Of Various Magnificence

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

James E. Ivey

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Professor William A. Dupont, FAIA
Leslie Root | Cristina Gonzalez Pope | Tracie Quinn | Marcus Huerta

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Introduction

Part of the 300 years of history of the city of San Antonio, established as a military settlement in 1718, survives in its five Spanish colonial missions. The missions once formed a critical part of the cultural and economic system of the Texas frontier of New Spain—the other components, the military and civilian citizens, merchants and ranchers, exist today in different form from the Spanish colonial period, but continue the long-standing three-part system of San Antonio life.

The missions are situated at intervals along the San Antonio River over a distance of about eight miles. They are, from north to south, San Antonio de Valero, popularly known as the Alamo, located just east of the San Antonio River and the central plaza of the city; Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña, on the east side of the river opposite the mouth of San Pedro Creek; and San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, on the west, all within the dense urban development of San Antonio. The two southernmost missions, San Juan Capistrano, also on the east side of the river, and San Francisco de la Espada, on the west, are located south of the city. The San Antonio River, which used to meander between the missions, has been confined to a man-made channel. Of the four *acequia* (irrigation ditches) systems, today only Espada and the

San Juan acequia still function by pumping water from the channelized river. Parts of the mission system of support survive along the river: the dams of missions Espada and San Juan with their associated acequias, the aqueduct which carries the Espada acequia over Piedras Creek; the *labores* (fields) of Espada and San Juan. Outside of San Antonio, the ruined buildings of one mission ranch near Floresville, Texas, may be found today, and other colonial sites outside the missions proper—and Mexican and Anglo-American sites associated with the missions or with the development of the mission lands—form form part of the history of the missions. Today, many of the sites associated with the missions have been collected into San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, which is tasked with the preservation and interpretation of these sites.

The missions were originally established in the eighteenth century as self-sufficient enterprises distant from urban San Antonio. They were built following 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.

Architecturally, the structures of the missions themselves are the treasures that inspired the creation of the National Historical Park. Although the mission buildings have received much attention over the centuries, no single study combining the available historical documents, archaeological information, and study of the fabric of the structures has been written. This present study is intended to fill that gap.

The sort of architectural history represented by this study is a rather peculiar hybrid. It principally uses historical methods and sources, but is not history in the usual sense. It is the story of the actions of a series of individuals, and those individuals left significant results in the record. But the record is primarily material, such as the structures of the churches, conventos, and other buildings of the missions of San Antonio, Texas; and the results are changes to those structures according to the changing aesthetic intentions of the individuals. These changes are redesigns of spatial distributions of the buildings, the design of a permanent church, changes to that design, and the like.

The Historical Documents

The missions of San Antonio were established and built within the context of Franciscan development and construction methods, described in Chapters 1 and 3. Chapter 2 reviews the evidence for the architects responsible for the design and construction of the missions. The subsequent chapters detail the plan changes,

construction, and development carried out by these architects and by the Franciscans themselves at each mission during the colonial years to final secularization, and the breaking up of the missions into private landholdings, followed by a brief description of the physical changes to each mission during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Some familiarity with the sources of information upon which this history is based, and especially with their limitations, is necessary in order to understand the method of presentation of each mission's structural history.

The Surviving Fabric of the Buildings

Two books examine the architecture and art of the San Antonio missions. James Early, in *Presidio, Mission, and Pueblo: Spanish Architecture and Urbanism in the United States*, looks at the San Antonio missions among the other examples of surviving colonial architecture of the American Southwest.[1] As he says in his preface, "My concern in this book is to provide a comprehensive account of Hispanic building and urban development in parts of the United States that once belonged to Spain," with an emphasis on "Spanish design and construction of buildings, both ecclesiastical and domestic." He very briefly outlines the episodes of construction of the San Antonio missions, using some information from the National Park Service Historic Structure Report on which this present study is based.

Jacinto Quirarte, in *The Art and Architecture of the Texas Missions*, carried out a "formal and iconographic analysis of the extant churches and related buildings, their decorated surfaces, and the reconstructed altars with their religious images" of each of the colonial mission churches of San Antonio, as well as one of the missions in the area of present Goliad, Texas, farther south down the San Antonio River.[2] Quirarte wanted his study of the art and architecture of these mission buildings to serve a specifically art-historical end, as it would "allow us to determine their meaning and their value as art and architecture," and to place them "within a broader historical and artistic context." Quirarte focused principally on the picture presented by the 1772 and 1785 inventories of the five missions, and did not look closely at the evolution of the altars of the individual mission churches and the varying uses of *santos* (saints) on them as recorded in the earlier visit reports and later inventories. His description of the design and construction history of the mission buildings is very brief.

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[1] James Early, *Presidio, Mission, and Pueblo: Spanish Architecture and Urbanism in the United States* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2004).

[2] Jacinto Quirarte, *The Art and Architecture of the Texas Missions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

The architectural history that introduced me to the idea of this sort of work was *Chartres: The Masons who Built a Legend*, by John James.[3] James was able to identify the campaigns of construction of the medieval cathedral at Chartres by careful examination of the structure, its changes in wall angle, stonework, details of carving, and the like. I found a number of similar works over the years, such as Robert Branner's *The Cathedral of Bourges and Its Place in Gothic Architecture*,[4] which made much more use of archaeology and historical records than did James, and Stephen Murray's *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence*.[5] These and others like them were valuable in showing how one could work out and describe the process of architectural development of a complex structure over time.

It was, however, when I stumbled over the work of Warwick Rodwell that I realized this sort of thing could be applied to simple little churches and mission buildings as well. Rodwell's *The Archaeology of the English Church: The Study of Historic Churches and Churchyards*, first published in 1981 and in 1989 reissued in a revised and expanded version as *The Archaeology of Religious Places: Churches and Cemeteries in Britain*, dealt largely with small churches that began as Anglo-Saxon chapels and were subsequently rebuilt and enlarged. Rodwell's use of archaeology, his descriptions of how to recognize changes through time and his demonstration of how to describe and discuss them served as a direct inspiration to the approach I have used at the San Antonio missions and at other missions across the Spanish Borderlands of the American Southwest.[6]

The strongest influence on this study, however, has been the work of Clara Bargellini of the *Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, at the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*, in Mexico City. Her research, mostly into the methods of design and construction of secular churches, especially in the *Plata* area of northern New Spain around Zacatecas, is most directly applicable to the San Antonio missions and their design and construction process, although I did not realize this until I spent most of a month slowly reading through the discussion and realized what she was arguing. Her results, and how they apply to the San Antonio missions, are discussed in Chapter 12.

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[3] John James, *Chartres: The Masons who Built a Legend* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982).

[4] Robert Branner, *The Cathedral of Bourges and Its Place in Gothic Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

[5] Stephen Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

[6] Warwick Rodwell, *The Archaeology of Religious Places: Churches and Cemeteries in Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Warwick Rodwell, *The Archaeology of the English Church: The Study of Historic Churches and Churchyards* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1981).

Mission architecture in colonial Texas was a mixture of vernacular and formal architecture. Some of the church buildings, those I call "interim" churches, were built by the missionaries themselves, the users of the buildings. The formal churches were constructed by contracted architects who took the basic elements requested by the Franciscans and expressed them in the current style, or an amalgam of styles of the past. At the same time, the designs of the church, convento, workshops, and pueblo were determined by their uses, and an understanding of the tools and furnishings of these spaces is necessary for making sense of the sequence of structural changes carried out on each building. Within the church, the arrangements of the altars, *retablos*, confessionals, pulpits, and rooms such as the baptistry and sacristy are important aspects of the use of space.

Before we can engage in theories about the architectural design process or intent for any given mission or church, we must know its history. Theory without historical understanding is meaningless and misleading. Before we can discuss the general mission process in an area, we must understand the history of missionization in that area, and how it was similar to or differed from other areas, other times. The present study is intended to work out the architectural history of the missions in as much detail as the available documents, archaeology, and fabric investigations will allow. With this study in hand, the evidence for broader propositions of stylistic and esthetic change, the design process, and the intent of the architects become appropriate—and not before. Architectural historians in Texas have tended to speculate freely about the design process and intent for the San Antonio missions, in the absence of the sort of detailed information presented here. This is a traditional art historical method: to evaluate these buildings as unitary works, the product of one unique author. Working in the Plata area, however, Clara Bargellini found that this approach, although adequate, she said, for paintings or sculptures, failed when applied to architecture. The art historical method "is unable to perceive the complex processes of interaction between the requirements of supervisors, the tastes of patrons and the knowledge of a series of architects, masons, and stone-carvers."[7]

[7] Clara Bargellini, ". . . Esta incapacidad para percibir procesos complejos de interacción entre las exigencias de los supervisores, los gustos de los mecenas y los conocimientos de una serie de arquitectos, albañiles y canteros," *The Architecture of La Plata: Monumental Churches of the Center-North of Mexico (*Mexico City: UNAM, 1991), 112.

