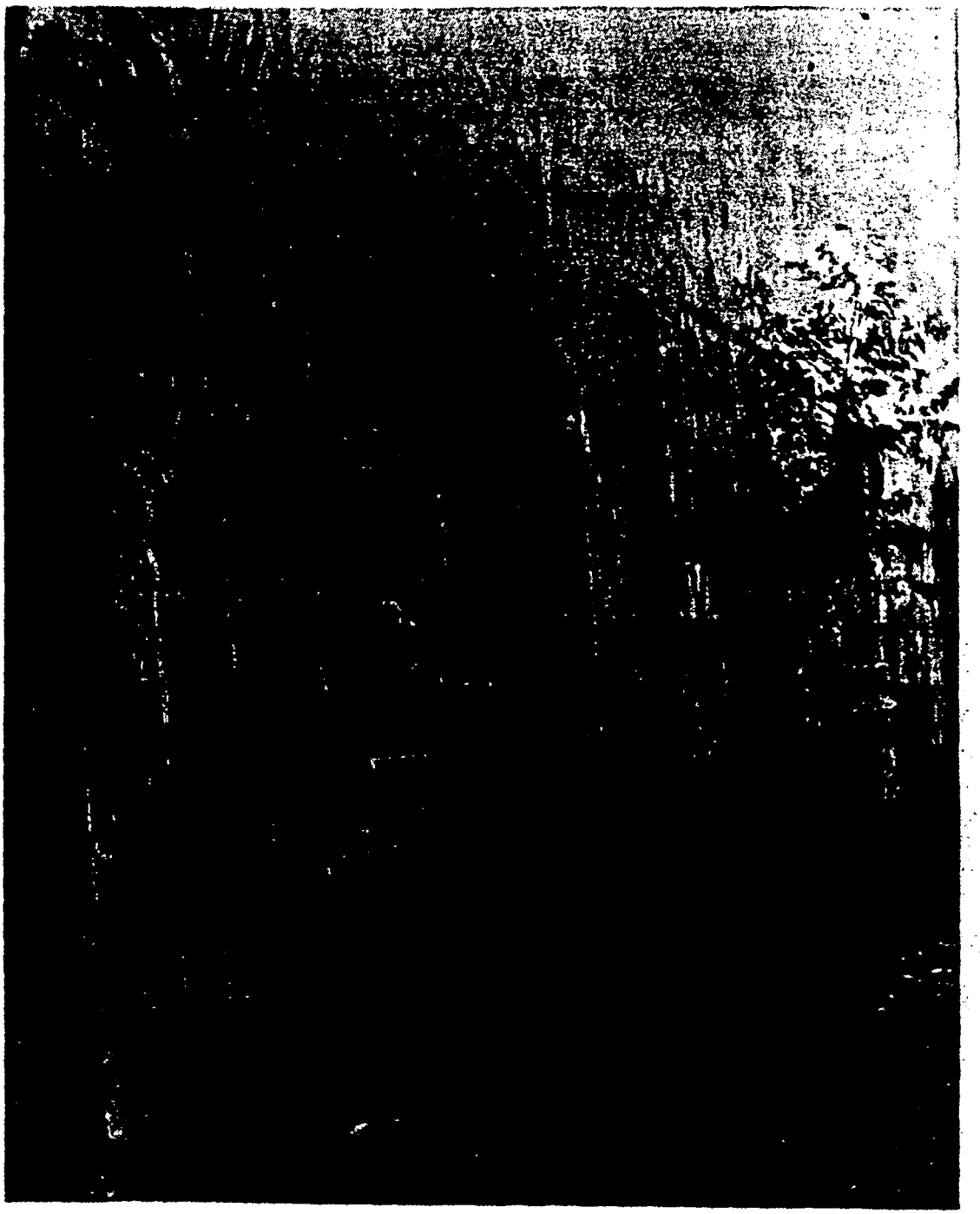

Figure 75. Interior view of the church of San Juan in 1895, showing polychrome frescoes framing entry. Courtesy the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (54/81)

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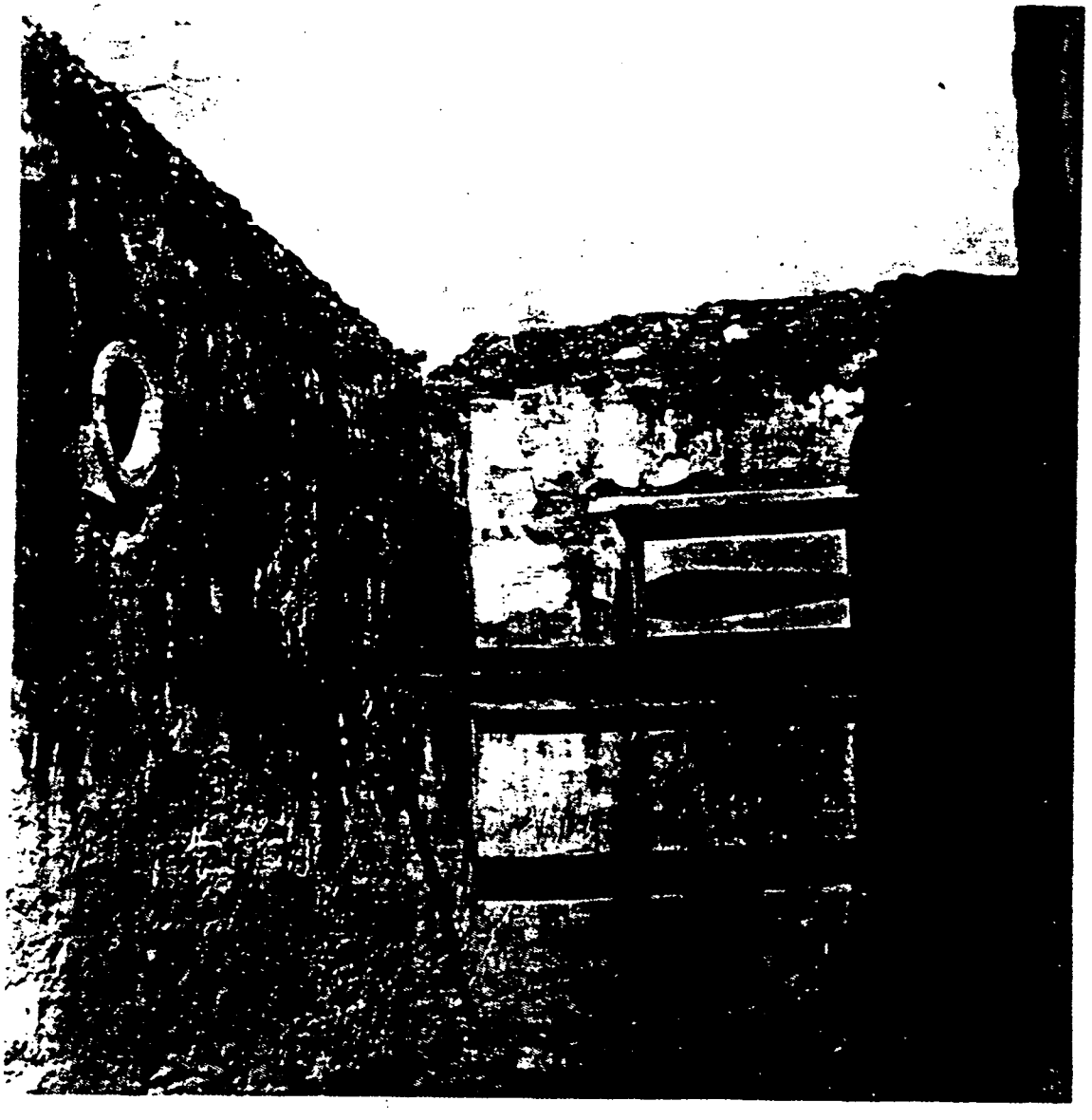

Figure 76. Interior view of the church of San Juan facing the northwest corner (1895). Note the decorative geometric patterns on the walls, the choir loft beams, and the circular window framed in carved stone. The object in the north window is a coffin lid. Courtesy of the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (53/81)

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In a discussion of the mission's name, Corner asks the question: "Whence 'de la Espada?' St. Francis of the sword?" He recounts the opinion popular in San Antonio in the nineteenth century:

> Tradition says that the old tower of the Chapel was built in the form of the hilt of a sword, and that the imagination of the founders supplied length to the blade to complete the similarity to the whole weapon. Perhaps it was that they were possessed with a portion of the spirit of that Greek parent whose son complained of the shortness of his sword; "Add a step to it, my son!" The illusion to the sword may have had some reference to the period of the awakening of St. Francis after his early illness, for it is related of him that he did not know at first whether he was called to be a valiant soldier and knight, or to be a faithful servant of the Church Militant. (Corner 1890:21)

Of course, as discussed in Chapter 3, the name "de la Espada" was applied to the mission at the time it was founded in San Antonio, before any construction.

Visitors' Descriptions of the Mission

A visit by San Antonio locals immediately after the Civil War gives rise to a mystery. From this passage, it cannot be determined whether the structure containing the altar is the actual church--only the facade of which existed at this time--or one of the two wings attached to the bastion, which were commonly known as the barracks:

> MISSION ESPADA
>
> In company with several gay young people we last Sunday paid our first visit to this noted Mission. It is more dilapidated than either San José or Mission Concepción, and is more of a curiosity. The old fortifications are still standing, though they would not be considered worthy of the name, in these modern times. Three pieces of artillery could entirely demolish them in half an hour. By investing a Mexican quarter we gained admission into the interior; part of the building was inhabited by bats and owls, in the other end an altar is erected and service is held there on the Sabbath. Strangers visiting our city should by all means go to see these Missions. (San Antonio Herald, March 16, 1869, in Everett 1975:15)

A decade later, Prescott continues to emphasize the "picturesque":

> Of the other missions, down the river, there is scarcely enough left to mention; but take them by moonlight, the effulgent moonlight of San Antonio, and they are worth a journey to see, the front of La Espada towering above the dark foliage, a melancholy haunt of poetry and dreams. Why all these buildings have been allowed to fall into such a condition it is not easy to say. whether it was that the secularization of the missions crippled them beyond their strength, whether the Indian service was no longer able to maintain them, whether the dry climate had any particularly injurious effect upon them, whether the depredations of marauders have been equal to such destruction, or whether it is judged that they are most effective as they are--whatever

Figure 77. East elevation of the church of Espada, ca. 1870-75. Only the facade remains. There are no bells, and the church door has disappeared. Ground level was approximately one foot lower than present. The gable-roofed structure behind the church was built about the time Bouchu arrived, but it is not known what it was used for. Bouchu's residence, built into the surviving rooms of the old convento, can be seen at the left, south of the church. Courtesy the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (44/81)

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> the reason, the lover of the picturesque may well be thankful for the result. (Prescott 1877:841-42)

In the same year, however, after mentioning that portions of the walls and the "sword-shaped tower" are still standing, other writers make note of mission activities:

> [W]e visited [Espada] on the day of election and found the area occupied by knots of voters of various nationalities, Mexicans, Americans, Germans, Polanders and Freemen, discussing and illustrating the merits and demerits" of universal suffrage; how different the scene from that presented one hundred years ago, when the pious missionaries were in these sacred precincts teaching the savages the mysteries of our holy religion. ("General Directory of the City of San Antonio" 1931:7-8)

The Espada Community

Corner took note of inhabitants at Espada: "Several Mexican families still reside in tumble-down huts on the lines of the Mission square" (1890:23). In fact, the greater Espada community was sizable, consisting in 1892 of 119 families totalling "610 souls," as Father Bouchu entered in his annual report ("Notitiae," Archdiocese of San Antonio, 1892).

The Mission Compound

Corner gives an 1890 overview of the compound, commenting on the condition of several structures. The "small roundtower" in the southeast corner is the bastion:

> Part of the ramparts or enclosing walls of this Mission are pretty well preserved, others are in total ruins, but the foundations of the limits can be clearly made out all around except at points facing the banks of the River. The Square is of irregular shape . . . . In the southeast corner is an object of much interest. Projecting from the angle of the walls outwardly, is a small round tower of quite a feudal character. It is in a state of fine preservation and its three dressed stone round cannon holes near the base, and its seven musket holes about eight feet from the ground, lend it quite a menacing presence. The interior of it is in equally good repair. (Corner 1890:22)

Corner goes on to say that the "Mission's oldest resident," one Sebastian Tejada, "maintains that there was still another place of worship on the inside of the south wall by the road." According to Tejada, the old main south entrance was in the same area, and "the Granary was built projecting lengthwise outside the walls by the same entrance." Corner states that at the date of his writing, only the foundations of these two buildings existed. There was a well ("never forgotten in the building of a Mission") opposite the old convent, identified after 1950 as the rectory. In 1890 this convent and its yard were used as the priest's residence (Corner 1890:23).

In his discussion of the compound Corner mentions a second bastion, which had been on the south wall to the west of the existing baluarte, but there was no trace of it to be found. He also describes the structure now identified as the Indian quarters along the south compound wall : "The chambers to the west of the existing "baluarte" have, looking out upon the square, alternate door and arches, and one

Figure 78. The walls have been reconstructed by Father Bouchu (1886-87). There are three bells in the tower and a new church door. Note the transept on the south nave wall, now the entrance to the sacristy. Courtesy Barker Archives, the University of Texas at Austin. (118/82)

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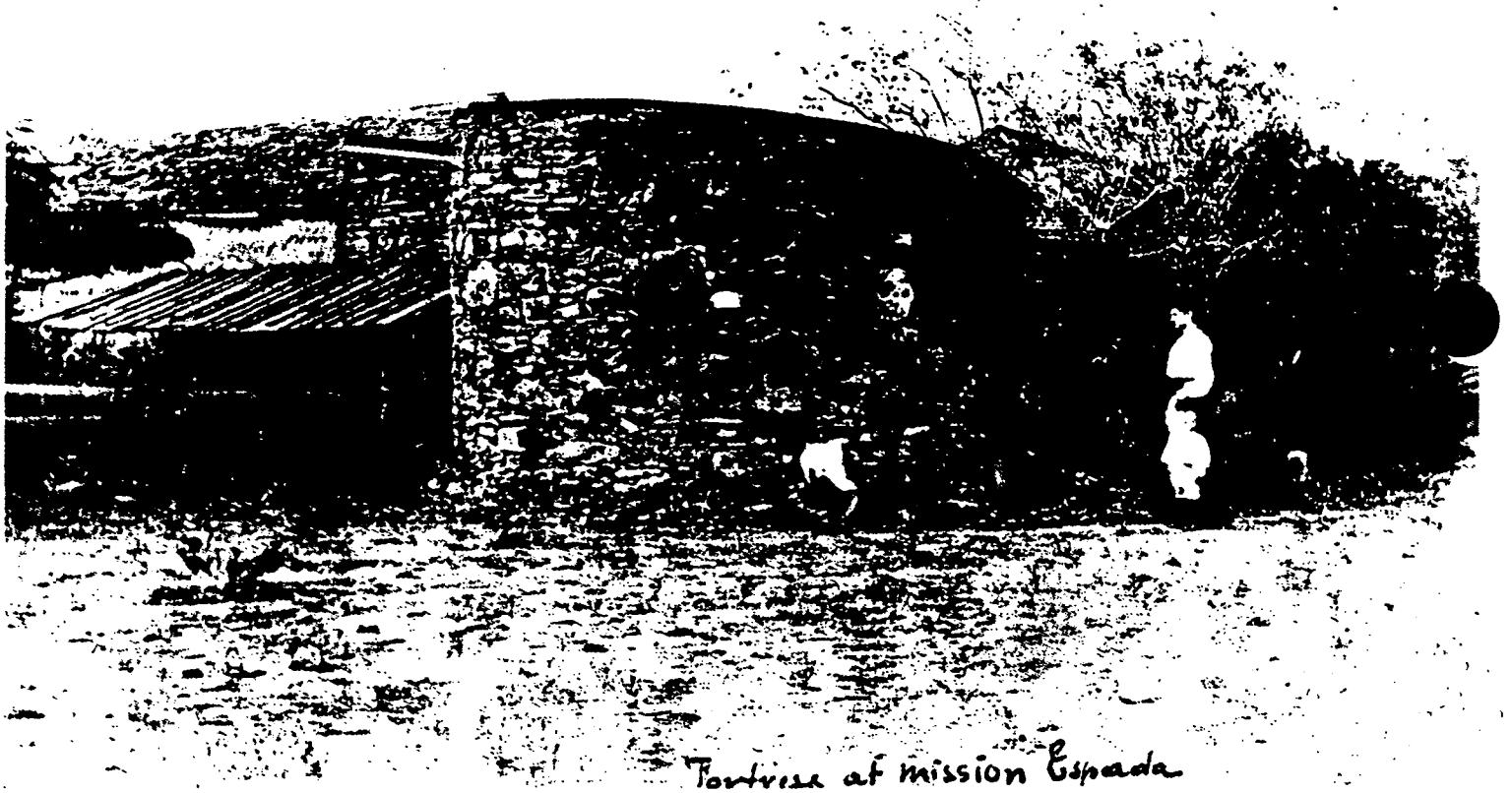

Figure 79. South elevation of the bastion at Espada in ca. 1905. Note the two pitched roofed structures flanking the bastion on the north and west. Courtesy ITC. (75/82)

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of the wide arched entrances still exists. "He says further that the rooms north of the bastion had been "fitted up for a school house" by Father Bouchu (Ibid.).

Corner' s interview with Sebastian Tejada, born in one of the mission dwellings, offers vivid structural information as well as poignant memories:

> "I was born here in 1813. I have lived here all my life. I was born about the time that Arredondo came through. This Mission seems to be much the same as when I first remember it--only some of the buildings were more complete. I remember the Convent before it was so much altered. I remember the arcades (row of arches of the Convent) and the granary which projected from the entrance on the southern boundary. Also the foundations of the old Church inside the walls projected from the granary--the present Church is quite new, except the front. I do not remember ever seeing the "baluarte"--(the fortified tower on the southeastern corner)--used but I have heard of its being used against the Indians. Yes I remember the hostile Indians coming upon us many times--but they were generally fought in my time inside the square of the Mission, The dwellings used to be much more used formerly. We use to have and house friendly Indians, but they mostly left at last. I remember when there were three Padres to do service here. The old church was pulled down about fifty years ago. Dependents of the Mission used to live in the barracks at the corner where the baluarte is. I remember another "baluarte" at the entrance opposite the granary. The walls by the other entrance of the western boundary had loop holes, too, but not round towers. I remember often the Spanish troops camping here. I remember Bowie well, he married Gov. Veramendi's daughter. He was a fine looking, fair man. I remember the army of Austin and Fannin camping here in 1835. They camped in the middle of the Plaza. Many colonists (he called them colonists of his own accord which was a touch of old days) came here at that time. I remember Santa Anna, I saw him. He had one leg. I remember very well that the dead of the Alamo fight were burnt. The Texans separately from the Mexican dead. It was the Mexican custom to thus burn their dead after battle. I remember the fight well. I don't know what the Texans defended in the Alamo, but thought it was the whole Mission walls. I don't know. I knew Senora Candelaria formerly. She is old, may be a hundred. She might have been in the Alamo during the fight. Quien Sabe." (Corner 1890: 23-24)

Bouchu at Espada

Corner introduces Father Francis Bouchu, the "wonderfully active and persevering" Frenchman who has been priest at Espada since 1858:

> He knows something of many subjects, which he has practically proved here at the Mission. "Padre Francisco" is Priest, lawyer, bricklayer, stone mason, photographer, historian, printer. His little pamphlets in Spanish would be a credit to an office of much larger pretensions. He has lived in this community for many years and is well versed in information pertaining to the history of the Missions, and being himself one of those Priests who join with their vocation a knowledge of practical handicraft, he enters into the spirit of the founders with more than ordinary keeness. He is simple, unaffected, and garrulous, and meets the wants of the little settlement. He has built with his own hands upon the ruin of the old Convent and arcade a comfortable Priest

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Figure 80. East elevation of the east compound wall of Espada, ca. 1900. The bastion is out of view to the left. Note the terne metal roofed room south of the gabled roof structure. The smaller room may have served as the classroom described by Corner. The church can be seen through a break in the compound wall. Courtesy ITC. (70/82)

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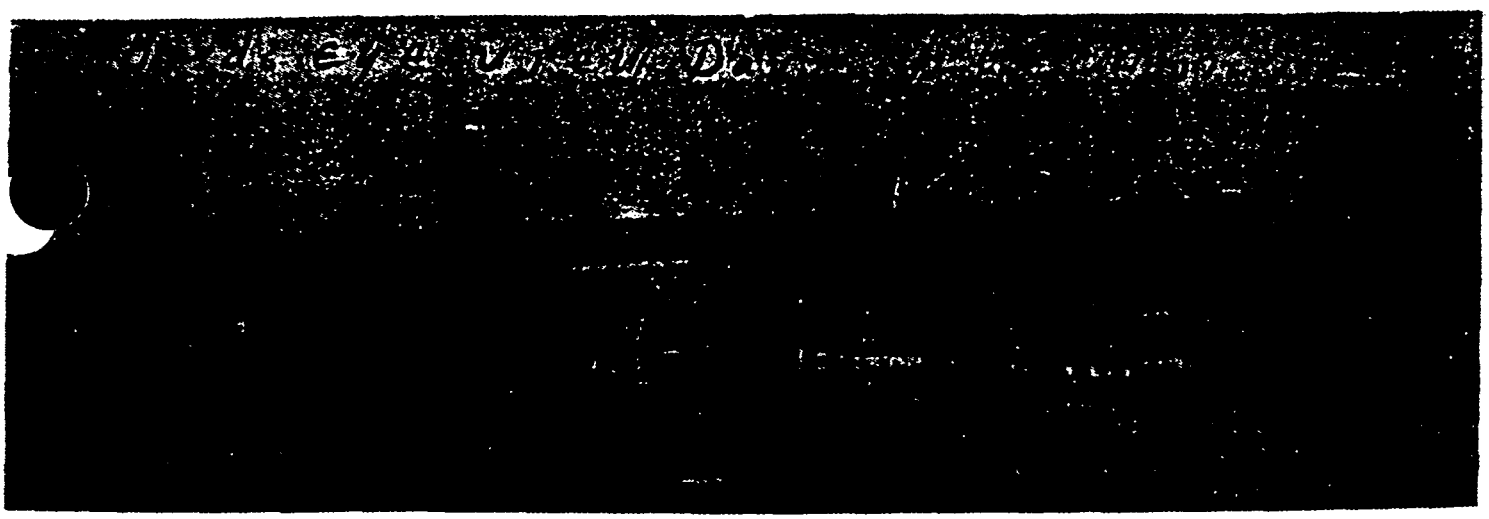

Figure 81. Espada compound from the west (ca. 1900). The arched gateway entrance and a blocked-up arch can be seen on the south wall. The arched entry to the bastion is obscured by the clothes line. This view also shows that only a single alignment remained along the east compound wall. Courtesy the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (50/81)

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Figure 82. Father Bouchu in front of the rectory of Espada, ca. 1900. There are glass panes in the window and door; and tile or brick, probably colonial, stacked against the wall. Courtesy of the Texas Catholic Archives. (68/83)

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> house. Under his rule the Mission Chapel has been almost entirely renewed, the front only retaining a portion of its ancient work. (Corner 1890:22)

Bouchu was said to have kept a diary, but, "granting its existence," according to one writer, "it too has disappeared with all his personal belongings and papers" (Scarborough 1928:392). Such a document would constitute probably the most valuable source of information on everyday life at Espada during this period. In the absence of Bouchu'a papers, however, deed records and other documentary sources will have to do.

In 1868 Bouchu bought the surviving buildings of the convento from Gregorio Casillas, the son of Rafael Casillas, who had purchased them from the Mexican government (BCDR U2:448). The description of the property in this deed indicates that the rooms transferred were the old kitchen and antecocina (a room leading into a kitchen) of the convento compound, and included approximately the south half of the convento itself. The kitchen and antecocina are described as "the ruins of two houses united at a right angle." The convento buildings are not described. There can be little doubt that the entire group of structures was far more deteriorated than they had been in 1824. Bouchu repaired and roofed the southern rooms of the convento, which survived to its original two story height. He made some repairs to the kitchen and antecocina, but these were probably in better condition and took less work.

The Church

Bouchu apparently did not begin work on the restoration of Espada Church until about 1884. In that year several tracts of Church-owned land were sold to him by Bishop J. C. Neraz, the proceeds of which were to be used for "rebuilding the old church at said Mission of Espada" (BCDR 34:417). such a date is confirmed by the photographic records of Espada.

Bouchu's sketches for this reconstruction are in the files of the Chancery of the Archdiocese of San Antonio. They consist of a ground plan of the intended structure and a perspective view of the completed building. The drawings are in ink with notes in French, in what appears to be Bouchu's hand. There are several alterations in pencil. They show that the original intent was to restore the church approximately according to the plan of 1824, but with the addition of transepts. Sections of thick wall appear on the plan--remnants of the early side walls of the church--and thinner walls where the side walls were to be replaced.

Including the new transepts, Bouchu's reconstruction of the church was completed by 1887. Each transept had a wide set of double doors and no window openings. Some time between 1890 and perhaps 1920 the sacristy was rebuilt on its present plan.

Corner describes the church of 1890:

> The Chapel is in the form of a cross. The front is the belfry tower and is that portion that is supposed to represent the likeness to a sword-- perhaps it bore more of that resemblance before its restoration. Its three bells clang out three times a day, and would be startling on the still country air to one who was ignorant of the vicinity of the Mission. It is said that some of the Mission bells were cast in San Antonio in its earliest days, so there is no knowing what these old Missionaries did not come prepared to do. There are several pretty little bits of wrought iron work in this and the other Missions. Here is another artistic accomplishment to be added to the list of

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> those possessed by the fathers. The entrance door of the Chapel is unmistakably Moorish, having the true Alhambra shape and lines. (Corner 1890: 22-23)

According to an old timer, in years immediately following Bouchu's reconstruction the church "had a bright unpainted metal roof, " and "was kept in good repair" (J. W. Schuhardt, "Around the Missions Half Century Ago," San Antonio Express, January 26, 1936).

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Figure 83. The convento (rectory) and church of Espada from the southeast (ca. 1885-90). Note the stone and wood fence enclosure. Courtesy Texas Catholic Archives. (149/82)

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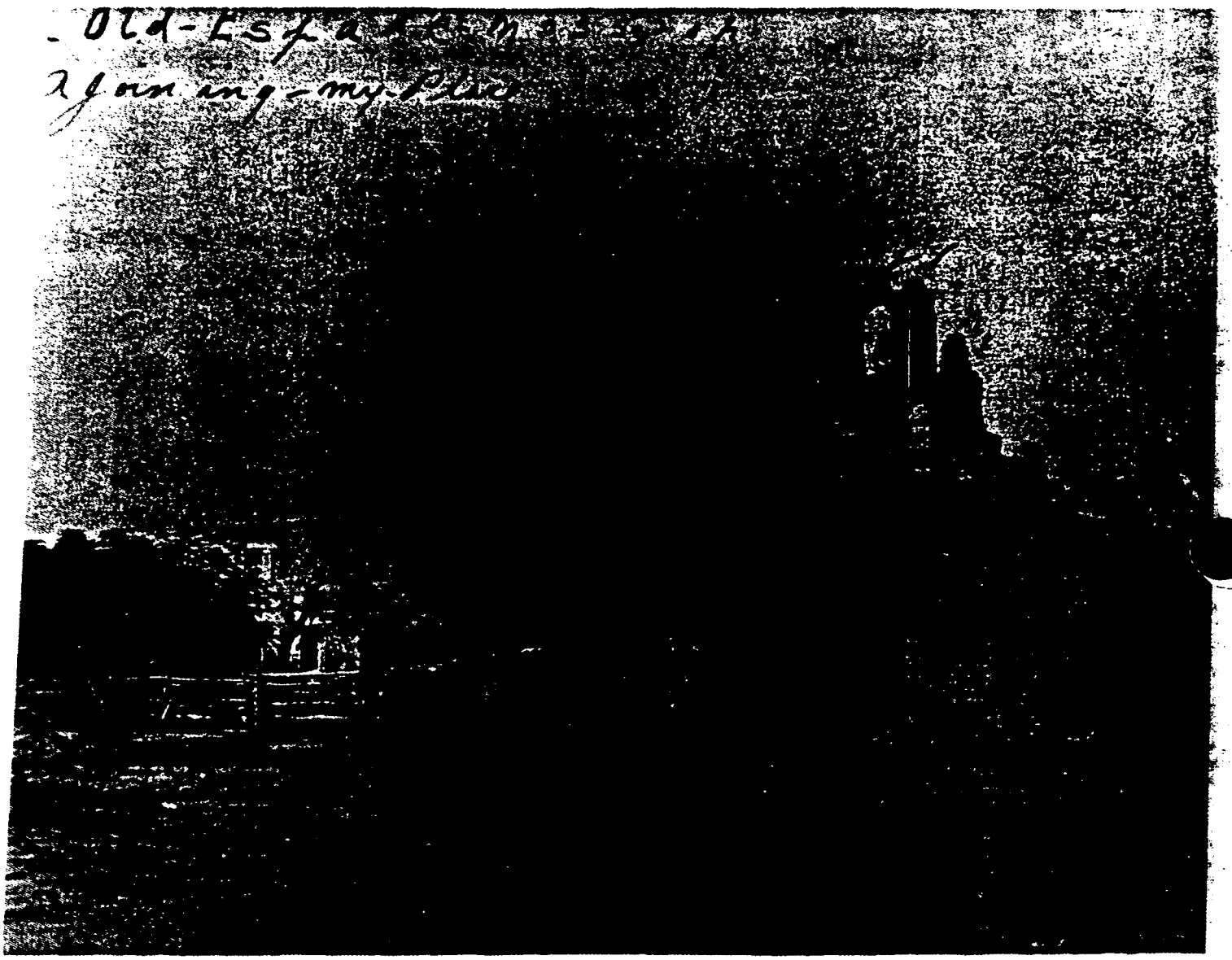