Chapter 1
The Mission Frontier in Texas

Introduction

Spain arrived to stay in Texas in 1689 after 197 years of exploration and settlement in the New World. Christopher Columbus had discovered the New World in 1492; Hernán Cortés landed on the coast of Mexico in 1519, and the conquest of the Empire of the Aztecs was effectively complete by 1521—but this was only the beginning of the conquest of the New World.[1] The Spanish occupation of New Spain began an unprecedented missionization effort, the conversion of the native population of the New World to Catholicism. Three mendicant orders undertook this task, the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. The Jesuits came later, in 1572. These groups, called the regular clergy because they lived by regulations—the rules of their orders—as distinct from the secular clergy of archbishop, bishop, and local parish priest, went to work under a set of provisions different from the traditional pattern long established in the Old World. They 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 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, maintain the secular and regular church systems, and nominate candidates to the various religious offices within the New World. The Crown selected the mendicant orders to carry out the duties of the Church in the new colony, funded by the crown, and in 1524 the first contingent of twelve Franciscans arrived to begin converting the Indians.[2] By 1559, eighty Franciscan friaries housing 380 friars had been established.[3]

The privileges granted to the Franciscans and other missionaries allowed them to impress Indian labor without pay.[4] In the early years missions were established in

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[1] Hugh Thomas, *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico* (London: Hutchinson, 1993); David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier In North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); Bernard L. Fontana, *Entrada: The Legacy of Spain and Mexico in the United States* (Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1994).

[2] Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain*, 1523–1572, Lesley Byrd Simpson, trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 21.

[3] Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 23.

[4] George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), vol. 1, 2–3.

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.[5] This was called *reducción*, and became one method used all along the expanding northern frontier, especially where the Indians were nomadic and did not live in permanent villages.

The Rise of the Secular Clergy

The secular clergy 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 made it clear that the secular clergy would receive preference in Mexico. By the end of the sixteenth century, the progressive secularization of Indian parishes gave the regular clergy only two choices: retiring from the world into their remaining conventual retreats, or of taking on new conversions at the edges of the colonial world. Many elected to go to the new mining and civil frontiers to the north.[6] The transfer of a number of the earliest mission establishments to the seculars made many missionaries available for the expanding northern frontiers.[7] As a result, the province of Nueva Galicia was established in 1531, and Nueva Viscaya in 1562.[8] Both provinces included large areas which were only nominally conquered, or not at all.

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.[9]

The formalizing of these episodes of expansion produced a new policy for frontier conquest and pacification in 1583. In that year, Fray Domingo de Arzola, the Bishop

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[5] Ibid., 85–86.

[6] Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America's First Frontier War,* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1975); François Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda*, Lesley Byrd Simpson, ed. and trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

[7] Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 20; see also Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 3; John McAndrew, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965) 86–88.

[8] Michael B. McCloskey, *The Formative Years of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, 1683–1733* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 3-4; Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, revised edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

[9] McAndrew, *Open-Air Churches*, 32–33, 50; Chevalier, *Land and Society*, 14–15; Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 65–68.

of Guadalajara, proposed a method of pacifying the northern areas which would consolidate former practices and move friars from the central areas of Mexico to these new frontiers:

> The war as now conducted is very costly and difficult. Although the *presidios* [forts] 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.
> . . .
> The 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* [incursions] 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.[10]

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 Robert Ricard. The Franciscans worked principally in the areas to the east of the Sierras on this frontier, while the Jesuits began working in the mountains and along the coast to the west in 1591.[11]

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[10] Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver*, pp. 181–83; Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913), 471.

[11] Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver*, 193, 211–212.

The Northern Frontier

In 1546 silver was discovered at the site that later became the town of Zacatecas.[12] This began a push into the northern lands of New Spain, the broad dry country called the Chichimec Frontier—Chichimec was the generic name given to the nomadic raiders of the north by the sedentary Indians of central Mexico. 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, far to the north, had become an area of intense Franciscan work after 1598. Durango had been established in 1563, and the valley of Santa Bárbara was settled in 1567. 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.[13]

The Franciscans in New Mexico and the Jesuits in Sonora had 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.[14] For example, by 1623 the Jesuits had established eight missions for the Yaquis and gathered Indians from eighty *rancherias* (settlement areas) into these eight new mission towns along the Rio Yaqui.[15] In New Mexico, the Franciscans found that the Pueblo Indians already lived in concentrated villages. In some areas, however, the Franciscans considered the villages too small and dispersed for effective proselytizing and administration, and were able to persuade the Indians to congregate into fewer, larger pueblos.[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 of New Mexico show little

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[12] Chevalier, *Land and Society*, 39–40; *Powell, Soldiers, Indians and Silver.*

[13] McCloskey*, Formative Years*, p. 8; Charles Polzer*, Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 13–37; Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 10–31; Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 66.

[14] Charles W. Polzer, *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 4–7; Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, "Introduction to the Bringas Report: A Microcosm of Indoctrination," in Father Fray Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas, *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain*, 1796–97, Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, trans. and ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 13–15.

[15] Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 49.

[16] George Kubler*, The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and Since the American Occupation.* School of American Research (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1940), 16.

influence of Spanish town planning ideas before 1680,[17] but elsewhere the Laws of the Indies (laws issued by the Spanish crown regulating life in the New World) were followed to some extent. This practice frequently resulted in a rectilinear street plan around a central plaza, or square.[18] There are no references to fortified Indian towns associated with missions built during the l600s on the northern frontier, although the Laws of the Indies did provide for designing a town plan with defensive capability.

By the first decades of the seventeenth century, the relationship between the missionary and the people to whom he carried his message had changed considerably from what had been common in Europe at the beginning of the previous century. Since 1583, following the proposal made by the Bishop of Guadalajara, the northern missions had been supported by the royal stipend. Missionaries in New Mexico, for example, purchased supplies using the king's funds and had them shipped to the New Mexico missions. The great distance to New Mexico resulted in an uncertain supply arrangement managed by the missionary province of Santo Evangelio in Mexico City, the headquarters for the Franciscans of New Spain. In order to correct this, in 1631 the missionaries entered into a contract with the viceroy whereby a regular, organized supply system was set up for the New Mexico missions.[19] Every three years thereafter, a sum of money was allotted to the missionary effort and drawn on by the Franciscans.[20] The funds were used to purchase essential supplies, tools, and manufactured goods which could not readily be made on the frontier. These were

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[17] Ibid., 16–17.

[18] Dora P. Crouch, Daniel J. Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo*, Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 28–29.

[19] A complete translation and discussion of the contract of 1631 is in France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, I," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 5(January 1930):93–115—a copy of the manuscript is in *Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico*, legajo 1, part 1, no. 9, in the bound photostats of the Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque; James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions*, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers, vol. 15 (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1988), 201-228; James E. Ivey, "Seventeenth-Century Mission Trade on the Camino Real," *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, Cultural Resources Series no. 11, (Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1993), 41-68. For studies of the financing of frontier efforts from Mexico and Spain, see Amy Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994); Amy Bushnell*, The King's Coffers: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981).

[20] Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Established at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona*, Reports of the Awatovi Expedition, Report No. 3, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 36 (Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1949), 143.

shipped north by wagon train to New Mexico.[21] Farms, irrigation systems, and ranches were also included in the basic inventory of each mission's properties, again contrary to the early precepts of the Franciscan order requiring that they subsist on the charity of those to whom they preached.[22] 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.[23]

Querétaran Expansion into Texas

The attempt to establish a new mission field in present day 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 persuade the more distant groups to move closer to the mission complex, depending on improved European methods of agriculture to accommodate the increased population. The Indians did not like this idea.[24] Because of the extreme length of the supply line to these missions, the increasing hostility from local Indians, and French settlements in Louisiana competing for Indian support, Spanish authorities abandoned the initial effort 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 next move to establish a mission field in Texas did not occur until 1716, primarily in response to the increasingly threatening French presence on the Mississippi and Colorado rivers east of the Texas Indians. In the meantime, the college of Querétaro

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[21] James E. Ivey, "Seventeenth-Century Mission Trade on the Camino Real," *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, Cultural Resources Series no. 11, (Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1993).

[22] Kubler, *Religious Architecture*, 19; Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders*, third edition, translated by Alastair Laing (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 131.

[23] McCloskey, *Formative Years*, 25–35, 64.

[24] Ibid., 66–70.

established a second college at Zacatecas, Mexico, in 1707.[25] 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, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and San Miguel de Linares. Guadalupe was the chief mission under the Zacatecan Father President, Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus.[26]

At the same time that the new East Texas missions were established, the Presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas was also founded in the same area. A second presidio, Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, was placed in the area in 1721. As part of the new system of presidios and missions, an intermediate presidio, San Antonio de Béjar, was established on the San Antonio River in 1718. A "mission of liaison," San Francisco Solano, was moved from the Rio Grande to the San Antonio River Valley adjacent to the new presidio, and renamed San Antonio de Valero. 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.[27]

San Antonio de Béjar: The Ejido and the Town Tract

The extent of the first grants of land to the missions in the San Antonio area can be determined through careful assessment of the land ownership records through time. One must consider three separate processes: the establishment of the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar and the mission of San Antonio de Valero in 1718; the development of a civil settlement in association with the presidio; and finally the development of the mission presence. This section outlines the establishment of the presidio and the civil settlements. The mission use of land will be briefly described here, but is a separate topic requiring its own study.

In 1718, Viceroy Martín de Alarcón established the first Spanish settlements at the headwaters of the San Antonio River. These were a secular settlement called the Villa de Béjar, and a mission named San Antonio de Valero. In histories of Texas the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar is usually said to have been established on the San Antonio River in 1718. In fact, however, the presidio was apparently not created from the Villa de Béjar until late 1719. Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares'

[25] Ibid., 99.

[26] Carlos Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, Vol. 2, *The Winning of Texas*, 1693–1731 (Austin: von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1936), 57-69.