Figure 84. A view of the church and two-story convento of Espada from northeast (1887-1890). The handwritten note, "Old Espada Mission Ajoining my Place," is attributed to a Davis area resident. Courtesy of the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (41/81)

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Figure 85. The church and convento of Espada from the northeast (1887-1890). The corner of the camposanto can be seen, enclosed by a low stone wall. Courtesy the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (69/83)

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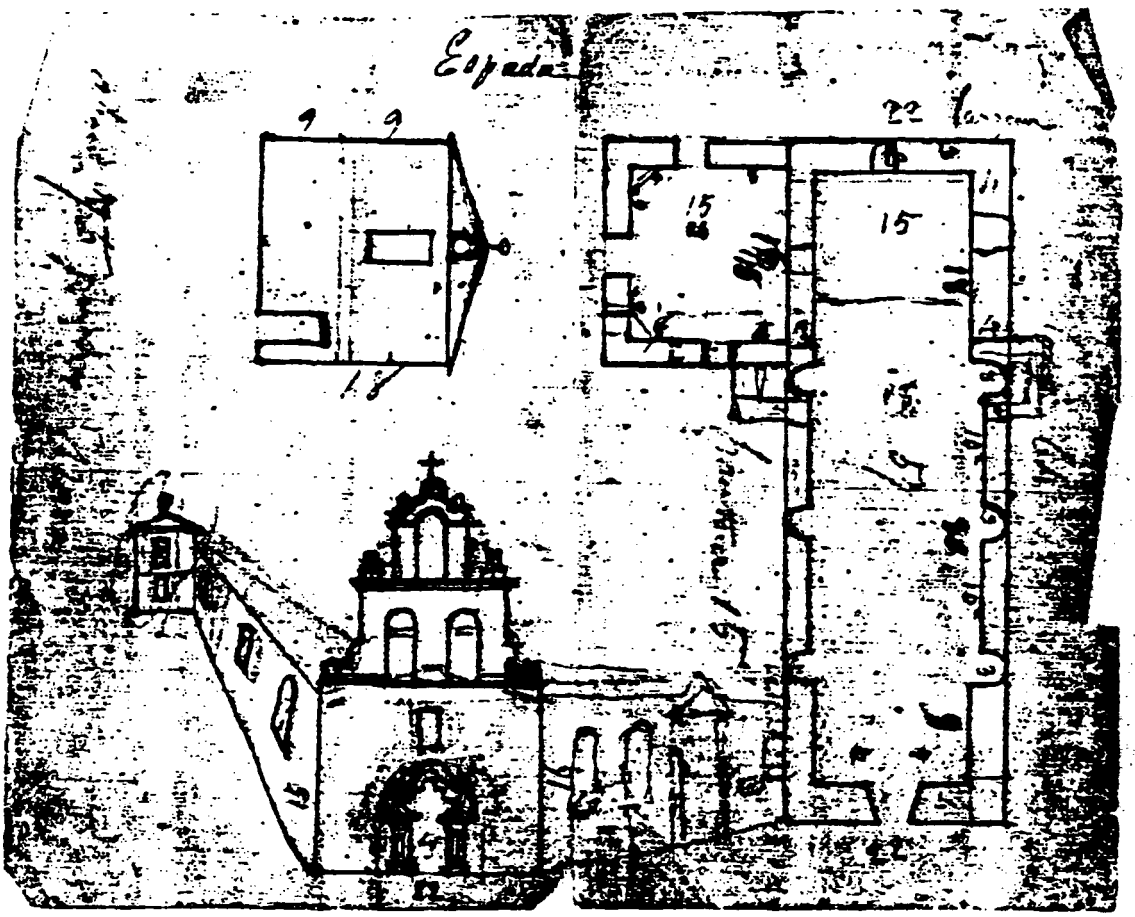

Figure 86. The plan and rough perspective drawing by Father Bouchu, showing how he intended to rebuild the church of Espada. Courtesy Archives of the Archdioscese of San Antonio.

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Figure 87. The east elevation of the chapel of Espada as Bouchu would have found it upon his arrival at Espada (1877). Note the low walls projecting from the structure's north and southeast corners. Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. (127/82)

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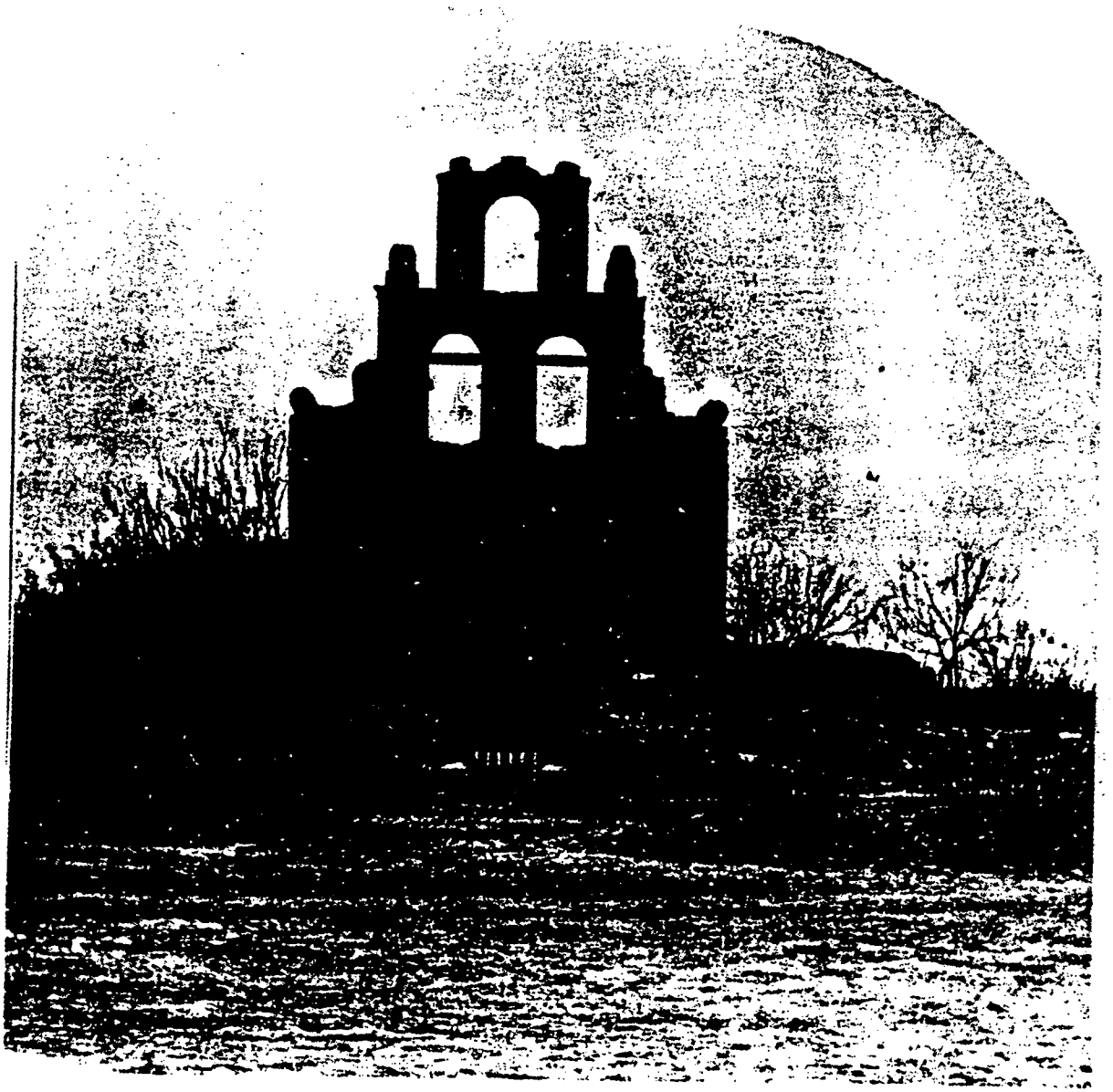

Figure 88. The southeast elevation of the chapel of Espada at the time of Corner's description (1890). Note the whitewashed doors and the absence of canales. Courtesy the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. (42/81)

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Figure 89. The north wall of the chapel of Espada, probably at the time of its completion (1887). The building has a low pitched roof and a transept with double doors. Note the patch of fresh mortar at the northeast corner, indicating the removal of the low wall seen in photograph #127/82. The arched entry to the bastion with its associated structures can be seen in the background. This dated photograph is from Bouchu's personal collection. Courtesy Texas Catholic Archives. (148/82)

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Appendix I: The Historic American Buildings Survey Records of the San Antonio Missions, ca. 1935-1986

[Include copies of all HABS drawings in this appendix]

Appendix II: A Brief Structural History of Mission San Antonio de Valero

The history of the establishment and construction of Mission San Antonio de Valero is constantly referred to in this study. For the purpose of comparison with the other missions, a brief review of its structural history through ca. 1830 is presented in this appendix.

On May 1, 1718 Mission San Antonio de Valero was established on the west side of the San Antonio River south of San Pedro Springs and a little north of the site of the Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar, established a few days later (Habig 1968:38). The mission stayed on this site for only 13 or 14 months, and then moved to the east bank of the San Antonio River in June or July 1719 (Ibid:42). The second site was described as being "dos tiros, de Escopeta," two gun-shots, from the present site (Sevillano de Paredes 1727:38). The distance between the town of San Antonio and the present site was also frequently described as "two gun-shots, " (Reference) so that the actual distance between the second and third sites of Valero is approximately known. The present distance from San Fernando Cathedral, the site of the original parish church of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria y Guadalupe and the effective center of the Villa de San Fernando de Bejar, is about 2500 feet. This is the approximate distance referred to later as "two gunshots," and should be considered the distance between the second and present sites of Mission San Antonio de Valero. The relative direction between the two sites was never stated, so that the general location of the second site can only be guessed at.

Since the second site had to occupy the same relative position to the river as do all the other missions, where the acequia can pass close by, there are only two general areas where it is likely to have been. One is 2500 feet north of Valero on the acequia, and the other is on the acequia south of the mission the same distance. Because of the terrain, the southern site is more likely. This would give a general location for the second site in the area of the present intersection of Alamo Street and Durango Boulevard.

The Second Site and the Chapel of Santa Cruz:

A surprising amount of information about the structures on the second site is available. In 1727 Fr. Paredes y Sevillano described the buildings: the mission consisted of "un Torreonsillo... y unos jacalitos," a little tower and some small jacales (1727:38). After the mission was moved to its third site in 1724, the mission building on the second site became the Chapel of Santa Cruz, and was mentioned in reports through 1762. After that year, it disappears from the records.

The Chapel of Santa Cruz was not described in 1745, but in 1756 Fr. Ortiz stated that:

> *Se ha fabricado una Capilla a distancia de mas de una quadra de la Mission, sitio en que estaba la Mision en t.po del V.e P.e Margil, de onc,e varas de largo, y quatro de ancho de piedra en que se h.a colocado una Santissima Cruz de piedra . . . .*
>
> They have built a Chapel at a distance of more than a block from the mission, on the site where the Mission was established in the time of the Venerable Padre Margil, of eleven varas in length, and four in width, of stone, in which is located a most sacred cross of stone . . . . (Ortiz 1955, vol. 3:13)

Fr. Dolores y Viana described the Chapel in 1759:

> *A distancia de quatro quadras regulares, esta una Capilla de onze Varas de largo, con su choriio . . . Tiene tambien d.ha Capilla varias piezas, e instrumentos, para carpinteria, y albañileria . . .*

> At a distance of four average blocks, is a chapel of eleven varas in length, with its small choir loft . . . The said Chapel also has various rooms, and the tools for carpentry and the stone mason . . . (Dolores y Viana 1759:1499)

In 1762 Fr. Dolores y Viana mentioned the chapel for the last time. The description was about the same as those previous, except that he remarks that the chapel is "vien labrada de piedra," well made of stone.

The Chapel of Santa Cruz is not mentioned in the 1772 inventory, or in any later reports. It can only be assumed that the site was abandoned and later granted to private landowners.

The Third Site:

In 1724 Valero was moved from its second to its third site, where it is today. The reason for the move is given by Sevillano de Paredes:

> *"vino un furioso uracan, y derribo todos los Xacales con notable destroso de lo que habia. Por esto se mudo la Mision a citio mas acomodado que es donde aora se halla."*
>
> "there came a furious hurricane, and knocked down all the jacals with notable destruction of that which they had. Because of this the mission was moved to a more accommodating site where it is now." (Sevillano de Paredes 1727:38)

From the description, it can be assumed that the "uracan" was a tornado. This event was significant not only because of the resulting move of the sites of the mission, but also because among the mission property destroyed were the original copies of the grant of San Antonio de Valero's land, including the property which became its ranchland. In 1731 Fr. Gabriel de Vergara requested the regranting of mission land to Valero:

> *"por averse perdido d.ho instrumento en accidentes q.e haparecido la Mission cadiendose los jacales a la violencia de unos fuertes Vracanes."*
>
> "because of having lost the said instruments in an unexpected accident which knocked down the jacales of the mission in the violence of a powerful hurricane." (Vergara 1731:3562-3563)

According to the statement by Fr. Vergara, there were no other copies of the grant.

In the three years from the destruction of the second site and the move to the present site in 1724, reported Fr. Sevillano de Paredes, the missionaries had completed three cells of the convento and were building a fourth cell and a workroom complex, all of stone and adobe. The jacales where the Indians lived were finished, and the acequia had been completed four years earlier, in 1723. A jacal was in use as the church, and others formed the temporary residences of the missionaries. Stone had been gathered for the construction of the permanent church, but no work would begin until a stonemason was made available to the mission (Sevillano de Paredes 1727: 38-40).

The four cells and granary mentioned by Fr. Sevillano de Paredes formed the core structures of the convento of San Antonio de Valero, and were probably the ground floor rooms on the west side of the convento. These rooms still stand today, and are known as the "Long Barracks." The original portions of these rooms are probably the oldest standing structures in San Antonio.

The location of the jacales for the Indians is not known, but were probably in the northern end of present Alamo Plaza where the later permanent Indian quarters were begun.