[27] Castañeda*, Winning of Texas*, 91-95, 128-30, 144.

original proposal for the establishment on the San Antonio River called for a civil settlement with soldiers, and the detailed instructions to Alarcón did not mention the establishment of a presidio, only a villa.[28]

The Villa de Béjar was to have an initial complement of thirty families. They were to be given all rights and privileges as first settlers, and to receive "the lands, pastures, water, and proportionate woods, with the sole reservation that there be left vacant enough lands for one hundred families who will be introduced in time."[29] Because the villa was located on a distant frontier, however, the settlers would be soldiers, and would remain on the military payroll because they might at any moment be called upon to defend themselves or the province.[30]

Fray Antonio de Olivares established the mission of San Antonio de Valero on May 1, one-half to three-quarters of a league (one to two miles) south of San Pedro Springs between the San Antonio River and San Pedro Creek.[31] Additional evidence discussed in Chapter 4 makes it likely that the site of the mission was located about where the later plaza of Villa San Fernando was established, just east of the presidial plaza of 1722 and near the opening of the Horseshoe Bend of the San Antonio River.[32]

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[28] Hoffmann, "Introduction," in Fray Francisco Céliz, *Diary of the Alarcón Expedition into Texas, 1718–1719,* Fritz Leo Hoffmann, trans. and ed., Quivira Society Publications, Vol. 5, (Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1935), 16, 21–22.

[29] *"Titulo de gobernador e instrucciones a Don Martín de Alacón para su expedición a Texas,"* as quoted in Jesus F. de la Teja, "Land and Society in 18th Century San Antonio de Bexar, a Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier," (Ph.D dissertation, the University of Texas at Austin, 1988), 117.

[30] Castañeda*, Winning of Texas*, 90. Alarcón does not claim to have established a presidio at San Antonio until January 1721, after the declaration of war with France in 1719 when all forts and ports were placed on a war footing. In all documents of 1718 and early 1719 the settlement was referred to as a villa, never as a presidio; Castañeda, *Winning of Texas,* 93 and n. 32, 120. Max L. Moorhead, *The Presidio, Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 25, and Teja, "Land and Society," 117, discuss the citizen soldier aspect of presidios in the early eighteenth century.

[31] Fray Marion A. Habig*, The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), 38; Fritz Hoffmann, "The Mezquia Diary of the Alarcón Expedition into Texas, 1718," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 41 (April 1938):318; Celíz, *Alarcón Expedition*, 49, 55.

[32] Fray Benito de Santa Ana, ca. June, 1741, *Letters and Memorials of the Father Presidente Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, 1736–1754*: *Documents on the Missions of Texas from the Archives of the College of Querétaro,* transcribed and translated by Fr. Benedict Leutenegger, O.F.M, Documentary Series, No. 6, (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at Our Lady of the Lake University, 1981), 37–38; Carlos E. Castañeda*, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, 1519–1936, vol. 3, *The Mission Era: The Missions At Work,* 1731–1761 (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1938), 107–08.

On May 5, Alarcón established the Villa de Béjar.[33] The actual site, however, was not selected until soon after May 17. Beginning on this date, the original camp on the west side of San Pedro Creek was abandoned, and a new, permanent site for the settlement was chosen between the creek and the river. By June 15, the settlers had built several huts and some corrals.[34] The first fields were plowed and planted in May and June, apparently on the south side of the springs and along the east side of San Pedro Creek. No irrigation ditch was constructed at the time.[35]

Presumably the villa and mission were allotted the usual lands for such establishments; unfortunately, historian Frank de la Teja points out, "there is no evidence Alarcón ever had the founding [of the villa] recorded or that he made an effort to distribute land individually to the soldier-settlers."[36] Nonetheless, either the villa or its successor, the presidio and villa, apparently was considered to have a four-square-league town tract, bounded on the south by the lands of Valero containing the usual four square leagues for the mission, with the division line about midway between the mission and villa. Such a division would have given the Villa de Béjar the territory around San Pedro Springs, and the mission would have the irrigable lands to the south, in the narrow strip of land between the San Antonio River and San Pedro Creek. During the first year, however, the two settlements shared the irrigable lands along the east side of San Pedro Creek south of the springs.

Valero apparently did not have a specific founding document for its site at the San Pedro Springs. Instead, the mission probably progressed under the grant given when it was first founded under its original name of San Francisco Solano, on March 1, 1700, near the Rio Grande.[37] Early mission grants allowed the mission to be mobile if the missionaries so desired; this seems to have been an accepted condition for the establishment of a new mission.[38] Valero probably was again laid out so that the main plaza would have been the standard size of about 120 varas (one vara equals approximately thirty-three inches) square; including the widths of the surrounding streets, about 13.3 varas, this would have been about 402 feet square, with the mission church and convento and the other necessary structures arranged around it. The Indian quarters would have been laid out in blocks along streets in the form of an open

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[33] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, 90, 92 n. 30, 94; Hoffmann, "Introduction," 24–25, in Céliz, *Alarcón Expedition,* 49.

[34] Hoffman, "Mezquia," 323.

[35] Céliz, *Alarcón Expedition*, 55; Hoffmann, "Mezquia," 323.

[36] Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar, A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 32.

[37] Robert S.Weddle*, San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 31–33.

[38] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, 150–51.

village. The missions of San Antonio were not enclosed in defensive walls until about 1760.[39]

By January 1719, the irrigation system for the fields of the Villa de Béjar and mission were being constructed from San Pedro Creek or the San Pedro Spring itself.[40] The system was probably a single ditch intended to supply both the villa and Valero. Such a layout was certain to cause immediate conflict between the villa and mission concerning water use for the fields of each settlement. This first ditch was apparently a short, inadequate system that watered only the area immediately south of the springs. The system was later enlarged by the Marqués de Aguayo in 1722.[41]

The first mayor/commander of the settlement may have been Juan Valdéz, who became the first commander of the Presidio de San Antonio when it was established in 1719. Valdéz had been stationed at Presidio San Juan Bautista prior to Alarcón's expedition to establish San Antonio, and was married to a daughter of Captain Diego Ramon, commander of San Juan Bautista.[42] Captain Ramon's son Domingo was commander of the Presidio de Tejas in East Texas at this time, and later the commander of Presidio Loreto at La Bahia when it was established at the site of Robert de La Salle's French fort on Espiritu Santo bay in 1722, 115 miles southeast of San Antonio. Domingo's son Diego became acting commander at La Bahia in 1723. The Ramons were all suspected of smuggling in connivance with Diego's grandson by marriage, Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis, Sieur de Saint-Denis. Saint-Denis had been commander of the French fort at Biloxi in 1713, but became involved in the French attempt to open Texas for French trade. That contraband trade flowed across Texas through the hands of the Ramons and Saint-Denis was an open secret, but never proved. In this context, Valdéz's appointment at San Antonio seemed more than fortuitous.[43] Since Alarcón suspected Valdéz of at least complicity in the smuggling across Texas, however, it would seem rather odd for him to be appointed the first mayor/commander. Some other officer probably received the first appointment, and

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[39] Juan Valdéz, "Report of Captain Juan Valdéz," March 13, 1720, *San José Papers*, 27–42; Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, 24. The exception to this statement is Mission Concepción, which had an enclosing wall by 1745, built around at least the convento and church, if not also the Indian pueblo. However, this pueblo and enclosing wall were completely replaced in the 1760s with one of a similar design to those built at the other missions in the same period.

[40] Castañeda*, Winning of Texas*, 96; Céliz, *Alarcón Expedition*, 86.

[41] Bachillor don Juan Antonio de la Peña, *Derrotero de la Expedicion en la Provincia de los Texas, Nuevo Reyno de Philipnas* (Mexico: Juan Francisco de Ortega Bonilla, 1722), 25.

[42] Robert S.Weddle*, San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 138; Frederick C. Chabot, *With the Makers of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Artes Graficas: 1937), 46, 90, 94. Valdéz had apparently also been a member of the Ramon expedition of 1716, Chabot, *With the Makers of San Antonio*, 55.

[43] Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, 133–141.

Valdéz's appointment may have been delayed until the creation of the presidio in mid-1719, after Alarcón's political influence had waned.

Mission Valero Moves

The missionaries moved Mission San Antonio de Valero to the east side of the San Antonio River sometime in 1719. It had not yet moved as of Feb. 10, 1719, but was on the east side of the river by the end of February 1720.[44] The move to the east side probably occurred in the late fall of 1719, during the uproar of war with France and the conversion of the Villa de Béjar to the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar. Such a date would have been early enough to allow time to build temporary dwellings, storerooms, and a church before the onset of severe winter weather.[45] Although no clear reasons for the move are given in the available documents, it is likely that friction between the mission and the nascent presidio and civil settlement prompted Valero's move to the east side of the San Antonio River. The missionaries began construction on a church, Indian quarters, and a new dam and irrigation ditch separate from that of the villa. The new dam was built somewhat south of present Olmos Springs, forming the headwaters of the San Antonio River. The location selected for this dam was probably on or near the good location for a dam noticed by the Alarcón expedition in 1718, about one-quarter league, or half a mile, above the principal ford of the San Antonio River, apparently later called the *"Paso de Tejas."* As built, the dam was located in the northern part of present Brackenridge Park[46] and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

At the new second site, the mission would probably have again been laid out following the general plan used at its first location in San Antonio, with the main plaza about 402 feet square, the mission church and convento and other buildings arranged around it, and the Indian quarters in blocks along streets forming an open village.

Valero's move across the San Antonio River opened up the entire area of land between the San Pedro and the San Antonio to be incorporated into the lands of the Villa de Béjar. Certainly the vacant mission land was taken into the holdings of the Villa *de Facto* (government), since in 1722 the Villa de Béjar was moved to what was probably the site of the abandoned mission. The new Presidio de San Antonio de Bejár was placed next to it on its west side, and included a new ditch built, probably from the original dam location at San Pedro Springs, to reach the irrigable land to the south. Valero, however, seemed to have considered itself to retain some claim to the original site, especially to the land within the *potrero*, the horseshoe bend of the river. This claim

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[44] Céliz, *Alarcón Expedition*, 86; Fray Antonio Olivares, *"Oposición a la fundación de la Mission de San Joséph del río de San Antonio,"* February 23, 1720, *in The San José Papers: Edited Primary Manuscript Sources for the History of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Part 1, 1719 to 1791*, Fray Benedict Leutenegger, trans., Fray Marion Habig, ed. (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1978), 19–26; Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions,* 42.

[45] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, 42.

[46] Hoffmann, *"Mezquia,"* 317–18.

later caused friction between the mission and the new settlement of San Fernando, which in 1731 took possession of the land and some Villa de Béjar houses apparently located on the original site of the mission, east of the presidio.

Villa to Presidio

France declared war on Spain on January 9, 1719,[47] and French forces in Louisiana mounted an attack on the Spanish missions in East Texas in June 1719.[48] The Marqués de Valero, Viceroy of New Spain, received notification of the French declaration of war in July 1719, at which time the king ordered him to place all forts and ports on a war footing. The reports on French attacks on Texas arrived in early August.[49] This apparently resulted in the creation of the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar from the Villa de Béjar. The order creating the presidio and appointing Juan Valdéz as its first captain appears to have reached the area between August and December 1719. Refugees from the East Texas missions arrived in November.

Captain Alonso de Cárdenas apparently carried the order for the establishment of the presidio and appointment to Valdéz. Cárdenas brought a company of eighty men under his command to reinforce the small garrison of the new presidio. Fortunately, Captain Lorenzo García was also in town in 1719 and he knew the languages of some local Coahuiltecan tribes and served as a translator for Valdéz.[50]

The first indication of the change in status in the available documents was on December 26, 1719, when Juan Valdéz was referred to as the Lieutenant General "whom you [the Marqués de Aguayo] have here [in San Antonio]," and the Villa de Béjar was called "*este Precidio y Villa.*"[51] During the first few years after its conversion to a presidio in late 1719, the settlement was called by an ambivalent name including both of its aspects. For example, in January 1720, Aguayo referred to the presidio as *the "Villa y Precidio de San Antonio de Vejar."* He also referred to it several times as simply the *Villa de San Antonio.*[52] In February 1720, Juan Valdéz called the town the "*presidio y villa de Béjar."* He referred to himself as "*Capitan Juan Valdéz, teniente General de*

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[47] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas,* 114.

[48] Ibid., 115. The attacking force consisted of three mounted men; this force suffered a 33% casualty rate as a result of an effective defense mounted by the chickens of Mission San Miguel de los Adaes.

[49] Ibid., 120–21.

[50] Captain Juan Valdéz in *"Oposición a la fundación de la Mission de San Joséph del rio de San Antonio," February 23, 1720, San José Papers, 25; Juan Valdéz, "Report of Juan Valdéz,"* March 13, 1720, *San José Papers*, 28–29.

[51] Fray Antonio Margil, *"Testimonio de la possession y mission de San Joséph,"* December 26, 1719, *San José Papers*, 3, 8.

[52] "Decree of Aguayo for the founding of Mission San José," January 22, 1720, *San José Papers*, 14–18.

dicho presidio." Again, later in the same letter, he called himself "*Señor Capitan Juan Valdes Theniente General y Alcalde Mayor del Presidio ó Villa de San Antonio de Vejar.*"[53] Valdéz apparently remained the commander until 1722.[54] The villa and presidio remained a joint settlement during this period, still located a little south of San Pedro Springs.

The Establishment of Mission San José

On February 23, 1720, about a year and a half after the establishment of Valero and perhaps six to eight months after it was moved to the east bank, Mission San José was founded. The site selected for it was also on the east side of the San Antonio River.[55] In 1745, Fray Espinosa stated that San José was originally established across the river from its present site, and farther upstream.[56] Since it would have been placed south of the south boundary of Valero's *ejido*, (community land) the general location would have been somewhere in the area of the present Mission Concepción, a short distance south of Valero's land.

The missionaries of San José quickly began construction on temporary buildings and the acequia for the fields. The dam for the new acequia system was built on the San Antonio River about three-quarters of a league north of the place selected for the mission.[57]

The Querétaran missionaries at Valero however apparently did not simply accept this new, and much too close, establishment without argument. The documents imply a series of hypothetical subsequent events: some members of the San José granting party were able to convince Fray Joséph Guerra that San José's planned site was a full three leagues away from Valero, and he approved this location as acceptable to Valero. On the contrary, the new location was actually only half the distance required by Fray Olivares and the law. Valero missionaries probably began the preparation of an official protest as soon as the Zacatecans began building a dam and excavating an irrigation

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[53] Captain Juan Valdéz, *"Oposición a la fundación de la Mission de San Joséph del rio de San Antonio,"* February 23, 1720, *San José Papers*, 20.

[54] Captain Juan Valdéz, "Report of Juan Valdéz," March 13, 1720, *San José Papers*, 30.

[55] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, 130; Captain Juan Valdéz, "Report of Juan Valdéz," March 13, 1720*, San José Papers*, 28–42; Olivares, *"Oposición," San José Papers*, 19–26; Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, 85.

[56] Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa*, Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva España*, Lino G. Canedo, ed. (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964), 758.

[57] Captain Juan Valdéz, *"Oposición a la fundación de la Mission de San Joséph del rio de San Antonio,"* February 23, 1720, *San José Papers*, 25; Captain Juan Valdéz, "Report of Juan Valdéz," March 13, 1720, *San José Papers*, 32.

ditch across the Valero farmland, if not sooner.[58] The arrival in San Antonio of the new governor don Joseph de Azlor Virto de Vera, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, only a few months later gave the missionaries of Valero the opportunity to exert powerful leverage against the Zacatecans.

The Presidio Is Moved

In the face of the threatened loss of Texas to the French, and with orders from the king to establish a new presidio near the coast, the Viceroy sent a relief expedition to Texas. Its commander and the new governor of Texas was the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo.[59] Aguayo's expedition arrived at San Antonio on April 4, 1721; Fray Juan Antonio de la Peña, who kept a journal of the expedition, referred to the settlement as "the Villa and Presidio of San Antonio de Béjar."[60] Aguayo carried out an inspection of the villa and the two missions, but did little else; then continued on to East Texas on May 13.[61]

In December 1721, a fire at the Presidio and Villa de Béjar, still at its original site just south of San Pedro Springs, destroyed sixteen of the *jacal* (adobe style structure) houses of the soldiers and settlers, as well as the jacal granary, 700 fanegas (one fanega equals approximately 1.58 bushels)of corn, and the entire stock of wheat.[62] Upon receiving a report of this, Aguayo determined to build a new presidio of less flammable material on a better site.

Aguayo returned to San Antonio on January 23, 1722. He immediately ordered the old Villa de Béjar site just south of San Pedro Springs abandoned, and began construction on the new Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar at the location of the present Military Plaza in San Antonio, about 1.25 miles to the south of the original villa site, and apparently just west of the first site of Mission Valero. If indeed the Valero site had been located here, the old mission plaza, abandoned for about two years, apparently became the new civil plaza for the Villa de Béjar, while the presidio was laid out just west of it around a new plaza. Work on the adobe walls of the new presidio began immediately, with the manufacture of 30,000 adobe bricks.[63] At the same time, Aguayo had a new acequia built and the area south of the new presidio cleared to be the new fields to supply the presidio and villa.[64] The acequia was said to irrigate two leagues of land, but this was an exaggeration; the total distance from San Pedro Springs to the

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[58] Captain Juan Valdéz, *"Oposición a la fundación de la Mission de San Joséph del rio de San Antonio,"* February 23, 1720*, San José Papers,* 25.

[59] Castañeda,*Winning of Texas*, 120–121.

[60] Bachillor don Juan Antonio de la Peña*, Derrotero de la Expedicion en la Provincia de los Texas, Nuevo Reyno de Philipnas* (Mexico: Juan Francisco de Ortega Bonilla, 1722), 5.

[61] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, 136–37.

[62] Peña*, Derrotero*, 23r.

[63] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, 147.

[64] Peña, *Derrotero*, 25.

confluence with the San Antonio River was only about 1.5 leagues. This acequia system was the principal irrigation layout that served the presidio until the establishment of the Villa de San Fernando on the site in 1731, and for some time afterwards.