Valero in 1745

In 1745, 21 years after the establishment of Valero on its present site, Fr. Francisco Ortiz made the next available report on the structures of the mission. The foundations of the permanent church were finished, and were of stone and lime mortar. In the meantime another building was in use as the church. It had a choir loft and a sacristy. In addition to the four cells compltsted by 1727, the convento had three rooms on the second floor, probably also on the west side. Adjoining the convento building was the workroom complex mentioned by Fr. Sevillano de Paredes. It consisted of a weaving workshop, a granary, and several other rooms used for storerooms. A blacksmith shop, carpenter's shop, and stonemason's shop had been finished. The pueblo for the Indians formed two streets, divided by an acequia. Some were still of jacal with thatched roofs, while others were of adobe (Ortiz 1745:1266-1268).

The Report of 1756

Fr. Ortiz's second report, made in 1756, indicates that things had not gone well in the construction of the permanent church. While construction was still in progress it fell "por haver salido poco segura," as a result of instability. Provisions were being made for its rapid replacement. Meanwhile, the old church described in 1745 continued in use. The convento now had four cells on the second floor, and on the first floor had various storerooms and a guestroom. A door to the choir loft of the temporary church opened from a landing of the stairs of the convento. The weaving workshop and the blacksmith shop were mentioned in passing.

The Indian pueblo consisted of ten houses of jacal and twenty houses of adobe. The adobe houses had porches with stone arches, and with the church formed a spacious street (Ortiz 1955:7-21).

The Report of 1759

The 1759 report, by Fr. Dolores y Viana, supplied the next look at Valero. The permanent church, begun again since te collapse of the first attempt at its construction sometime between 1745 and 1756, had reached about half its final height, and was intended, to be vaulted and very spacious. Serving as the church, said Fr. Dolores y Viana, was "la misma pieza... en las antecedentes Visitas," the same room as in the previous visits (Dolores y Viana 1759:1495).

The convento had neither been added to nor reduced, Fr. Dolores y Viana stated. It consisted of 16 rooms which served as cells and storerooms. They formed two patios. The principal patio had corredores on the first and second floors, while the second was formed by the weaving workshop, the stables, and other storerooms of lesser importance.

The workshops were briefly described. The blacksmith shop was of adobe, while the carpenter's shop was still of jacal. In addition to these shops there was a jacal containing a sugar cane mill, and the necessary kettles and equipment for boiling the juice and molding sugar cones.

The Indian pueblo formed a large plaza. On "varios lienzos," several sides, of the plaza were stone houses with porches. This statement may indicate the existance of walls enclosing the plaza by 1759, in which case they were built between 1756 and 1759 (Dolores y Viana 1759:1494-1501).

Valero in 1762

Fr. Dolores y Viana returned to Valero in 1762, and gave us the next description of the appearance of the mission. The permanent church still stood to only half its height, and the temporary church apparently continued in use. It was described as being about 97 feet long with a choir loft and a second room serving as a sacristy, and Fr. Dolores y Viana remarked that it was built with the original *ntent of being a granary. This temporary church apparently extended south from the southwest corner of the convento, since it communicated with the convento by a doorway from the stairs of the convento to the choir loft. All available evidence indicates that these stairs were in the south end of the western corredor.

The convento was about 139 feet square, exterior measurement, and had an arcaded cloister on the first and second floors. In the convento were cells, a porteria, a refectory, a kitchen, and storerooms. In the second patio adjoining the convento was the weaving workshop, and adjacent to this were two other rooms in which were stored cotton, wool, and weaving equipment. A granary was somewhere in the area, but its size and location are not given. This was probably the same granary mentioned in the second patio in several previous reports.

The Indian pueblo consisted of seven rows of stone houses, each with doors, windows, and an arcaded porch. They formed a wide plaza enclosed with walls for the protection of the mission. Through the plaza flowed an acequia, and elsewhere in it, possibly in the convento, was a well to ensure that the mission had water in time of seige. The plaza was planted with trees, some of them fruit-trees. Above the main gate of the pueblo was a tower with embrasures and three cannon (Dolores y Viana 1961:248-252).

The Inventory of 1772

As with the other missions, the inventory of 1772 gives us our first detailed look at Valero. A number of changes had occurred. The permanent church had been completed to the point where the ribs of the vaults were being built, and the vaulting itself had been completed over the sanctuary. The sacristy of the new church was complete, and was in use as the church. An adjoining room, apparently one of the rooms of the south row of convento rooms, was being used as the sacristy. The old temporary church, in use since at least 1745, had been torn down and the doorway to the stairs of the convento closed. A major reason for the removal of the temporary church was that it apparently stood across the area directly in front of the new church, separating it from the pueblo. The towers of the new church stood to about the height of the church walls, and the facade was completed to the height of the wall.

The convento was built around a patio containing a well. The first floor level of the patio was encircled by an arcaded cloister. The cloister had a roof on three sides of the patio, but the east side had yet to be roofed. On the west and south sides were the upper cloister; no second story cloister had yet been built on the north and east sides of the patio. On the west side of the patio was the porteria, with a room on either side of it of the same size. One was a workshop and the other was a storeroom. Above these on the second floor were three other rooms of the s ame size. Two of these were cells for the missionaries, and the third was a guestroom. The guestroom was almost uninhabitable because part of the roof was falling in and was propped up. The cell next to the guestroom had a wooden partition subdividing the room into an alcove for sleeping and a study area and refectory. The second cell was also divided into two sections, one for sleeping and the other an office. In the bedroom section was a hatchway leading down into the storeroom next to the porteria. Somewhere in this complex was the kitchen, with its cooking equipment listed. The workshop on the other side of the porteria was not

described, nor were any of the first or second story rooms on the south side of the convento. In fact, the actual number and location of any other rooms in the convento is not indicated.

The second patio contained the weiaving workshop, a wool and cotton prepation room, a wool storage room, and another storeroom for odds and ends most of which were unusable. In the same area was the granary. Next to the granary the bells of the mission were mounted on a wooden framework. Also apparently in the second patio area was the blacksmith shop.

The pueblo was made up of five rows of houses, each of which contained three houses. Each house was about 22 feet long, and had its door to the east and a window to the west, and had an arcaded porch or corredor of stone, apparently on the east side so that the doors opened onto the porches. In addition to these fifteen houses in five blocks there were two other houses separate from them. These two houses had no porches. It would appear from the description that the five blocks of houses formed the western side of the plaza, and were a single line connected with sections of single wall. The other two houses may have been on the east side of the plaza north of the convento, or outside the enclosing wall. This picture of the pueblo is supported by later historical documents and recent archeology. No description of the fortified main entrance is given in the inventory. In general, the Valero inventory is the least detailed of those carried out in 1772 (Saenz de Gumiel 1977:7-40).

Valero in 1786

Fr. Francisco Lopez described this mission in 1786. The church was in the same condition as in 1772, and the sacristy continued to serve as a temporary church. A room of the convento next to the sacristy was in use as a sacristy. The granary was of stone and adjoined the convento, which was not described in any detail. The pueblo consisted of fifteen or sixteen houses built against the enclosing wall.

Valero at the Time of Secularization in 1793

Fr. Francisco Lopez carried out the final description of Valero when it was completely secularized in 1793. The work on the permanent church had not progressed, and it was still in the condition described in 1772. The convento was described in some detail by Fr. Lopez. In the main patio, the west side ground floor contained four rooms and a small room in the landing of the stairs, while the south side had four rooms in addition to the room in use as the sacristy, adjacent to the sacristy being used as the church. On the second story, the west side had three rooms, apparently over the southern three rooms of the first floor. The south side does not appear to have any second story rooms. The west side had a gallery or cloister at both levels, while the south side has a gallery at the first floor level in front of the south side roonlS, and apparently only a gallery at the second floor level, above the first floor rooms. On the north side were five rooms, the westernmost of which was the kitchen with a chimney. East of this were four other rooms with no specified use. There were no second floor structures on this side. In front of this side was a gallery of four arches, of which only one section had a roof. On the east side was only an unfinished gallery, with no roof, floor, or plastering.

In the second patio to the north was the granary, extending north from the convento. It had no roof in 1793. A jacal granary had been built in front of the entrance to the convento to be used until the stone granary was roofed. Next to the stone granary was another room with a flagstone floor. A bulwark or cannon position with a one-pound brass cannon also stood in front of the door into the convento.

The pueblo walls stood to a height of over eight feet, and were about two feet thick. On the west side, the north half of the wall was in good condition, but the south half was in ruins. A large gateway stood

in the south wall. The Indian quarters were along the west wall. Only 12 were usable, and an unstated number were in ruins (Lopez 1793:5435-5449).

Valero After Secularization

The Compania Volante de San Carlos de Parras arrived in San Antonio on December 29, 1802, and was assigned to construct barracks in the ruined houses of San Antonio de Valero by the Governor of Texas, Nemesio Salcedo (Nemesio Salcedo, Bexar Archives, roll 30, frames 947-949). In August, 1803, Vicente Amador, the Alcalde of Mission Valero, turned over all keys to the rooms of the mission to Captain Francisco Amangual, the commander of the Compania Volante (Amador to Amangual, August 6, 1803, Bexar Archives, roll 31, frame 473). The available records indicate that the personnel of the Compania Volante kept the surviving buildings of Mission Valero in use and reasonable repair for most of the next 25 years. The Indian quarters became barracks, and a military hospital, the first hospital in San Antonio, was established in the convento in October, 1805 (Medicine in San Antonio: 16). In 1809 the convento was completely refurbished for the hospital. Most of the roofs and walls were repaired (Mariano Varela, Bexar Archives, roll 41, frames 206-207). During the same period the small south gate structure of the mission had several rooms added, and became the guard-room complex later known as the "Low Barracks." Part of this construction may be recorded in a bill for work done in 1808 by Francisco Amangual, the commander of the Compania Volante (Amangual, Bexar Archives, roll 37, frame 660, Feb. 10, 1808).

Not all the Indian quarters became military barracks. In 1785, seven years before the mission was secularized, Fr. Francisco Lopez granted the southwestern corner room of the pueblo and a tract of land and house outside the wall at the southwest corner (Lopez to Charli, May 25, 1785, BCDR Vol. G1:1). So far as is known, this is the earliest granting of mission buildings to a private owner in the San Antonio missions. Charli's descendants continued to live in the two buildings throughout the period of occupation of the mission by the Compania Volante.

In the 1820s it was decided to move the Compania Volante out of the old mission, and to sell off the Indian quarters.

The problem of determining San José's first location is a difficult one. The original site on the east bank of the San Antonio river cannot be located by documentary evidence alone. Few of the available documents contain any spatial information at all, and what little there is, is suspect.

"That the first site of Mission San Jos@ was on the east bank of the San Antonio River . . . is clearly stated in the Cronica which Fr. Espinosa completed in 1744 and had printed in 1746-1747," writes Fr. Marion Habig (1968a:85). Espinosa says:

> . . . *poniendo una mission, por parte de su Colegio de Zacatecas, con el titulo de señor San José . . . y se ha mantenido hasta hoy, con sola diferencia de haber mudado de sitio de una banda a otra por el rio abajo, donde tiene su iglesia de terrado y vivienda para los religiosos, y saca de agua para regar las sementeras.*
>
> . . . they placed a mission on behalf of the College of Zacatecas with the title of Señor San José . . . and it has been maintained up to the present, with the difference only of having moved the site from one bank to the other on the lower river, where it has a flat-roofed church, a dwelling for the missionaries, and an irrigation ditch to water the planted fields. (1964:758)

Some information about the location of the first site of San José is available in the foundation document itself. Lieutenant-General Juan Valdes, the Captain-General (military commander) of Texas, states that on February 23, 1720, the missionaries were waiting for him at a jacal built near the proposed location of the dam for the San José acequia (Valdes 1720 in Leutenegger and Habig 1978:27-42). From this point, Valdes and the other founding officials followed the general alignment of the proposed acequia down the river valley for 3/4 league, or about 2 miles, where they came to a level, spacious elevated area. They agreed on this as the best location for the new mission. Valdes and all others present decided that the site was a little more than 3 leagues, or about 8 miles, from Mission San Antonio de Valero's location in 1720. Valero was on its second site from 1719 to 1724. This site has not been found, but was within 1/4 league (3,500 feet) of its present location (probably to the south) and on the east side of the river. That the distance was measured from Valero indicates that the site for San José was also on the east side of the river.

Following the general lines of the river, a distance of 3 leagues south from the present location of Valero takes us approximately to Mission San Juan. The present site of San José is closer to Valero, being between 4 and 5 1/2 miles, (about 1 1/2 to 2 leagues) downstream, depending on how precisely the line of the river is followed. If Valdes's estimate of the distance to the first site of San José is correct, then it was located near San Juan, not Concepción. If it was incorrect, then the site was probably closer to Valero, since the irrigable flood plain of the San Antonio River ends at the south edge of the labores of San Juan.

One other reference to San José's original site is available. This is the map of the immediate area around the presidio drawn by the Marquis de Aguayo. He prepared the map as part of his letter to the Viceroy de Casafuerte about September, 1730, when he argued for the placing of a colony of Canary Islanders near Presidio San Antonio, on the east side of the river between San Antonio de Valero and San José (Castaneda, 1936:280-81). The map shows the San Antonio area as Aguayo remembered it from his visit to the mission in April, 1721. Based on the map, it would appear that as of early 1721 San José was still located on the east bank, opposite the point where San Pedro Creek flowed into the San Antonio River.

Examination of the foundation documents for the Querétaran missions in 1731 reveals that the first estimates of distances from the Presido de Bexar or from San Antonio de Valero were excessive. It is reasonable to assume, then. that the first site of San José was closer to Valero than estimated by Valdes. Espinosa's statement quoted above does not actually say that the site was moved downstream, but only that it was on the river below the presidio, and that it was moved from one side to the other. The available evidence, discussed above, indicates that the move was from east to west.

A possible location for the first site was found during recent archeological investigations. Work at Mission Concepción in 1981 turned up a section of trash-filled acequia near the western edge of the mission compound, which according to the artifact content was abandoned very early, possibly as early as the 1720s. The content also implied that the settlement for which the acequia was built was nearby. This acequia may be the system built for Concepción beginning in 1731 and changed in the 1750s, or it could have been part of the irrigation system for Mission San José on its original site, or for Mission San Xavier de Nájera, established on the site of Concepción in March, 1722. All available historical evidence argues that no acequia or structures were ever built for Nájera.

During the archeological surveys carried out as part of the establishment of Mission Parkway and as part of an examination of anomalies seen on aerial photographs by the National Park Service, an area has been identified just outside the north wall of Mission San Juan that has early ceramics in the Spanish Colonial trash dumps. No further investigations have been made, but the presence of these ceramics makes it possible that there was a site from the 1720s located at the north side of San Juan.

Until evidence to the contrary is found, it can be assumed that the original site of Mission San José was either in the immediate area of Mission Concepción, probably just west of Mission Road in front of Concepción's church, or that it was at or near the north edge of Mission San Juan.

The author prefers the Concepción location of the first site. The principal reasons for this preference are: 1) the site of Concepción corresponds to the site of San José as shown on the Aguayo map; and 2) the same site was later selected for San Francisco de Nájera, and after its abandonment, for Concepción. The site of Concepción is obviously the first good site on the east bank of the river south of Valero. Therefore, if someone set out to establish a mission on the east bank of the San Antonio River south of Valero, the first site they would have looked at seriously was that of Concepción. A full 3 leagues downriver would place the new mission an unreasonable distance from the Presidio of San Antonio, making the Captain-General's job of protecting the missions difficult.

However, the Concepción site had a serious problem for the founders of San José. The Indians that were to occupy the new mission were enemies of the Indians living in Valero. For this reason, the Franciscans of Valero petitioned Juan Valdes, the Captain-General of Texas, that when San José was established it would be at least 3 leagues from Valero, as required by the laws of the Indies, so as to prevent possible conflicts between the two groups (Leutenneger and Habig, 1978:20-26). On the same day he received this petition, Valdes assembled a group of experts and representatives from Valero and from the proposed new mission of San José and set out to select a site for it. Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares, the founder and chief missionary of San Antonio de Valero and the author of the petition for the full legal spacing between the two missions, was to have accompanied the group as the representative for Valero, but for unknown reasons sent his assistant, Fray Joséph Guerra, instead. In other words, Fray Olivares wanted to be sure that a full 8 miles of river bank stood between the two missions, but he was not present for the actual selection of the site.

The author suspects that the site of Concepción was selected, even though it was only half the distance required by law. When Fray Olivares heard of the choice, or when he rode down the river bank to see it for himself, he realized that it was much too close, in violation of the laws he had invoked. He protested to the Captain-General, and after due consideration the site was moved south across the river

to the present location. Here, even though the linear distance was still only about 2 leagues, the river separated the two missions. The later history of mission founding on the river indicates that in practice the laws governing the distance between missions applied only to missions on the same side of the river. Apparently everyone considered the new location to be acceptable: Valero thought it separate enough for their peace of mind, the Captain-General considered it close enough to the presidio to be easily defended, and the Franciscans of San José saw that it had at least as many good qualities as the site just across the river. Since they had agreed with the Querétaran missionaries of Valero that the Querétarans would move north from San Antonio in their endeavors, and the Zacatecans south, they were obviously in a better location logistically, too. The missionaries of San José immediately began construction on temporary buildings and the acequia for the fields.

The site was moved from the east to the west bank within 3 years of the founding on February 23, 1720. If the first location of San José was at Concepción, as logic and the available hints in the records suggests, then the move had to occur between April, 1721, when Aguayo visited the mission at the location he remembered and recorded on his map in 1730, and March, 1722, when the same site was selected for Nájera. Even if the site was near San Juan, the move had occurred by 1727, when the engineer Pedro de Rivera observed it on the west bank (Leutenegger and Habig, 1978:47-48). The actual situation, involving some slight friction between the two missions of Valero and San José, probably made the change occur soon after the visit of Aguayo in April, 1721. In fact, the problem with the location and conflict between Valero and San José may have been brought to Aguayo during this visit, and he may have made the decision to move the mission. Certainly it could not have been much later, because the acequia had been completed by June of 1724 (Habig, 1968:86).

On March 12, 1722, the old site of San José was selected for Mission San Francisco Xavier de Nájera, possibly because the temporary buildings of San José still stood there. In the founding documents for this mission, the site was stated to be 1 league, or 2.6 miles, south of the second site of Valero, which places it on or near the present site of Concepción (Castañeda 1936:161). In this instance, the estimated distance from Valero to the site can be shown to have been roughly correct: nine years later in 1731, when Concepción received title to this land, the deed stated explicitly that the site granted had belonged to the Mission of Nájera, but was now abandoned. Unfortunately, the Nájera founding documents made no mention of any previous ownership of the site by San José (Castañeda, 1936:161). Nájera was allowed to be placed so close to Valero because the Indians of the two missions were friendly. In fact, at first the Indians of Nájera were to be placed in Valero, but the Franciscans decided that they were too numerous and needed their own mission. Eventually the effort to establish Nájera was abandoned and the few remaining Indians still interested finally did move to Valero.

There are no founding documents for San José on its second site. It is possible that the original document was accepted as the legal deed to the second site as well, since there is nothing in it that explicitly rules out one site or the other. The description of the new mission as it was laid out is probably also equally correct for both sites, even to the sizes of the blocks around the plaza. Certainly the structural history of the present site of San José indicates that it must have been planned with the same general sizes and approach.

The outline of the mission plaza and the location of the various religious and secular buildings of the mission were marked out on the two sites. The Indian quarters were apparently arranged in blocks with fronts of about 333 feet along streets around the plaza, as was the practice at the time (Leutenegger and Habig 1978:35).

According to Valdes's statements, the first site of the proposed dam for the irrigation system was two miles north of the site chosen for the mission. If the original site were located at Concepción, this would place the dam approaimately where Concepción's dam was located later. This implies that the Concepción acequia system may have once been the acequia for San José's first site (ibid).

The Second Site:

The site San José occupied on the west bank was probably the present one. There is insufficient evidence to accept the possibility of a site intermediate between the original location on the east bank and the present location on the west. Only two references support the hypothesis of an intermediate site. In 1750, Fr. Francisco Vallejo said that San José had been placed "en varias situasiones" (Leutenegger and Habig 1978:105), a phrase which means approximately "in several localities." Within the context of the document it is reasonable to assume that Vallejo was not referring to the number of previous sites San José had occupied--only that it had moved. The second reference used to support the intermediate site hypothesis was a series of statements made by Father Alto Hoermann, the head of the Benedictine attempt to renovate San José in the 1860s for use as a monastery. In his novel, *The Daughter of Tehuan*, published in German in 1866 and in English translation in 1932, Hoermann states:

> The original site of Mission San José was in the lowlands about half a mile from the present location; on one side covered by the low ridge in which the prairie terminates, on the other surrounded by the high pecan trees which grow on the river banks. It was built of adobe and the spot is still marked by a pile of debris. The new buildings were erected on the high prairie. The lowland--not more than twenty-five feet lower--was found to be unhealthy. (Hoermann 1932:27)

This passage can be taken as no more than a recitation of local tradition. The context indicates that Hoermann considered the previous site of the mission to have been on the west side of the river on a lower terrace than the present site. This is described as the "original" site, apparently in error. In other words, Hoermann knew that the mission had been moved, but knew of only one, not two, previous sites. It is possible that his information was correct, and San José had an intermediate site on the west bank between ca. 1722 and 1739, but it is equally possible that he misunderstood the references to a previous site and its location. Certainly Hoermann' s statement that the lower site was "unhealthy" is correct; such a location would have been devastated almost annually by the serious floods to which the San Antonio River was prone before it was channelized and dammed in the twentieth century. Because of their awareness of this tendency of rivers, Franciscans never placed a mission in their floodplains. In the absence of supporting evidence, Hoermann's statements cannot justify an intermediate site between the original and the present ones. Therefore, we will assume that in ca. 1721 San José was established in its present location.

The 1755 and 1757 inventories show that by the time they were prepared, the main outlines of the present convento of San José already existed. Since the first stone church certainly adjoined the convento at some point, a portion of the first stone church must survive as a portion of the convento wall. The most likely location for the church is at the west end of the convento where variations in wall thickness are difficult to explain unless they are the remnants of one wall of the first stone church. The point of attachment was apparently the southwest corner of the westernmost ground level room of the convento (room 1). North of that point, the west wall of room 1 is 2 feet 11 1/2 inches thick, forming a thinner panel in the east face of the present church building. This is the same thickness as the convento north wall in this area. South of this point the present east wall of the church is 3 feet 6 inches thick, still somewhat thinner than the general thickness of the remainder of the church walls, which average 4 feet everywhere except the facade. At present, this increased thickness continues to the southeastern corner of the sacristy, where the wall again narrows to 2 feet 9 inches--close to the thickness of the remainder of the convento wall.

Taking into account the known plan and dimensions of the church, the history of the other structures around the church and convento, and the presence of a filled doorway through the west wall of the "corredor" south of the present sacristy (which was apparently closed well before 1785), the simplest arrangement of the association of church and sacristy would be for the church to have faced south, and the east face of the east transept to have been against the convento. The filled doorway then would have opened into the original sacristy west of the convento and south of the transept; a portion of the sacristy wall would therefore survive as the section of convento wall 2 feet 9 inches thick extending south from the present sacristy doorway.

The southwestern section of corredor would have served as the formal connection between the convento and the sacristy, a standard arrangement of mission complexes. A similar plan was used at Mission San Antonio de Valero, although the corredor here was eventually converted to a two-story row of rooms.

The westernmost room of the second story was not there when the present church was built. The east wall of the church shelves out 4 1/2 inches at the roof line of the ground floor room, indicating that only this lower room existed at the time of the demolition of the first stone church and the subsequent construction of the east wall of the present church at a thickness of 3 feet 6 inches. Also, the original south wall of this room along the corredor, later removed by the Benedictines, was of continuous fabric with the west end wall of the corredor (originally part of church 1), and the west wall of room #1 on the ground floor. Remaining traces show that the second floor section was an abutting wall, with perhaps one or two bonding stones inserted. An abutting joint is visible along the north edge of the scar of the second floor south wall of room #1, indicating that south of this point the wall of the first stone church stood to approximately the height of the top of the arcade wall. North of this abutting joint, the wall was added during construction of the present church.

All of this indicates that the corredor and room #1 on the second floor did not exist at the same time as the first stone church, but was added as part of the construction of church 2, the present church. This is confirmed by the documentation, which strongly indicates that no second floor corredor existed prior to the construction of the present church.

The second-level addition was made during the construction of the new church. The addition probably occurred in the early 1770s, when the walls of the church reached the height of the ground level walls. At this point room #1 of the second level was bonded into the new addition to the old wall of the church above the old ground level convento room. The southern wall of this second level room (the

northern wall of the corredor of the second level) was butted against the remains of the old east wall remaining from the first stone church.

This is a hypothetical sequence of events based onthe surviving structural traces visible in the convento. The remaining segments of wall tell us some details about the early construction of the buildings. The first church was of soft limestone with some yellow sandstone, while the convento was built largely of yellow sandstone. This can be seen by examining the remains of the original south wall of room #1 on the convento ground level, which was built of yellow sandstone. The west wall of the corredor and room #1, the surviving sections of church 1, are predominantly of limestone chunks. By comparison, the additions to the convento contained more limestone, and the second church more yellow sandstone: the area where the south wall of room #1 on the second level abutted the end wall of the church seems to be predominantly limestone, while the wall on either side contains a large amount of yellow sandstone.

However, before any of the construction at the second level, a number of other construction events had to occur, preparing for the planned room layout of the rebuilt convento and the communications between it and the church. First, a portion of the old church wall was removed and the doorway to the planned tribune was built into this opening with brick. At the same time, another opening was cut through the old church wall and the new sacristy doorway built into it. The excess wall of the old church above the present sacristy was removed, and the new second level arcade built, where it still forms an odd little buttress at the point of intersection with the church.

An examination of the walls, and of notes by Ernst Schuchard in 1935 concerning wall painting at the missions, indicate that the traces of painted plaster which survive probably date from the ca. 1770 work (Schuchard 1935:25). Abutting joints and peculiar changes in the angles of walls at the east end of the convento indicate that the kitchen complex was also part of the 1770s additions, and that before this the convento ended at about the east wall of room 5. For example, the arch fronting the kitchen springs at its north end from a pedestal abutting the original pedestal of the east-west arch along the main corredor. A photo made by Sommerville in ca. 1915, when the oven built into the kitchen area was partly in ruins, shows that the front of the oven is built against an arch somewhat lower and narrower in span than the arches of the arcade wall of the convento. This arch would have divided the kitchen into two sections before the Benedictines built the vaulted brick oven into it. Its only purpose was apparently to support the flying buttress built onto the end of the arcade wall of the second story. The arch across the kitchen is built at right angles to the north-south walls of the kitchen, and at a slight angle to the arcade wall. This indicates that it and the second story flying buttress were later additions to the convento, perhaps added to ease the strain of the new, extended second story arcade added in the ca. 1770 reconstruction.

The arch was probably one of the features of the kitchen that caused it to be described as a *cocina doble* (double kitchen) in 1823. The thin partition wall north of the arch is apparently on the location of the north wall of the kitchen in 1823, but since it cannot be seen, its date of construction cannot be estimated. Again, Benedictine changes in this area obscure much of the evidence.

Morfí's description indicates that all new construction of the convento had been completed before his visit in 1778 (Morfí 1935a:227-28). This must have included the plastering and painting. Since the brick-lined doorway to the tribune must also have been built prior to the plastering and painting, and must have been built after construction began in 1768, a median date of about 1775 is reasonable for the decorative work.

The evidence of the stairwell walls indicates the complete relocation of the two crosswalls enclosing the stairs. The line of the floor of the landing can be generally determined across the north wall of the

stairwell, and above it are traces of a decorative dado of red paint. Above this, as usual, the walls were painted white. The east and west walls of the stairwell were removed by the Benedictines, and new walls built in different positions. This allows us to see that the old walls had been built abutting the north wall of the convento, with bonding stones set into the north wall at intervals. An examination of the area of wall contact indicates that a smooth coat of mortar had been applied to the north wall before construction of the stairwell crosswalls, and the wall paint applied afterwards. Probably the kitchen and other rooms at the east end of the convento were built at this time, and several ground level doorways or windows through the north wall of the convento were filled. The two walls at the ends of the second story cell must have been left in place through this reconstruction, only to be removed by the Benedictines during their reconstruction in the mid-nineteenth century. Traces of the other early walls and the first stairway are obscured by later construction, but may survive in the ground.

The early documents can be divided into several major groups. The first group is the Querétaran reports. Before the administration of the missions was combined under the management of the College of Zacatecas in 1772, the Querétaran missions of Concepción, San Juan, and Espada were described in a series of formal reports. Copies of the original manuscripts of many of these were acquired for this study, and the best available transcripts of the others. A similar series of formal reports prepared by Zacatecas is not available, but this lack is balanced by several inventories, which supply critical information about San José.

After 1772, the pertinent records were all Zacatecan. Several inventories and one diary carry the documentation through 1800. In 1823 and 1824 a final set of formal inventories and appraisals was carried out, involving both church and secular authorities. During the last years of the eighteenth century, deed records began to be recorded for mission properties, and rapidly gained in importance. After 1800 and the cessation of missionary control of the missions, deed records became the principal documentary source.

Following are the major reports and documents of the eighteenth century in chronological order:

Querétaro 1745: *Visita de las Missiones hecha de orden de H. M. P. Comm.o Gr.al Fr. Juan Fogueras, por el P. Fr. Fran.co Xavier Ortiz, en el año de 1745.*

A microfilm print of a manuscript copy of this report is available in the Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University (OLLU), San Antonio, Texas, on microfilm roll 9, frames 1265-1285. This is a fairly detailed description of the three Querétaran missions on the San Antonio River, and missions San Juan Bautista del Rio Grande del Norte, San Bernardo, and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de la Punta. A final assessment of the general condition and government of these missions was included by Ortiz, who wrote the final draft of the report on October 11, 1745. The copy was apparently prepared the same day by his secretary. Very little actual physical description of the buildings of the missions was included.