San José Moves

About one year after its founding in February 1720, the Franciscans moved the mission of San José from the east side of the river to the west and downriver to its present site. The move apparently happened soon after the arrival of the Aguayo expedition in San Antonio on April 4, 1721. The San José original grant used on the east side was probably considered to be legal for the new site on the west side. San José moved sometime after April or May 1721, and before the time of the establishment of the mission of San Xavier de Nájera on the Concepción site on March 10, 1722. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The boundary between the Presidio and Villa de Béjar and the new *fundo legal* (location site) of San José was negotiated. This probably produced the earliest version of the south boundary of the villa, a long line running diagonally to the southwest, from the *Palo Quemado* on San Pedro Creek to the *Paso de Jacalitos* on Leon Creek. This was later changed by the intrusion of part of the land of Mission Concepción in 1731, and then converted to the ejido of Villa de San Fernando later the same year.[65]

Land Use at the Villa and Presidio of San Antonio de Béjar

By 1726 the presidio and villa had a combined population of about two hundred people. Teja estimates that by 1731, just prior to the establishment of the new Villa de San Fernando, there were perhaps twenty to twenty-five civilian households in the settlement, giving a civilian population of about eighty persons. In addition, the settlement contained the families of the forty-four officers and men stationed at the presidio, for a total of perhaps 235 persons.[66]

Life in the villa centered on the presidio. It would have been a simple community life, with civilians and military living side by side, and soldiers with families having their own houses. Some of the families began making permanent improvements, such as planting fruit trees on their lots. Apparently nobody sought legal title to their lots; there was far more room than there were people. Teja says that "improvements such as adobe or stone houses began to replace stick and mud jacales ... Ownership under these simple and familiar circumstances did not rest in paper titles but in acknowledged possession and actual use."[67]

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[65] Captain Juan Antonio Peres de Almazán, *Testimonio de Asiento de Missiones*, March 5, 1731, Spanish Archives of the Texas General Land Office, box 122, folder 2, 19v–21.

[66] Teja, *Land and Society,* 74–75.

[67] Teja, *Land and Society*, 119–20; Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar,* 33; Jesús F. de la Teja, "Forgotten Founders: The Military Settlers of Eighteenth-Century San Antonio de Béxar," in *Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio*, Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa,

The Presidial Plaza was about 400 feet square. The "presidio" as a settlement was apparently considered to consist of the house lots and garden plots extending south about 2,000 feet from the Presidial Plaza, and about the same distance north. East of the Presidial Plaza was the second square for the civil settlement of the Villa de San Antonio. It too was about 400 feet on a side, with the acequia flowing through it and apparently had begun as the plaza of Mission San Antonio de Valero during its one-year stay at this location.

Many of the town lots occupied by presidial families during the 1720s appear to have later been granted to them, after the establishment of the Villa de San Fernando in 1731. Several examples will serve to demonstrate this. The Hernandez and Carbajal families, founding members of the Villa de Béjar, had their first homes on the east bank of San Pedro Creek, extending east to North Flores Street and bounded north and south by present Travis and Houston Streets. South of these lots, on the north side of the presidio between Houston and Commerce Streets, was the family lot of Joseph de Urrutia, who had been on early expeditions to East Texas before the founding of San Antonio and was sent back to San Antonio to become captain of the presidio on July 23, 1733.[68] Joseph Antonio Rodriguez received title to a lot fifty varas square fronting on the south side of the presidio plaza, based on his claim that he had lived in San Antonio since before 1731, and had been in the service of the king since 1720.[69] Joseph Montemayor stated that he had served in the province of Texas since 1716 (he is listed as a mule-driver in the Ramon expedition) and was granted the lot where he lived, sixty varas north to south by forty varas east to west, on the east bank of San Pedro Creek between the creek and the presidio.[70] These lots were west of the acequia. It appears that when the new settlers of the Villa de San Fernando in 1731 dispossessed fifteen families of the *presidiales* (soldiers), the native Canary Islanders chose lots east of the acequia immediately around the civil plaza.

Of the land between the San Pedro and San Antonio that could be irrigated, only a small part had actually been cleared of woods and brought under cultivation by the "ancient settlers of the Presidio" as of 1731. These cultivated lands extended a total distance, north to south, of about 4,600 feet, beginning at the edge of the house and garden lots.[71] During the 1720s, the presidial farmlands were irrigated and worked

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eds. (Austin: University of Texas Institute for Texan Cultures, University of Texas Press, 1991), 27–38.

[68] Chabot, *With the Makers of San Antonio*, 18, 31.

[69] Ibid., 73.

[70] Ibid., 72.

[71] This estimate is taken from the survey and statements of Captain Juan Antonio Perez de Almazán, *"repartimiento de solares, ejidos, Dehesas, Tierras de Lavor y aguas...,"* July 11, 1731, Archivo General de la Nacion, Provincias Internas, 1731, vol. 163, folios 22–61v, University of Texas at Austin, Benson Latin American Collection microfilm; a translation of part of this document is in Mattie Alice Austin, "The Municipal Government of San Fernando

communally, by labor paid for by the governor, who also supplied oxen, plows, and seed.[72] Between six and ten soldiers would form a workforce to tend the fields of the presidio. Although there is no documentary evidence of civilians operating farms in the irrigated fields, it is fairly certain that they did. At one point in the 1720s, the missionary at Valero attempted to get the fields closed down so that the presidiales and settlers would have to buy their subsistence from the missions.[73] There seems to have been a small number of civilian men who worked as servants and day laborers in the presidio, and others who hired out as *vaqueros* or field hands to groups of farmers.[74]

The town plans made in the 1760s are probably good representations of the appearance before the arrival of the Canary Islanders, since the evidence indicates that the vernacular presidial town plan was continued by the new Villa de San Fernando, rather than being overlaid by a new town plan.[75] In general, the presidio and villa in 1722–1730 looked very much like it did after the establishment of the Villa de San Fernando in 1731—the principal difference would be somewhat fewer houses in the 1720s. The survey of the new town of San Fernando was intended to establish a new, modern plan to replace the old, homegrown plan, but did not succeed in doing so.

The presidio was supplied by mule train, although no details of the supply system are available for the 1720s.[76] Some of the incoming supplies were distributed to the soldiers; the remainder were sold through the presidial store with the price of goods charged against the soldier's salary. The store was open to the civilians of the settlement, too, and probably discouraged the establishment of stores operated by local merchants.[77]

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de Béxar," *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, 8 (April 1905) 4:343–45; a second translation of most of the document is in the Bexar County Archives: Captain Juan Antonio Perez de Almazán, "Orders from the Marques de Casafuerte Vice Roy of New Spain in Mexico City, for the measurement of the lands for the Canary Island families: and the reports from the Captain of the Presidio of San Antonio de Béjar . . . ," John O. Leal and Maria Carolina Balderama, translators, Bexar County Archives, Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas.

[72] Teja, *Land and Society*, 173.

[73] Ibid., 232–33.

[74] Ibid., 284–85.

[75] Joseph de Urrutia, *"Plano de la Villa y Presidio de S. Antonio de Vejar,"* ca. 1767, in Moorhead, *Presidio*, 156, plate 21; and Captain don Luis Antonio Menchaca, *"Mapa del Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar, i sus Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, F[ec]ho en 24 del Mes de Marzo de 1764, Por el Capitan Don Luis Anttonio Menchaca que lo es de d[ic]ho Presidio,"* in George Nelson, *The Alamo: An Illustrated History,* (Dry Frio Canyon, Texas: Aldine Press, 1998), 34.

[76] Teja, *Land and Society*, p. 313.

[77] Ibid., 314–18.

Private ranchers were uncommon before 1731. We know of at least one, the San Bartolome Ranch of the Hernandez family, indicating that private ranches were in operation then. The Hernandez family operated a ranch at the place called San Bartolome, at the confluence of the Cibolo and San Antonio Rivers south of San Antonio, since the founding of the presidio and with permission from the governors of Texas, until a grant to the ranch was issued in 1737.[78] At least one civilian ranch existed at the south end of the San Antonio River Valley as well during these years. During the search for a new site for the Presidio La Bahia in 1725, several references were made to a private ranch two leagues from the first site of the presidio, or in the general area of La Salle, Texas, just north and west of Lavaca Bay. The owner is not mentioned. Because the ranch was being recommended as the new location for the presidio, we may conclude that it must not have had a formal grant and could therefore be preempted.[79]

In 1727 General Pedro de Rivera inspected the presidios of Texas looking for ways to reduce the cost of the northern presidial system. Among other things, he recommended that the East Texas Presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (also called "de los Tejas"), near the three Querétaran missions, be closed. The presidio was closed in April 1729, and in July the Querétaran missions, deprived of the protection of the presidio, requested that they be allowed to move to a more suitable location. The first site selected as the new location for the three missions was the Colorado River near the present town of San Marcos. The missions were established here in July 1730, but the site proved to have a poor potential for irrigation and the Franciscans again petitioned for permission to move. This time, they went to the San Antonio River, downstream from the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar and the two missions of Valero and San José.[80]

Captain Juan Antonio Perez de Almazán officially granted the lands for the three new missions on March 5, 1731, just a few days prior to the arrival of the Canary Islanders.[81] Fray Gabriel Vergara, Father President of Texas' Querétaran missions, reviewed the laws concerning mission and secular land use in May 1731, 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 de San Fernando and its surrounding public lands were actually laid out.[82] In other words, the villa was laid out with the full

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[78] Jackson, Jack. *Los Mesteños: Spanish Ranching in Texas, 1721–1821* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986), 60–63; Chabot*, With the Makers of San Antonio,* 35–36.

[79] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, 181, 185.

[80] Castañeda*, Winning of Texas*, 231, 237–240; Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, 123–24; Chipman, 130–31.

[81] Almazán, *"Testimonio,"* 19v–21.