Querétaro 1756: *Razon de la Viss.ta de las Missiones de San Navier y de las de S.n Antonio de Valero en la Provincia y Governacion de Texas, Maio de 1756.*

This report was also prepared by Fr. Francisco Ortiz. A manuscript copy is presently unavailable, but a three volume transcript edited by Vargas Rea was printed in Mexico in 1955 by Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanos. A copy of the published version of the report is available at the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library (DRTL) on the grounds of the Alamo in San Antonio. The missions described were San Francisco Xavier, Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, and San Yldephonso on the San Xavier River (now the San Gabriel), and the San Antonio missions. Again, Ortiz included a long summary statement concerning the administration of the missions. He prepared the final draft of the report on June 15, 1756. The copy from which Vargas Rea made his transcript was apparently made the same day by Ortiz's secretary.

Again, little structural information was included. It should be noted that pages 33-36 of Volume 1 of the transcript are misnumbered and bound out of order.

Zacatecas 1755-1757: *Ymbentario y aumentos que hizo en la Mission de S.r S.n J.ph, siendo en ella M.n.tro, el R. P. ex Guardian Fr. Yldephonso Marmolejo.*

A typescript and translation of this document is in Leutenegger and Habig 1978, pages 107-128. A microfilm print of the original is in OSMHRL, roll 8, frames 5245-5258. There is some confusion about the two inventories included in the document. Leutenegger and Habig attribute the first inventory to Fr. Miguel Nuñez de Haro. They consider it to have been drawn up in December, 1753, one year and ten months before the arrival of Fr. Marmolejo on October 4, 1755, to take over the mission after Haro's death. The second inventory is said to have been written by Marmolejo soon after that date. A careful reading of the headings of each inventory, however, shows that the first was prepared by Fr. Mariano de los Dolores y Viana between August and October of 1755. Dolores y Viana, the Father President of the Querétaran missions at the time, took charge of San José immediately after the death of Fr. Haro on August 18, 1755, and administered the mission until Fr. Marmolejo's arrival in October, and it was during this time that he made the inventory. In August 1757 Marmolejo carried out a supplemental inventory. During the interval a severe storm had damaged or destroyed a number of buildings at San José. Marmolejo repaired the damage, and the supplemental report may have been prompted by a desire to report the extent of these repairs.

The two reports contain a fair amount of structural and spatial information, and are important for understanding the plan of San José before the major changes of the 1760s.

Querétaro 1759: *Testimonio de la Visita de las Missiones de las Pro.as de Coahuila y Texas pertenecientes al Colegio de la S.ma Cruz; echa por el R. P. Fr. Mariano Fran.co de los Dolores y Viana, Com.o Visitador de todas ellas en el mes de Marzo de 1759.*

A microfilm print of a manuscript copy of the original is in OSMHRL, roll 9, frames 1470-1505. The report includes descriptions of only the San Antonio missions. The original manuscript was completed by Dolores y Viana on May 11, 1759, and the copy was made by his order on May 20.

More structural information is available in this report than in the previous Querétaran documents, but still not enough to work out a plan of the buildings without other information.

Querétaro 1762: *Relacion del Estado en que se hallan todas y cada una de las Misiones, en el año de 1762, dirigido al Mui Reverendo Padre Guardian Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz.*

The original of this report is not presently available, but a transcript was printed in Documentos para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas o Nuevas Philipinas, 1720-1779, volume 12 of the *Coleccion Chimalistac de Libros y Documentos a cerca de la Nueva España*, published in 1961 by José Porrua Turanzas (Madrid). A copy of this volume is available at the DRTL, San Antonio, Texas. The report contains descriptions of only the San Antonio missions. It was assembled under Dolores y Viana's direction by the staffs of each mission, and a summary statement at the end of the report gave credit to all who contributed. The administration of the missions was assessed in this report, and the final draft was prepared on March 6, 1762. A manuscript copy made in 1792 is in the Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico (Historia 28.7: folios 164-180).

This report contains little more structural detail than the previous Dolores y Viana document.

Zacatecas 1768: Report on Mission San José in the Diary of Fr. Gaspar Solís.

A transcript and translation of the original Solís diary is included in Leutenegger and Habig 1978, pages 138-155. This is a critical report for understanding Mission San José because it describes the beginning of construction of the present church, and is the first description of the new enclosed Indian quarters and defensive wall of the mission. The entries were written by Solís between March 19 and April 6,

1768. A number of innacurate or excessively free translations of this description have been published. The original Spanish published by Leutenegger and Habig helps to clarify the confusion caused by these earlier translations.

Few dimensions are included in the description, but some spatial information is recorded.

Querétaro 1772:

The inventories of 1772 are more complicated than the previous reports. The transfer of the Querétaran missions to Zacatecas was a major administrative change. The inventories are accompanied by orders for the transfer, directions on how to implement it, and justifications. One complete set of transfer documents, including the inventories, is on OSMHRL microfilm roll 10, frames 4025-4294.

A complete second set of just the inventories can be found on OSMHRL roll 3, frames 3528-3600 for San Juan and Espada; roll 4, frames 5449-5524 for two different copies of the Valero inventory; and roll 4, frames 5634-5663 and 5772-5808 for two different copies of the inventory of Concepción. All these copies are originals in the sense that they all have original signatures. They are written by several different hands and have frequent differences in wording, punctuation and page layout. Occasionally, these differences are significant. The copies on rolls 3 and 4 tend to be in a less legible handwriting, but the arrangement of the information on the page is easier to follow. Topic references, for example, are accompanied by paragraph breaks in the text, which make it much easier to associate descriptive text with specific rooms or areas within rooms.

Of greater interest is the differences between copies in the description of specific rooms. For example, in the *oficina segunda* at San Juan, the inventories in roll 10 and roll 3 differ in the counts of several items and the uses for which they were intended. A reference to a portal which had been the porteria, mentioned in the inventory of roll 10, is omitted in roll 3; and a remark about the similarity in size between the blacksmith shop and the Indian quarters is included in roll 3, but not in roll 10.

All copies of the inventories, however, bear the original signatures of the Baron Juan Maria de Ripperda, Governor of the Province of Texas; Fr. Pedro Ramirez, the Father President of the Zacatecan missions of Texas; and Fr. Juan Joséph Saenz de Gumiel, the Father President of the Querétaran missions, and all bear the same dates. The Espada inventory was signed on December 15; Concepción on December 16; and San Juan on December 17, 1772.

Tke inventories contain a great deal of spatial information in the form of room dimensions and remarks about the relationships between rooms. The best inventory for spatial information is the one for Espada. Occasionally, room dimensions are left out of the manuscripts, and the relationships between rooms are sometimes not made clear, or left out altogether. The worst offender is the San Juan inventory. Besides missing a number of dimensions, room locations are poorly defined, and the order in which they are inventoried frequently does not reflect their order in the building. Frequent references occur in all the inventories to the material from which walls, roofs, and storage lofts were made. The contents of rooms, including furnishings, rugs, and goods stored in the storerooms, are listed exhaustively.

Zacatecas 1778: *Diario y Derrotero* and *Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico*, by Fr. Juan Agustín de Morfí.

The Diario, a transcript taken from Fr. Morfí's original manuscript diary, was published in 1967 by Eugenio del Hoyo and Malcolm D. McLean. This is apparently the same document referred to by Castañeda as the *Diario del viaje a la Provincia de Tejas con el Caballero de la Croix* (Morfí 1935b:44).

The *Viaje*, edited and annoted in 1935 by Vito Alessio Robles, is a transcript of the *Diario* published soon after Morfí's visit to the San Antonio missions on January 9, 1778. It contains more detailed information about the missions than the *Diario*, but was still based on the same observations. Much of this material was also included in his *Historia de Texas*, along with information from other reports, much of which was no longer current in 1778.

Copies of these two journals are in the Rare Books Collection of the Nettie Lee Benson Spanish American Library at the Barker Center, University of Texas, Austin. Valuable spatial information about most of the San Antonio missions is contained in the *Viaje*.

Zacatecas ca. 1783: *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, by Fr. Juan Agustín de Morfí.

In preparation at the time of his death in 1783, the History is based on Morfí's visit to Texas in 1777-1778, and on documents collected during and after that visit. Although it is not used in this study, it is an important document.

The History is readily available only in the translation published by Carlos Castañeda in 1935. Descriptions of the San Antonio missions are taken principally from the *Viaje*, but Morfí included material from other documents. For the Querétaran missions, his principal source was the 1762 report compiled by Fr. Dolores y Viana. Castañeda says "this report . . . was used by Fr. Morfí in summarizing the work of the missions . . . " (Morfí 1935b:112, n. 59). For San José, Morfí used the 1768 diary prepared by Fr. Solís. Castañeda indicates that the Solís diary was also the source of the description of Mission Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Ibid.:n.64).

For many years, the History was regarded as the authoritative work on the appearance of the missions in ca. 1778. Even though it was published in the same year as the History, the *Viaje* had not been translated into English, and had a limited audience in this country. Because the Fr. Solís and Fr. Dolores y Viana descriptions were distinctly out of date by 1778, the use of the Historia alone produced serious distortions in the structural history of the missions. In the present study, Morfí's original descriptions in the *Diario* and *Viaje* are used to determine the appearance of the missions at the time of his visit in 1778.

Zacatecas 1785: *Ymbentario de lo que yo F. Joséf Agustín Falcon Mariano recivi en esta Mission de S.r S.n Joséf de la Provincia de Texas, de el P. P. F. Joséf Maria Salas.*

A typescript and translation of this inventory is in Leutenegger and Habig 1978, pages 214-245. A microfilm print of the original document is in OSMHRL, roll 8, frames 5261-5281. Leutenegger and Habig mistakenly attribute this inventory to Fr. Salas. The heading and final statement both indicate that Fr. Mariano, the Father President who followed Salas, prepared the inventory. The confusion arises from the fact that Salas witnessed the document. The inventory itself is not dated, but it is known that Mariano became Father President in late 1784 or early 1785, and that Salas left San José at the same time (Leutenegger and Habig 1973:119,146).

The inventory contains a great deal of explicit information about the sizes and locations of buildings and rooms of the mission. In the convento, however, it lists only room contents, not dimensions; and the contents do not account for all the rooms.

Zacatecas 1786: *Razon e Ynforme que el Padre Presidente de las Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, o Nuevas Filipinas, remite al Yll.ma S.or D. Fr. Rafael José Verger, del consejo de S. M. Obispo del Nuevo Reyno de Leon.*

This report, written by Fr. Francisco Lopez, has been consistently dated May 5, 1789 (see for example Leutenegger and Habig 1978:88), but the manuscript is clearly dated May 5, 1786. The original is not presently available, but a photostat of a manuscript copy is in the Barker Archives of the University of Texas at Austin. The manuscript copy was made on November 28, 1789 from an original in the *Archivo de Secretaria Episcopal* in Monterrey, Mexico, by Fr. Joséf Sanchez de Luque. A portion of a second, undated version of this manuscript is reproduced in Leutenegger and Habig 1978. It is generally the same as the copy, but contains many significant differences in wording. Oddly enough, Leutenegger and Habig consider this manuscript fragment to date from 1786. It is possible that the manuscript was a preliminary draft of the final manuscript later housed in Monterrey, in which case both are 1786 reports. However, there is no evidence that a Lopez report of 1789 exists.

The Lopez report is an appraisal of the value of each mission and its condition. Its spatial information is vital to an understanding of the later structural history of the missions.

Zacatecas 1794:

The inventories prepared for the partial secularization of the missions of San Antonio contain a number of details about the missions in 1794. The inventory for San José is especially important. Original manuscripts of the inventories for San José, Espada and San Juan are in Volume 50 of the Spanish Archives of the General Land Office (GLOSA) of Texas. An original copy of the Concepción inventory is in the Bexar County Archives in the Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio (BCAMR). Other original copies of the San José, San Juan, anB Espada inventories are in the Saltillo Archives. Photostats and microfilm copies are in the OLLU Library. The microfilm copied are in the OLLU Saltillo Archives microfilms, volumes 1-7, frames 1535-1580. The Saltillo copy of the San José inventory, used by most researchers from Carlos Castañeda to the present, is missing a page, which fortunately is present in the GLOSA copy. This page contains critical information about a building or buildings in the plaza of San José.

1823-27: The Final Secularization Appraisals.

These are perhaps the most important of the available historical documents for determining the plans of the missions throughout their history. Without these details it would be very difficult to work out the locations of rooms described in earlier inventories at San José and San Juan. The appraisals are in two groups. The first is the *Inventario general y particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la Ciudad de Bejar de la Provincia de Tejas* by B. Francisco Maynes and Fr. Antonio Diaz de Leon. It includes a description of each church, sacristy, and a few additional buildings considered to be church property, and was compiled on February 29, 1824. A copy of the original was made on March 1, 1824; and a copy of the copy on September 22, 1826, and filed in the Zacatecas archives. A microfilm copy of this third generation document is in OSMHRL, roll 4, frames 5569-5981.

The appraisals of the secular buildings were made separately. The appraisal of San José was carried out on December 18, 1823, and the only known copy is in GLOSA volume 50, pages 114-116 reverse. The appraisals of San Juan and Espada are in BCAMR. The San Juan appraisal is Mission Record 15, made on February 11, 1824. A follow-up appraisal is in Mission Record 27, and was conducted on July 24, 1827. The first appraisal for Espada is Mission Record 64, made on February 12, 1824, and the follow-up is Mission Record 65, also dated July 24, 1827. No such appraisal is available for Concepción, although a note in GLOSA volume 50 indicates that one was made, and that it was with the San José appraisal at one time. This document may eventually be relocated. No 1827 reappraisal is on record for San José, but again, one may eventually be located.

The Bexar County Archives Mission Records for each mission contain additional information about the sales of the lots and divisions made at the time of the appraisals. Such details are not available in the principal documents listed above. Further structural information may be found in other deed records in the Bexar County Deed Records (BCDR), but these usually pertain to the period after secularization.

Appendix VI: Important Ranching Documents

1. Excerpt from "Agreement between the cabildo of San Fernando and Father President Fray Benito Fernandes de Santa Ana," August 14, 1745, GLO, Vol. 50, pp. 48-49rev.:

> ". . . el sitio en que esta fundada la Villa reconosiendose siempre por tierras pertenecientes á esta d.ha Villa como tamvien las que estan del lado del Rio al ocidente y previniendolos siertos y ponderables ynconvinientes que puedan resultar de la union de la villa con d.ha mision siendo distansio competente la que media de la casa de Juan Banul, a la mision de S.n Ant.o quedamos obligados a no mersenar ni que se forme casa en la tal distancia de ningun particular solo si algun santuario u otra casa alguna que no sea en perjuisio de d.ha mision de S.n Ant.o, y para que se eviten en adelante las controbersios y discordias que se puedan originar sobre las tierras en tiempo proporsionado todos juntos unanimes y conformes con el reconasimiento de la antelasion que tiene d.ha mision hecharemos las medidas. Y siguiendo de la escaramuza [changed to: de la ojo de agua q. esta al] {interlined: oriente q. nase en la cañada q. sale al llano de las Cibolas} rumbo del Norte dividiremos por el ocsidente la tierras de la Villa y por el oriente las de la Pueblo de S.n Ant.o [etc.]. . . ."