[82] Fray Gabriel Vergara to Captain Juan Antonio Perez de Almazán, *"Escrito duplicado del P[adr]e Vergara p[ar]a las tierras y aguas de la Concep[ció]n, Espada, y S[a]n Ju[a]n Capistrano,"* May 31, 1731, Celaya microfilm, roll 3, frames 3560–3565.

considerations of the law governing mission lands already established in the minds of Almazán and Father President Vergara, and with the mission ejidos already in place. Presumably Almazán 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:

> In the direction of the southeast it is not possible to give any land of that which was ordered to be given for the ejido of this settlement because the first measurement of the plan that was assigned for the settlement reached the bank of the San Antonio River, which serves as division and partition between this settlement and the missions, and especially that of San Antonio . . . and on the south the lands of the mission of San José in the direction of Nogalitos ford.[83]

The survey of San Fernando's town tract was recorded in detail by Captain Don Juan Antonio Perez de Almazán, who conducted the work. The survey began on the morning of July 2, 1731, and continued through July 7. The total area of the town tract was about eight square leagues, somewhat more than the four leagues legally allowed. The oddities of Almazán's survey can most easily be explained if we assume it was carried out specifically to incorporate an old original eight-league plan, four leagues north to south and two leagues east to west, that combined the old San Antonio and Valero ejidos into the new town tract of San Fernando.

The Compromise of 1745

Because of the sequence of events in the first establishment and subsequent movements of the presidio and mission, questions of land ownership arose between the new Villa de San Fernando and Mission Valero. Fray Benito Fernandez de Santa Ana, for example, stated explicitly that the villa had taken some of Valero's land when it was established. They built houses, he said, in areas "that in reality were the lands of the Mission of San Antonio," instead of on the site west of the presidio and San Pedro Creek where they had been ordered to build. They had changed the location on their own authority in order to make use of the already existing acequia system and cleared farmland prepared by the civil settlement associated with the Presidio de San Antonio.[84]

The survey of San Fernando in 1731 did indeed encroach on areas of Valero's land. On the north side of the mission the San Fernando survey overlapped Valero ranchlands, and east of the villa Valero seems to have considered much of the land in the area between San Pedro Springs and the horseshoe bend of the river to be part of its ejido.

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[83] Almazán, "Orders . . . for the measurement of the lands for the Canary Island families," 13, 16.

[84] Fr. Benito de Santa Ana, ca. June, 1741, *Letters and Memorials,* pp. 37–38; Almazán, "Orders . . . for the measurement of the lands for the Canary Island families," 6.

In 1745, San Fernando and the missions reached an explicit compromise agreement to settle this disagreement. Among other things, 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 distance between the house of Juan Banul and the mission of San Antonio being adequate, 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 [written over: Escaramuza] [added:] *spring that is on the east that arises in the little creek that comes from the plain of Las Cibolas* [Olmos Springs], toward the north, we will separate on the west the lands of the Villa and on the east those of the pueblo of San Antonio . . . ."[85]

Juan Banul was a Flemish master blacksmith at Valero in 1730.[86] His house was somewhat west of the center of the potrero, near the mouth of the Horseshoe Bend.[87] This clause in the agreement indicates that the villa and the mission divided the potrero in half, north to south, and left the east half and the land adjacent to the river on the east side as a neutral zone where neither party would build or improve.

It is fairly clear that the document refers to Olmos Springs at the headwaters of the San Antonio River. These springs, called the *nogal de Fray Juan* in the 1755 Monte Galvan partition, are along Olmos Creek, which could be described as the "little creek that comes from the plain of Las Cibolas," or the plain of the Cibolo River.[88] It is possible

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[85] Fray Benito Fernandez de Santa Ana and the Cabildo of the Villa de San Fernando, "Escritura de Combenio de los Ysleños y Miss[ion]es, 1745," August 14, 1745, Texas General Land Office, Spanish Archives, box 122, folder 5, pp. 48-–49v; also a slightly different copy in Celaya microfilms, roll 4, frames 5214–5217.

[86] Mardith Schuetz, "Professional Artisans in the Hispanic Southwest," *The Americas*, 40(July, 1983):36; Mardith Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions, 1718–1821," dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1980, 297.

[87] Teja, *Land and Society in 18th Century San Antonio*, 130.

[88] Castañeda misread *"Llano de las Cibolas"* as *"Llano de las Viboras;"* Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mission Era: The Missions at Work, 1731–1761*, vol III, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519–1936*, Austin (Von Boeckmann-Jones: 1938), 107.

that this phrase should read "from the plain of the buffalos" for 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. The document as originally written says that the dividing line ran north from *La Escaramuza*, the "Place of Contention," having either the connotation of a military conflict or that of a boundary disagreement. This is a place-name mentioned in the land survey of San Fernando in 1731, located near San Pedro Springs. It appears that at first the Villa de San Fernando was to give up all land along the north side of its ejido to its northwest corner, and then along a line north to the northwestern corner of its "labores" tract. This was changed so that the line instead ran northwest from Olmos Springs, the northeast corner of the pastureland tract, more or less along the Olmos Creek valley to the northwest corner of the "labores." The compromise established Olmos Creek as a continuation of the San Antonio River, and extended the partition status of the river to the creek, so that the town of San Fernando included only the land west of Olmos Creek. The settlement of San Fernando was giving up the portion of its "labores" that extended north and east of Olmos Creek to Salado Creek, about 1.75 square leagues of land. The two parties, the town of San Fernando and the Mission of Valero, accepted this proposed line of compromise, and was remembered a century later when in 1846 John James resurveyed the town tract of San Antonio. Instead of carrying the northeastern line to Salado Creek (as it was in 1731) the survey line turned northwest from the area of Olmos Springs and continued directly to a prominent hill at the mouth of Novillo Creek where it enters Olmos Creek,[89] at the original northwest corner of the 1731 survey.[90]

The Mission of Law and Theory

With the establishment of five missions at San Antonio, the concerns of both missionaries and civil authorities changed from the difficulties of establishment dealt with from 1718 to 1731, to the ongoing questions of the mission process itself. The process of missionization, as exemplified by the San Antonio missions, followed a clear series of steps, although there is debate among historians as to how well-defined these steps were in advance.

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:

Phase 1, the *misión*. This was the simple establishment of a missionary effort directed toward a particular group of Indians. It was set up in one of two basic patterns: the

[89] Novillo Creek flows into Olmos Creek just south of Loop 410.

[90] "Field notes of the Survey of the Lands Claimed by the Corporation of the City of San Antonio," John James, Deputy Surveyor, February 13, 1846, Bexar County Survey Book, Vol. F1:28–29; "The City of San Antonio, Texas, vs. Samuel Kinney, et als.," November 24, 1847, Bexar County Deed Records, Book 1011, p. 407, 409; Lota M. Spell, "The Grant and First Survey of the City of San Antonio," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 66 (July 1962):81.

congregación, established for Indians who already lived sedentary lives in a fixed village system; or the *reducción*, 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.[91] The second pattern was used for the seasonally migratory Indians of the San Antonio area.

Phase 2, *conversión.* Once established under the guidance of a missionary—and with some advances in persuading the Indians to accept mission control—the *misión* became a place where indoctrination was the goal. 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 conducting daily life in a Hispanic manner, observing those guidelines in effect for all Christian citizens of Spain and its Empire. The ongoing acculturation effort (Spanish language, Spanish lifeways, skills), was paralleled with the effort to construct a permanent physical plant for the mission. When the neophyte community of the mission reached the point of being comfortable in the new language and lifestyle, the mission sometimes went to its next phase.[92]

Phase 3, the *doctrina.* With this step missionaries surrendered the management of community secular activities to a local government made up of Indian ex-neophytes, usually under the supervision of a civilian commissary or other public official. The missionary continued the religious training of the community in the capacity of a parish priest, or a secular priest was appointed in his place to be the *doctrinero.* Under a missionary, the community continued to receive some support from the Franciscan missionary system in the form of annual supplies for the convento and church as well as the upkeep of the church, friary, and other religious structures. At various times in the history of New Spain, the neophytes of a doctrina were subject to taxes, tribute and tithes by the secular government and the secular church, responsibilities from which they had previously been exempt. In this phase, they were not subject to these taxes.

Keep in mind, however, that the term "doctrina" has been used as much for convenience as for historical accuracy. The sequence of development examined here was most clearly seen in the late eighteenth century. In earlier periods the distinction between a doctrina and the other categories of the mission were more arbitrary. For example, in New Mexico in the seventeenth century, the missions to the established

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[91] The same term was applied when several villages were combined into one, a common action by churchmen in Mexico in the sixteenth century, and at least occasionally in New Mexico in the seventeenth century; Kubler, *Mexican Architecture*, vol. 1, 87–91; John McAndrew, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 91–92.

[92] Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, "Introduction," in Fray Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas, *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796–97*, trans. Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 13–14.

towns of the Pueblo Indians were called doctrinas because the Franciscans had little responsibility for the temporalities of these pueblos. The Indians built their own houses, farmed their own lands, and made their own tools and clothes. They had their own internal government. When advanced to the status of doctrina, a pueblo theoretically would come under the authority of the bishop responsible for the area, would begin to pay taxes to the crown and tithes to the bishop, and would be subject to civil law like any other village. However, in the late 1630s the viceroy determined the pueblos were indeed doctrinas because of their advancement as self-administered, Christian villages; but the pueblos could not be required to pay taxes because they already paid tribute to the *encomendero*; no bishop should be placed in authority over New Mexico because it was too far from the nearest center of episcopal authority and because spiritual guidance was already present in the form of the Franciscan missionary system; and the pueblos could not be required to pay tithes because they did not actually control the field products or harvest on which tithes would be levied.[93] Further, they paid tribute to the encomenderos, who then paid tithes on that tribute to the Franciscans, who supervised much of the planting and herding of the pueblo in the first place.[94] In other times and areas, a mission was called a doctrina simply because the process of indoctrination occurred there, with no necessary implication about the management of the mission. Nonetheless, on the northern frontier in the late eighteenth century, missionization did follow the pattern being described here.