La escaramuza, "the skirmish," is a place name mentioned in the survey notes of San Fernando by Almazan. It was along the west boundary of the lands belonging to the villa, and was between the Llano de Leon and the Real de Nicolas de Hernandez, the last place being located at the northwest corner of the villa lands. This location of "la escaramuza" suggests that it was not the placename or landmark intended to be used in the agreement. When the mistake was noticed, the text was changed. The document quoted here is an original, with the signatures of the participants and several interlinear notes that further defined the physical landmarks of the agreement. These notes were added after the document was completed and signed. A copy of this agreement is in OSMHRL, OLLU, microfilm roll 4:5214-5217, and a second copy in 2:2799-2800. These copies do not have the changes to the boundary description, indicating that they were made before the changes were added to the available original.

2. The Concepción Pasture. The original grant of land for Mission Concepción by Alamzan said: ". . . y por la parte del oeste, el Rio e ymmediata á el, por el mismo rumvo la Mission de San J.ph, de Aguayo; concediendosele assi mismo, que en tiempo de siemvras tengan salidas los ganados que tuviere dicha Mision, para la parte de poniente para pastarlos, por que nunca les sirva de perjuisio á las simenteras que se cultibaren en dicha Mission de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Acuña que todo serviza en util estabilidad, y aumento de dicha Mission, no sirviendo, ó siguiendo de perjuicio a la de San Joséph, y demas vezinos . . ." don Juan Perez de Almazan to Fray Gabriel de Vergara, March 5, 1731, p. 20rev., GLO Vol. 50.

A few weeks later, Vergara described the tract: "Y por quanto la Mission de la Concepción de Acuña tiene impedida la salida de los ganados en tiempo de siembras por la parte de lebantes a cuio rumbo tiene lo principal de sus tierras, y aver bastantes desocupadas por la parte de poniente: . . . mande se estienda su posesion por este viento, de poniente para que los ganados maiores, y menores, en tiempo de siembras, puedan librem.te, salir a pastar, por aquella parte, señalando los sitios nezesarios, para d.ho efectto, entre el paso de los Nogales [Nogalitos], y el paso del arroyo de la tierra termino de la miss. de S.n Joséph cogiendo el rumbo derecho desde el Rio de S.n Antonio (que media entre d.ha mision y los sitios que pido) de oriente a poniente la distanzia que cogieren d.hos sitios . . ;" see Vergara to Almazan, May 31, 1731, 3:3564, also 9:1304-1305.

In 1765: ". . . y las tierras que se señalaron a la Mision de la Conzepcion que son dos sitios de ganado mayor; vea V.R. la distancia que ay de el Arroyo de la Piedra asta el Palo Quemado que son los

linderos de la Mision de la Espada y Villa de San Fernando y hallara V.R. será un jiron [strip] de poco mas o menos de media legua con que en este jiron solo los dos sitios de la Mision de la Conzepción tienen de largo quatro leguas poco mas ó menos; enterense aora a esta Mision las tierras necesarias para cria de los mucho ganados mayores y menores y cavallada aver si cojen el paraje de San Lucas enteramente . . ;" see Padre Ximenez to Lord Special Judge Don Francisco Antonio de Echavarri, September 20, 1765, GLO, Vol. 50, pp. 83-83rev.

3. Add Salas document.

4. Add Ascisclos Valverde statements.

5. 1770 Lawsuit stuff?

6. Vergara's review of land laws pertaining to the establishment of mission lands.

Escrito duplicado del P.e Vergara p.a las tierras y aguas
de la Concep.n Espada, y S.n Ju.n Capistrano. 1731

Año de 1731 Letra O
#
Señor Capitan del Presidio de S.n Antonio de Vejar
y su Justicia Mayor en lo politico. D.n Ju.n Antonio Perez de Al
mazan.

Fr. Gabriel de Vergara de la Regular
Observancia de N. P. S. Fran.co P.or A
postolico vice prefecto de las Missiones y Presi
dente de estas reducciones del Rio de S.n Anto
nio, en la Prov.a de texas y nuebas Philipi
nas &. Ante Vm.d en nombre de los Yndios
Neophytos, y catecumenos de las Missiones
nuebam.te fundadas, conviene a seber: la Pu
rissima Concepción de Acuña, S.n Ju.n Ca
pistrano, San fran.co de la Espada; con los In
dios asi mismo de la Mission de S.n Antonio
de Valero, en la mejor forma q.e aiga lugar,
y q.e al derecho de los Incolas de dhas quatro
Missiones convenga, parezco, y digo:

Que por quanto por Decreto del Ex.mo S.r Virrey de esta nueba Espana
Marques de Casa fuerte, las Missiones que a espensas de la R.l Hazienda se
fundaron en los texas, por motibos que vistos, y estimados por justos en el supe
rior Gobierno del d.ho Ex.mo S.r se mandaron restablecer en el Rio de S.n Marcos
en diez y nuebe de Octubre del año pasado de setecientos y veinte nuebe cuio para
ge aviendose experimentado (despues de varias diligenzias executadas por el
Señor Gobernador de d.ha Prov.a D.n Melchor de Mediavilla y Ascona, mi Per
sona, y de otros Religiosos) para el efecto d.ho parage de S.n Marcos en lo moral
imposible, causa que previno nueba instancia, mediante mi consulta, y la q.e se forma
por el R.do P.e Guardian q.e entonces era del Colegio App.co de propaganda fide
de la S.ma Cruz de Querétaro en el superior gobierno, para que su Ex.mo man
dase libran despacho a fin de situarse d.has Misiones, y restablecerse en los
margenes de este Rio de S.n Ant.o parage q.e ofrecio las necessarias proviciones de
tierras y aguas, que previenen las Leyes, y Reales Cedulas: asi como tambien _____ese
encontrado gentilidad para la propagacion de la fe, y efecto de las fundaciones,
motibos que expuestos ante su Ex.a y considerados no solo por su alta conprehen
sion, sino con parecer de Acessor, fueron aprobados mandando librandos proba
pace la funda.on de estas tres Missiones en d.ho Rio de S.n Ant.o el que salio del
officio de Gobierno en dos de Octubre del año pasado de setecientos y treinta.
en cuia virtud se ha executado con felix efecto d.ho restablesimiento sin gasto
alguno de la R.l Hazienda, y solo a expensas de las Limosnas hechas a los
Religiosos para lo personal de cada uno, aplicando lo estos a esta tan alta otra de
la convercion de las Almas, fundando los Pueblos con no pocos trabajos, su dores
y desbelos en obsequio de la Yglesia, y servicio del Rey N.ro Señor que D.s g.d

y que en cumplimiento de la obligacion de mi officio y del cuidado que a mi cargo es
ta cometido de todos los Indios de estas Missiones debo prevenir lo necessario a su
buen estar:

Por tanto: deseando mi buen Zelo, y en cumplimiento de mi obliga.n q.e d.has Missiones
nuebam.te restablesidas, asi como la de S.n Antonio de Valero tengan la debido fir
naeza, y perpetua estabilidad en serbicio de ambas Magestades; En virtud de esta
determinado por ley Real (A) que los sitios en que se han de formar Pueblos y Re
ducciones tengan comodidad de aguas,
tierras y Montes, entradas y salidas
y labranzas, y egido de una legua
de largo (por cada viento) donde los
Indios puedan tener sus ganados sin
que se rebuelban con otros de
Españoles; cuia ley es hechapor el S.r Phelipe Segundo en diez de Diziembre de mil quincentos y
setenta
y tres, y confirmada por el Señor Phelipe Tercero en Madrid a diez de Octubre
del siglo siguiente de mil seiscientos y diez y ocho la que renobó y recopilo el Señor
Carlos Segundo, y se puede ver en el tomo segundo citado de la nueba recopila.n; de la
qual ley hecho cargo el S.r Phelipe quinto q.e D.s g.e en virtud de aver sido informado
de que en esta nueba España los Governadores no cumplian con esta ley en las nuebas
reducciones, con q.e se anichilaban los Pueblos fundados a costa de trabajos de los Mi
sionarios, expedio con ardiente Zelo su Real Cedula fecha en Madrid a 15
de Septiembre de 1713. en que manda se obserbe d.ha Ley luego q.e se formen
los Pueblos asegurando, tomar severa resolu.n contra los transgresores, y expli
cando con pondera.n de palabras el desagrado q.e le ocacionó la inobservancia
de esa R.l Ley: como todo consta de la citada Cedula q.e se hallará ori
ginal en la Secretaria de Gobierno q.e esta acargo de D.n Joséph Gorraez
cuio trasumpto seguarda en el Archivo del arrriba mencionada Colegio.

(A) Nueb. recop. tomo. 2.
lib. 6. Tit. 3. de los reduc.
ley 8. fol. mihi 199

Y siendo esto lo q.e pertenece a estas nuebas reducciones. en conformi
dad de lo en d.ha Ley y R.l Cedulo determinado: En nombre de las Justicias
y Pueblos de d.has nuebas reducciones suplico y pido a Vm.d en debida forma
mande seden a d.has reducciones las posessiones de lo q.e por esas Reales orde
nanzas seles concede, para q.e teniendo rescriptos autenticos de esas posessiones
tengan los Pueblos fundados la debida firmera. y seguro resguardo, para en
adelante conserbar su derecho y propriedad.

Y en atencion a q.e la Mission de San Antonio de Valero sin em
bargo de ser anterior a estas nuebas arriba expresadas en la funda.on, se halla
oy dia sin Instrumento juridico posesorio, de lo q.e por esa Ley, como a nueba
reduccion le pertenece, por averse perdido d.ho instrumento en accidentes
q.e hapadecido la Mission cayendose los jacales a la violencia de unos fuertes
Vracanes.

Por tanto en nobre d.ho Pueblo y viva Conversion de S.n Antonio de Valero
pido a Vm.d en toda forma debida, y por lo personal mio rendidam.te le suplico
se sirba demandar se practique, y de hecho se execute con esa Mission lo mismo
q.e con las tres nuebas arriba mencionadas, midiendoles las tierras dandoles las agu
as q.e por Ley les son debidas con possession en la forma mencionada. é Ynstrumento
autentico de esa posession, y propriedad para el mismo efecto q.e para los suso
d.has nuebas Missiones llebo pedido.

Y en Inteligencia de q.e en la Cedula del Señor Phelipe V q.e D.s g.e su data en Ma drid en 20 de Jullio de 1709 se ordena, y en carga no solo a los ex.mos Señores Virreyes audiencias, Gobernadores, Justicias, y Yll.mos Señores obispos y demas a quien per tenece, sino tambien a los Prelados de las Religiones desta nueba España, con tier nas quanto eficaces expressiones, que cuiden mui particularm.te de la manutenencia y augmento de las Missiones, que estubieren en sus territorios aplicando a ello todo su maior desbelo &.a Por tanto entendido de esto y haziendome cargo de mi obliga cion, que como a Prelado me incumbre, y fuera de otro respectos por el singular de este orden de su Mag.d q.e D.s g.e que es el mismo que en la ley primera del tom. 2. de la nueba recopilacion se prebiene, y ordena (B) en consideracion del perjuisio

(B) Nueb. Recop. tom. 2. lib. 6. tit. 1. leg. 1. fol. mihi 188

que puede parar a d.has quatro Missiones mezclandose sus ga nados con los de los Españole, ó de otros; pido a Vm.d en toda forma, se sirba demandar se obserbe y guarde a la letra lo ordenado en la Ley Veinte de la nueba recopila.on citada proximamente sub litera.B. de las reduciones y pueblos de Indios; previniendo no se situen estancias ó ranchos de ganados maiores de Españoles, ó de otros en distancia de tres leguas de las moxoneras de d.has Missiones respectibe; y que asi mismo de ganados menores, no se situen d.has estancias o ranchos en la distancia de legua y media de d.has mojoneras de las ya mencionadas Missiones respectibam.te; como todo se prebiene y ordena en la d.ha ley veinte por q.e no se siga perjuizio a las Mi ssiones y nuebas reducciones: En cuia ley se puede ver ser justicia lo q.e pido; a si como las penas que se prescriben contra los contravenientes a esa R.l determina.n: cuia circunstancia pido á Vm.d mande insertar en el Instrumento, q.e de posession res pectibe llebo pedido.

Asi mismo: atento a q.e las dos Missiones de S.n Antonio y la Concepción de acu ña se hallan contiguas, sus cituaciones en corto distancia una de otra en cumplimiento del orden del Ex.mo S.r Virrey por el parecer del S.r Brigadier D.n Pedro de Ribera, como consta del despacho librado de dos de Octubre de 730 arriba citado, cuio maduro pensamiento expuesto a su Ex.a fue approbado para obiar la hostilidad de la Nacion Apache, que estando d.has Missiones en distancia longa unas de otras ci tuadas, se prevenia. Por tanto pido a Vm.d en la debida forma, que en aquellas re ducciones q.e por la Immediacion a otras Poblaciones no puede assignarseles por los qu atro bientos, lo q.e se previene en la Ley, se les assigne y de por el viento, ó vientos que se hallaren libres; pues siendo lamente de su Mag.d q.e D.s g.e que cada reduccion po ssea aquellas tierras y aguas q.e d.ha ley prescribe; a los ojos se viene q.e no siendo posible por todos vientos, o en lo moral, o en lo phisico, y aviendo lugar de suplir lo que por un viento falta, por el otro, ó otros que tenga libres, es lamente R.l seles suplá por ese, ó esos vientos, por que como enceñan los derechos (C) ex cap. intellig.a y los que cito, mas se ha de attender a lamente del Legislador, que a las palabras; de donde nacio

(C) ex cap. intellig. 6. et cap. propt. 8. de verb. significat. L. nominis et rei. #. verbum. ff. de verb. significat. L. habeo. in fine. ff de suppll. legat.

Aquel proloquio de los Juris consultos; quitanty Verba sectatur nihil habebit; qui autem posessor est mentis diligit animam suam, y el de otros Juris prudentes: Verba se habent ut materia, corpus et superficies: ratio vero et mens vt spiritus et anima. De donde siendo lamente de su Mag.d que D.s g.e el que esas nuebas reducciones tengan, y posean lo que por

d.ha Ley se determina, y por su R.l Cedula
se previene es visto ser sumente R.l el suplemento por otro, ó otros vientos en caso de no poderse aver por todos, y a por la continua.n é immedia.n, ó y a por otro accidente por que lo contrario fuera que dar los Pueblos sin lo necessario a su permanencia, y estabilidad, cosa agena de quererlo lamente R.l.

Y por quanto la Mission de la Concepción de Acuña tiene impedida la salida de los Ganados en tiempo de siembras por la parte de lebantes a cuio rumbo tiene lo principal de sus tierras, y aver bastantes desocupadas por la parte de poniente: por tanto pido y suplico a Vm.d en la forma que al derecho que a los Indios de esta Mission convenga mande se estienda su posession por este viento de poniente para q.e los ganados majores y menores en tiempo se siembras puedan librem.te salir a pastar por aquella parte señalando los sitios necessarios para d.ho efecto entre el paso de los Nogales [Nogalitos], y el paso del Arroyo de la Tierra termino de la Miss. de S.n Joséph cogiendo el rumbo derecho desde el rio de S.n Antonio que media entre d.ha Miss.n y los sitios que pido de oriente a poniente la distancia q.e cogieren d.hos sitios.

Otro si por quanto se pueden prevenir de las Sacas de agua q.e se hizieren del rio de S.n Antonio, o por Españoles, ó por otros; litigios, sin sabores, ó contiendas, por ser dable que inadvertidamente emprendan hazerlas con perjuizio de las sacas principales y aguas communes de les cinco Missiones, que estan situadas en d.ho Rio, el qual como manifiesto es en tiempo de verano lleba escasam.te las cinco sequias necessarias para los cinco Pueblos. Por tanto pido a Vm.d mande librar auto proveido en debida forma para que ninguna persona de qualquier condicion que sea pueda hazer d.has sacas de las aguas de d.ho Rio con perjuizio notorio de d.has cinco Missiones, q.e vivas conversiones por ser esto en anichilacion de esos Pueblos, que de orden R.l se han fundado a fuerza de gastos, y trabajos personales de los Religiosos. Cuio auto determinante siempre parecerá justo: por que si para hazer nuebas reducciones de Indios es justo tomar a los Españoles sus tierras y aguas que en propriedad poseen y suplirselas en otra parte dandoles en recompensa otro tanto como se les ha quitado, como se colige de la ley 14. que marginal cito (D) juste y debido
es que se embarace hazer tales sacas
de agua en parage, que pueda hazer
perjuizio a alguna nueba funda.n la razon
es: por que siendo necesario el que no
se minoren las aguas para lo con sistencias
de d.hos Pueblos, sin lo q.e es imposible mantenerse

(D) Tom. 2. Nub. recop. lib. 6 Tit. 3. l. 14. fol. mihi 199 a la buelta

el solicitar esto y el mandarlo Vm.d es lo mismo que emprehender la produccion o funda.n pues en buena Philosophia no es otra cosa la conserba.n, que uno continuada produccion. Y el querer con esta provid.a del auto que pido, que embaraze tales perjudicales sacas obiando tal inconveniente; viene a querer hazer, y de hecho fundar d.has nuebas reducciones, segun aquella y a apuntada philosophica axioma: conserbatio est continuata productio: pues de otro modo y con tal perjuizio no es dable lo estable de las fundaciones que se emprehende[n] en beneficiode las Almas y augmento de la R.l Corona en esas multiplicadas Poblaciones.

De donde siendo la razon q.e tiene la ley para mandar se puedan tomar tierras de Españoles para fundar nuebas reducciones de Indios el attender como primario cuidado en este nuebo Mundo a la propaga.n de la Religion Christiana; y siendo esta misma razon de la propaga.n la que ami me Muebe a esta peticion, y la q.e a Vm.d debe estimular a la probision del auto pedido: es clarissimo ser justicia segun esa ley la expedicion de d.ho auto; pues es en derecho re

ssimo ser justicia segun esa ley la expedicion de d.ho auto; pues es en derecho re
gla general q.e donde ai una misma rason debe militar la misma disposision (E),

(E) A. titio. ff. de furtis leg. illud. ff. ad. L. st quiliani y de otro

y siendo asi que lo q.e intenta la Ley para q.e se puedan tomar tierras de Españoles, p.a Nuebas fundaciones, es la importancia de la propagacion de la fe se sigue que siendo esta misma rason, la que muebe a embarazar a d.hos Españoles tales sacas de aguas como que embarazan esa propaga.n debe Vm.d segun d.ha Ley.14. expedir el auto pedido como asi lo espero con todo lo demas q.e se contiene.

A Vm.d pido y suplico mande se provea todo como lo llebo pedido, y que se me de testimonio de la peticion presentada para que conste a mi Prelado aver hecho lo que me ordena en [lo] q.e recivire merced con justicia y juro en de bida forma y en lo necesario &.a Mission de la Concepción de Acuña y Mayo 31 [de mil setecientos y treinta y uno,

fray Gabriel de Vergara]

7. Transcript of the Partition of Rancho Monte Galvan, 1755 [Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, Microfilm roll 4, frames 5245-5257]

[5248: Cover page for document]
Combanio hecho p.r las Mis.s de S.n Ant.o Concep.n
y S.n J.n Cap.no sobre las entradas al monte de Gal-
van aprobado p.r el V.e Discretorio =
1767.N.1.
Año de 1767 Letra V.
[5245] +
In nomine Jesu Amen.
Aviendose experimentado muchas, y aun graves desazones Sobre el Monte llamado de Galvan, por ser refugio del Ganado delas tres Missiones de S.n Antoniode Valero; dela purissima Concepción de Acuña, y de S.n Juan Capistrano: Deseosos los Ministros de ellas de tener paz, y maximo sobre la expressada materia, no solo de presente, sino queriendo, quanto está de nuestra parte, afianzarla para lo futuro: Hemos convenido de unanime consentimiento, en formar este compromisso en nombre delos tres ya mencionados Pueblos, y cediendo en nombre de ellos qualquiera accion, o derecho, en que, acaso, sean perjudicados; pues todo es de menos monta, que la paz, que debemos tener, y maxime, en los que somos de un mismo colegio; Para cuia consequcicion [sic] nos sugetamos, y a los Pueblos a nuestra administracion cometidos, a la puntual observancia delos puntos siquientes. = =

Primero; Que las tres d.has Missiones celen, elque nadie, fuera de ellas, pise el d.ho monte; pues es sin disputa, que a ellas solas toca.

Segundo: Que por ningun acontecimiento, ninguna delas tres sobred.has Missiones, ni sola, ni acompañada de otra, ni todas simul puedan entrar, ni entren por qualquiera delas entradas, que el d.ho monte ofrece, a correr, o carnear; Pues no es razon, que por una res, que quieran coger, espanten, o avienten todo un atajo, y este alosque vaia topando.

Tercero: Que cada Miss.n delas tres, de por si, pueda aprovecharse de d.ho Monte, espiando, adonde sale el ganado de el, y de noche hecharle pie manso, y dandole cerco sin carreras, ni gritos llevarlo a su corral, de donde no saldrá sin su hierro, loque ubiere cogido orejano, cuidando igualm.te lo herrado ageno, hastaque su Dueño lo aparte alos herraderos, losque no se harán (aiga, o no aiga ageno en el ganado) sin dar primero aviso a las Missiones paraque reconozean, y aparten loque fuere suio.

Quarto: Que, paraque cada Mission pueda coger en el modo dicho /[5246] tenemos a bien el asignarle a cada una los sitios fronteros de su ganado al d.ho monte en losque sola ella, y ninguna delas otras dos podra andar, que para quitar toda duda, son los siguientes.

La Miss.n de S.n Ant.o podra, y debera hacer su dilig.a exclusa la entrada del Arroio de Martinez en el Cibolo, Cibolo para arriba, rodeando el monte hasta las cave(ce)ras del Rosillo + (+ y sus vertientes) inclusive.

La Mission dela purissima Concepción tendra por suia la entrada del Arroyo de Martinez en el Cibolo, y Cibolo para abaxo de la otra, y de esta vanda, hasta loque no sean vertientes delos chupaderos.

La Miss.n de S.n Juan de Capistrano solam.te podrá hacer su dilig.a desde las caveceras del Rosillo + (+ y sus vertientes) exclusive, hasta las vertientes, que reconocieren alos chupaderos; puesto, que esta es la principal huida de su ganado al d.ho Monte.

Quinto: Que, si por qualquiera acontecim.to a alguna delas tres mencionadas Missiones sele fuere al Monte, o todo, o parte de su ganado, pueda entrar librem.te en el d.ho monte las veces, que necessitare; pero s.pre lo hará por sus sitios señalados, llevando pie manso, y evitando el correr, y gritar, sino

quiere acabarse de perder, aventando con lo cerrero, lo manso que se le aia ido, y aun el pie, que llevare.

Estos son los puntos, que, bien observados, nos han parecido suficientes, y necessarios, p.a que el sobred.ho monte sirva de provecho a las Missiones, y se eviten para de una vez los disturbios, e inquietudes entre entre [sic] los M.n.ros de ellas. Y paraque esto tenga su debido efecto, pedimos a n.ro S.to Colegio, tenga a bien el reflexarle, y si fuere de n.ro sentir, lo corrobore con el precepto saludable de la S.ta obediencia, especificando, si lo tuviere a bien. el que en lo successivo assi se observe por los M.n.ros, que fueren, y que por ninguno (aunq.e sea Presid.te) pueda ser su observ.a alterada en todo, ni en parte, sinq.e primero dé razon de este compromisso, y delas razones, que p.a su no conveniencia ocurrieren, a esse S.to Colegio, p.a que en su vista resuelva aora, y entonces loque tuviere por mas conveniente. Assi lo sentimos, y suplicamos, y p.a q.e en todo tiempo conste lo firmamos en esta Miss.n de S.n Juan de Capistrano, y Octubre 4. de 1766.

Fr. Acisclos Valverde(rubric)
Fr. Juan Antonio Corvera(rubric)
Fr. Joséph Lopez(rubric)
Fr. Joséph Zarate(rubric)
Fr. Esteban de Salazar(rubric)
Fr. Juan J.ph Saenz de Gumiel(rubric)

/[5247] Los RR.s PP.s Guardian, y Discretos de el ap.co Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, vieron, y. aprobaron el antecedente compromisso, al qual se arreglaran el R. P. Presidente, y demas Ministros, q.e son, y con el tiempo fueren de las Missiones de San Antonio. Y para q.e conste lo firmaron en este sobred.ho Ap.co Colegio, en cinco dias de el mes de Marzo, de mil setecientos sesenta, y siete años.#.

Fr. Sebastian Flores(rubric), Guardian
Fr. Juan Hernandez(rubric)
Fr Joséph Ant.o Bernada(rubric)
Fr. Mariano Buena, y Alcalde(rubric)
Fr Juan de Zabala(rubric)
Fr. Miguel Ramon Pinilla(rubric)
Fr. Joséph Mariá Ledesma(rubric)
[Copy of original compromise, 5250-5252]

Trasumpto, o Copia literal del convenio, o Compromisso hecho entre las tres Missiones de S.n Ant.o de Valero, la Puriss.a Concepc.n de Acuña, y S.n Juan de Capistrano, sobre el Monte nombrado de Galvan.

[Remainder is repeat of text of compromise with some small differences in punctuation and wording.]

[5252] Hasta aqui el compromiso de las Missiones, que se guarda en el Archivo, subsit - V

[Copy of 1755 original agreement of land use between the three missions begins middle of frame 5252]

Copia de la Provid.a dada por el Capitan del R.l Precid.o de S.n Ant.o de Vejar, y justicia mayor de su territorio, D.n Toribio de Urrutia, en 11 de 8bre de 1755: p.a asignar a las Missiones de S. Ant.o de Valero, La Puriss.a Concepc.n de Acuña, y S.n Juan de Capistrano, Montes, y Pastos, para la cria de sus ganados: cuyo testimonio autentico se trasportó al Archivo del Ap.co Colegio de la S.ta Cruz de

Quretaro [sic], y la Provid.a orig.l de q.e se sacó, quedó, como es regular, en el de las Judicatura del territorio. Fue sacada esta copia de otra tal que junta con uña Provid.a Reg.r o Fratricia está en el Archivo de esta Precid.o Sub Lit.

La Mission de S.n Ant.o, desde el centro caxa hasta la olla, que vulgarmente llaman, el Nogal de Fr. Juan, y tomara por el oriente una legua poco mas hasta dar con unas Lomas de q.e se forma un Derramadero para el sur, y desde hai, por el Rossillo, dexando libres los Salitrillos, y sus Corrales contra el rumbo hasta el Civolo, quedandole ynclusso el Monte, y las tierras que hasta Guadalupe, havsado, y reconoscido por sullas de treinta años hasta la f.ha /[5253] con cuya distancia, tiene campo suficiente para el Pasteo de sus ganados.

La Mission de la Puriss.a Concepción, desde el centro para el sur caxa una legua que será hasta el Paso del Nogal, desde donde caminando para oriente otra legua, topará con el Salado; de donde de sur a norte habrá otra legua hasta topar con el camino de la Bahia; y esta distancia desde donde encontro el Salado, tendra como ocho leguas, siguiendo el rumbo, y sirviendole de Lindero el Nitro, o Civolo pasara el Arrollo, y le quedan libres, como quince leguas, que es distancia competente para el procreo de sus ganados, sin agravio de las dos Missiones contiguas.

La Mission de S. Juan de Capistrano coxa de Lindero el camino de la Bahia, y tendra hasta los Chayopines mas de cinco leguas de ancho; y cogiendo desde el Aguila, camino de la Bahia hasta la Laguna de Patahuillos, seran como diez leguas de ancho; y desde el Civolo; esto es; desde los manantiales del Nitro, hasta S.n Bartolo, que serán como siete leguas de ancho de norte a sur; de cuya distancia asia el or.te se podra extender no solo quince leguas, sino mucho mas: quedando esta Mission con mas, y mejores tierras, y aguas abund.tes p.a todos los ganados que tuviere, sin perjudicar a las otras. = =

Para el Archivo de la Miss.n de S. Ant.o

/[5254. Begin second copy of 1755 land grant]

Los limites q.e el Capit.n D.n Toribio de Urrutia, a peticion del R. P. P.te Fr. José Prado asignó a las Miss.es Interin el S.or Virrey determina son los siguentes, como se hallaran en una Provid.a expodida por d.ho Cap.n en Onze de Octubre de Mil, setecientos, cincuenta, y cinco: cuyo original se encontrará en el Archivo de Ap.co Coleg.o de la S.s.ma Cruz de Querétaro, son en la forma que se sigue. Se copio este trasumpto del q.e esta en el Archivo de la Precid.a de estas Miss.es fiel, y puntualm.te como se puede ver cotejandolos.

[Remainder is same text as previous copy, with a few differences in punctuation and wording.]

/[5255-5257. Second copy of Trasumpto given on 5250]

[Packet title on 5257] La asignacion de Tierras p.a las Miss.es de S.n Ant.o, La Concepc.n y S.n Juan Capist.no (en la Prov.a de Texas) hecha por el Just.a Mayor del Territorio, provicional, e ynterinariam.te y compromisso hecho entre las tres Mission.s.