Paralleling the creation of what we are calling the doctrina was "partial secularization," or "temporal secularization," a stage developed late in the colonial history of the New World. Here, the missionary became effectively a parish priest, no longer controlling daily life (the temporalities) but continuing to provide spiritual guidance. Most of the examples of this we know of are the result of action on the part of the government, rather than within the religious order operating a mission. The formalities at this point included an inventory of the houses, land, tools, and herds, which were divided among the Indian residents of the mission. The missionaries kept the church and their residential area of the mission. The local civil authority assigned an administrator or *alcalde* to act as advisor and protector of the Indians in their temporal affairs. Ultimately, there was no significant difference between the "partially secularized" mission and the doctrina. When the missionaries felt that the religious training of the community was completed or when political expediency dictated, they advanced to the next stage.[95]

Phase 4, the *curato*. In this phase missionary activity ceased at the new community, and the church and other religious buildings were turned over to the bishop of the

[93] Only European products, such as wheat or sheep, could be tithed. Corn, beans and cotton were native products and therefore not subject to the tithe. See Hackett, *Documents*, 112–13.

[94] This discussion is taken from Ivey, *Loneliness,* 32–33, and Hackett, *Documents,* 75–127.

[95] Matson and Fontana, "Introduction," in Bringas, *Friar Bringas Reports*, 13–14.

secular church responsible for the mission region. The mission community at this point became fully secularized and was regarded as a new pueblo (town).[96] The missionaries and the local secular priest carried out a final inventory of the church and sacristy and the missionaries turned the building over to the secular church. Undistributed lands were essentially returned to the king's land, the *realengas*, and made available for distribution among those qualified to receive them.

This set of defined episodes of development will carry us through our examination of the San Antonio missions. However, as a result of that examination, we will find ourselves looking at a number of questions about the origin of the decisions to carry out the steps of mission development, temporal secularization, and final secularization, as well as the associated changes in the management of misison properties. These questions cannot be answered within a study looking only at one group of missions in one province, but rather must be considered through comparison with the development of the mission in other provinces at this same time. Some of these questions will be discussed in Chapter 12, as will suggestions about rewarding future research.

[96] Ibid., 13–14.

Chapter 2
The Architecture and Architects of the San Antonio Missions, 1720–1827

Introduction

The identities of the designers and builders of the Spanish colonial churches of San Antonio, Texas, have long been a mystery. My research, along with work by Adán Benavides and Mardith Schuetz-Miller,[1] has allowed the identification of several of the architects who designed and constructed the missions of San Antonio, and three mason/sculptors who carved the facades and the retablos and other interior woodwork of the buildings. This has been a difficult process, because the descriptive colonial documents about the missions available to us do not name architects, and frequently do not even indicate that construction on a given project is underway. Instead, they indicate in a very abbreviated form what buildings and amenities were in existence at the time the report was written. The involvement of an architect and the determination of what he might be building in a particular period must be inferred from the physical and documentary evidence. The discussion of work in a given episode in this study will say that master mason *Fulano*[2] built this or that part of the church or convento during the period, without equivocation, but it should always be kept in mind that the mason's association with that structural event is usually assumed, not stated in the documents. Where the documents directly associate a mason with a given set of construction, the evidence is cited.

The Historical Context

The present chapter will review the evidence for architects responsible for the design and construction at the missions. Subsequent chapters detail the plan changes, construction, and development carried out by these architects and by the Franciscans themselves at each mission during the colonial years to final secularization and the breaking up of the missions into private landholdings. A brief description of the physical changes to each mission during the remainder of the nineteenth century is included. Some familiarity with the sources of information upon which this history is

[1] Mardith Schuetz, "Professional Artisans in the Hispanic Southwest," *The Americas* 40, no. 1 (1983).; Mardith Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions 1718–1821" (Dissertation, University of Texas, 1980).; Adán Benavides, "Building a Church in 18th Century Texas: Notes on the San Fernando Parish Church" (paper presented at the 11th annual Texas State Conference on Hispanic Genealogy and History, San Antonio, Texas, September 8, 1990); Adán Benavides, "Sacred Space, Profane Reality: The Politics of Building a Church in Eighteenth-Century Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 107, no. 1 (2003).

[2] *Fulano* is the Spanish equivalent of "somebody," or "whatshisname."

based, and especially with their limitations, is necessary in order to understand the method of presentation of the structural history of each mission.

First of all, it will be recalled that the five standing missions in the San Antonio area 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 in their field method and mission design, and in fact the college of Zacatecas was established by that of Querétaro in 1707.[3] 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; instead, letters and diaries constitute the principal records.

Of great value are the account books for the four Querétaran missions, detailing their expenditures and income for the twenty-seven years from 1745 to 1772. These books include listings of the costs of supplies, clothing, tools, and equipment sent to the missions, as well as expenditures on the costs of this shipping and for other expenses, and mission income from stipends, donations, and loans.[4]

Formal inventories are available for all the missions, but again there are differences. The major Querétaran inventory showed far more concern for construction materials, dimensions, and spatial arrangement than the few Zacatecan inventories, although both went into detail about furnishings and supplies in the rooms inventoried. The result is that the spatial layout of the Zacatecan mission San José y San Miguel de

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[3] Michael B. McCloskey, *The Formative Years of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, 1683–1733* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), p. 98

[4] These account books are in the microfilm holdings of the Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Center, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas (hereafter the OSMHRC): Nuestra Senora de Purisima Concepcion de Acuna, "*Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la importancia de los avios, que a la Mission de la Purissima Concepcion de Acuna, remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . .*" roll 15, frames 4472-4596; San Francisco de la Espada, "*Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la importancia de los avios, que a la Mission de San Fran[cis]co, la Espada, remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . .*" roll 15, frames 4600-4726 San Juan de Capistrano, "*Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la importancia de los avios, que a la Mission de S[a]n Juan de Capistrano remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . .*" roll 15, frames 4727-4854; San Antonio de Valero, "*Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la ymportancia de los avios, que a la Mission de San Antonio Valero, remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . .*" roll 15, frames 4857-5005. Hereafter the account books will be cited in the form "*Cuentas*," the mission name, the year, and the frame number for the citation.

Aguayo is somewhat more difficult to reconstruct than those of the four Querétaran missions in San Antonio.

The Querétaran missions reached their peak of physical development in the 1760s, not long before they were transferred to the care of the College of Zacatecas. In response to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the New World in 1767, the Querétarans took over the Jesuit missions in the American Southwest and northwestern New Spain. This required a change in their other commitments, resulting in their withdrawal from Texas in 1772. The Querétarans handed over their San Antonio missions to the college of Zacatecas as part of this withdrawal. A detailed inventory of these missions was made as part of the transfer.

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 at that time, and reached its greatest development in the 1780s. Several reports and a major inventory in 1785 gives us some information about this construction.

From about 1780 the Franciscans began planning for the eventual temporal secularization of the Texas missions.[5] 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, or left incomplete, but wheat mills and granaries were rebuilt or built new. With a large influx of Hispanic settlers into the missions, changes were made in the plan of the southern missions to allow additional housing, reflecting shifts in the populations of the San Antonio River Valley.[6]

The change in priorities transformed the missions. San Antonio de Valero was given to the secular church in 1793, and the other four missions surrendered their temporalities in 1794, making them doctrinas.[7] By this time the two southern missions of San Francisco de la Espada and San Juan Capistrano had been changed almost beyond recognition as a result of the new construction to accommodate Hispanic settlers. Meanwhile, at San José the new church and rebuilt convento had been completed, anticipating that this mission would become responsible for the other three and would keep its resident missionaries the longest; and Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Acua, the old Querétaran headquarters mission, fell between the currents of change and began to stagnate.

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[5] James E. Ivey, "Secularization in California and Texas," *Boletín: Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 20 (2003) 1:24–27, 31–34.

[6] Ivey, "Secularization," p. 34; Gilberto M. Hinojosa, "The Religious-Indian Communities: The Goals of the Friars," in *Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio*, ed. Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), pp. 79–80.

[7] Ivey, "Secularization," pp. 24–27.

The four missions becoming doctrinas were inventoried in 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, when the missions were all given to the archdiocese of Nuevo Leon, and the subsequent appraisals of mission buildings other than the church and sacristy in 1827, contain 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.

Based on the three principal sources of information—historical documents, archaeological investigations, and the surviving fabric of the buildings—I have worked out a narrative of the construction history of each mission. The 1772 inventories of the Querétaran missions, the 1785 inventory of San José, the 1824 final inventory of the churches and sacristies, and the 1823–1827 appraisals of the mission pueblos were the most critical documents in this process. The construction history, in conjunction with the list of masons and their periods of activity in San Antonio, allows an identification of what construction was carried out by each mason.

Working out such a concordance would have been virtually impossible before the 1970s. Neither the 1772 inventories nor the missions accounts were available in Texas until the middle l970s, and have not yet been used extensively for generally available studies, and the final appraisals, although available, have remained virtually unknown—only Mardith Schuetz has used the appraisals for San Juan extensively for her work there.[8] Without these records, it would be nearly impossible to reconstruct the full plans of the missions and the history of their construction.

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 construction to later renovation and reconstruction, and in the level of our knowledge of below-grade structural details from archaeology.

Archaeology 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.

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[8] Fray Benedict Leutenegger,"Introduction," in Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero: 1772*, Fray Benedict Leutenegger,ed., Office of the Texas State Archeologist, Special Report No. 23 (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1977), p. 3; Mardith K. Schuetz, *The History and Archeology of Mission San Juan Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas, Vol. 1: Historical Documentation and Description of the Structures*, Texas Archeology Program, Report No. 10 (Austin: Texas State Building Commission, 1968), pp. 248-263. I have used these documents for a number of studies conducted for San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, but few of these studies have been easily available to the public.

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 disagreed with 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 four 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*[9] or *palisado* 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 note 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 archaeological remains at that mission, and added much chronological information. The combination of Smith's original research, her subsequent expansion of that work, 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 Dan Scurlock with the Texas Historical Commission, and Anne Fox, Marty Krueger and Francis Meskill, Barbara Meissner and Kristi Miller, and myself with the Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Texas in San

[9] Although the word "*jacal*" has come to mean a structure of vertical posts coated with adobe mud, and usually with a thatched roof, especially among avocational historians wrestling with the history of the Alamo, the Franciscans did not use the term this way – such a structure was called a *palisado* building. A *jacal* was a shack, a structure of lower quality, with no particular reference to the material from which it was made – and among Spanish-speakers, it still has that general meaning. See, for example, *Simon and Schuster's International Dictionary* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc.,1973), p. 1296: "*Jacal*: hut, shed, wigwam;" Francisco Santamaria, in his *Diccionario de Mejicanismos*, (Mejico: Editorial Porrua, S.A., 1959), p. 624, gave a more restricted definition: "*Jacal: Choza, por lo común hecha de adobe, con techo de paja o de tajamanil*." hut, commonly made of adobe, with a roof of straw or shingles. *Jacales* can be of *palisado*, adobe, or stone—see, for example, Governor of Texas to Francisco Amangual, February 13, 1808, Bexar County Archives, Land Grants and Sales no. 34:

Antonio, were sufficient to fill in the data that Smith missed. These excavations, along with documentary research that Waynne Cox, Lois Flynn, and I conducted, were 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.

Because of its broader significance as a result of the Battle of the Alamo, archaeologists have investigated Valero extensively. John Greer, Mardith Schuetz, Jack Eaton, Anne Fox, Ferris Bass, Thomas Hester, Frances Meskill, William Sorrow, and myself have examined much of the surviving area of undisturbed mission structures. This work, in addition to an intensive examination by myself of the deed records of the sales of the properties after the secularization of the mission has allowed a precise reconstruction of the plan of the mission and its convento rooms.

Mission San José presents greater difficulties in regard to archaeological work. The greatest problem is that the measured drawings of the foundations actually found by Smith are not available. All that is available are the reconstruction drawings. If these followed 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-penciled 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 archaeology, especially by Mardith Schuetz, 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 archaeology and from a detailed examination of the surviving fabric of the mission buildings. In many cases, the combined evidence of document, archaeology, 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 that led to the conclusion. Throughout the research, the amount of information readily visible on the structures themselves, simply waiting to be seen and recognized, was a constant surprise. I have to admit 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 were not available in Texas until the middle 1970s,[10] and the appraisals, although available, were virtually unknown—only Mardith Schuetz had used the appraisals for San Juan extensively for her work there. 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. Fray Marion Habig offers a second example of what can be accomplished without the key documents. His *Alamo Chain of Missions* is the direct precursor of this study, and is an excellent compilation of the history of structural changes carried out at the missions. Even though a great many documents have been found since Habig wrote, resulting in the revision of a number of his conclusions, his immense effort and clearly stated results were essential to the present work as can be seen by the number of times *Alamo Chain* is cited here.

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 parts of Mexico and in New Mexico, the missionaries themselves were 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, Spanish experts in such skills as carpentry and blacksmithing were imported to train the Indians.[11]

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 the many tasks that had to be accomplished simultaneously using

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[10] Fray Benedict Leutenegger, "Introduction," *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero*, p. 3.

[11] James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions*, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers, Vol. 15, (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1988), pp. 218–19.

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 that established the first mission, San Antonio de Valero, in 1718, 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."[12]

Most of these requirements were met, although the names of many of the craftsmen—the mason, carpenter, blacksmith, and weaver—who accompanied the missionary party to the new site of the mission of San Antonio de Valero are not yet known. Others are known: for example, the accompanying military detachment which was to establish the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar included the military engineer and surveyor Francisco Barreiro, and the carpenter Santiago Pérez.[13] 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 that a number of Indians from Solano did indeed form the core of the new mission population.[14]

Master Masons and Sculptors in San Antonio

Craftsman	**Skill**	**Date**
Antonio Tello	*maestro de albañil*	ca. 1740–1744
Gerónimo de Ibarra	*maestro de albañil*	1748–1759
Felipe Santiago	maestro carpintero, maestro escultor	1748–1756
Nicolas Albañil	*maestro de albañil*	1750s–1760s
Joseph Palafox	*maestro de albañil*	1761–1765

[12] Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mission Era: The Winning of Texas, 1693–1731*, vol. 2, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1936), 76.; Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions," pp. 267–281.

[13] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, 84; Janet R. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instrument of Bourbon Reform, 1764–1815* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1977), pp. 54–55; Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions;" Schuetz, "Professional Artisans."

[14] Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions," pp. 50, 53, 254, 273, 331–334.

Mariano Ángel Galín y Anglino	*maestro carpintero, maestro escultor*	1762–1763[15]
Estevan Losoya	*maestro de albañil*	1765–1767
Dionicio Gonzales	*maestro escultor*	1767–1771[16]
Antonio Salazar	*maestro de albañil*	ca. 1768–ca. 1801
Pedro Huizar	*maestro carpintero, maestro escultor*	ca. 1772–ca 1805

Master Masons and Franciscans

Franciscan missionaries were quite capable of conducting many of the construction projects carried out in the missions of Texas. The missionary effort in New Spain had a long tradition of mendicants who were also masons. In the sixteenth century, for example, such men built some of the most brilliant architecture in Mexico. During this century of remarkable creativity, however, the rate of failure of the great churches was relatively high.[17] It appears that this resulted 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. In the analysis of all Spanish colonial architecture built after the sixteenth century, the researcher should begin with the assumption that if a structure has an arch, vault, or dome, a master mason built it.

Fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes stated in 1727 that the missionaries of Valero "had always wanted to build a church all of stone, and with good form 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.[18] The Franciscans were still applying the same rule in California seventy 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

[15] Galín y Anglino was also in San Antonio in 1776–1779 and 1787–1789, working on surveying projects.

[16] Gonzales died in San Antonio in 1787.

[17] George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), vol. 1, p. 186; John McAndrew, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965) pp. 125–28.

[18] 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*.

experienced in this matter, otherwise the work will not be done with sufficient security for stability."[19]

On the northern frontier, only in New Mexico did the missionary build his own primary church, and these buildings are of a distinctive appearance. In the seventeenth century, the application of the rule of "no master masons, no arches or vaults" in New 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 adobe, roofed with *vigas* (beams) supporting a flat earthen roof. Beams also formed the lintels of wall openings such as doors and windows.[20]

The Franciscans began establishing apostolic colleges for missionary endeavors on the northern frontier in 1683 with the creation of the College of Querétaro. 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 Querétaro created a daughter college at Zacatecas. The two colleges worked together in the province of Texas.[21] When the Franciscans began their efforts in 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, frequently 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 albañil*, 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 contracted maestro also frequently received room, board, and other considerations. With this kind of contract,

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[19] Norman Neuerburg, *The Architecture of Mission La Purísima Concepción* (Santa Barbara: Bellerophone Books, 1987), p. 2.

[20] Ivey, *Loneliness*, pp. 47–48.

[21] McCloskey, *Querétaro*, p. 98.

the contracting agent (the mission) usually supplied the necessary labor and materials for the project.[21] In 1748, for example, when the master mason Gerónimo de Ibarra 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 1750.[22] Mission Concepción paid twenty-two pesos, three and one-half reales for various items brought for him on the supply train in 1754, some itemized in a separate account.[23] The *maestro cantero* Felipe Santiago received similar treatment; for example, in 1754, the year he began working at Concepción, that mission paid for the transportation of his wife to San Antonio.[24]

One of the few surviving examples of a maestranza contract from San Antonio,[25] the agreement between the maestro cantero Dionicio Gonzales and Fr. Joseph López in 1767, is a good example of the sort of construction contract in use at the time. Gonzales agreed to cover the cost of the stone, while Fray López of Valero would cover the cost of the tools:

> *Mission S[a]n Antt[oni]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 las 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.*

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

[22] Valero, *"Cuentas,"* 1751:4887, 4890, May 16, 1751, "for the past year of '50." The accounts list charges for the transportation of Maria Gallegos, wife of the Maestro de Albanil Gerónimo de Ibarra, "who is at this mission (*que se haya en esta Mission*)."

[23] Concepcion de Acuna, "Cuentas," 1754:4507, 4508.

[24] Valero, "Cuentas," 1751:4887, 4890.; Concepción de Acuna, *"Cuentas,"* 1744:4509.; Bachiller Don Juan Ygnacio de Pinilla y Ramos Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," January 19, 1756, Celaya Microfilms, roll 10, ff. 5072, 5077. The records do not give her name or the city from which she was brought.

[25] Dionicio de Jesus Gonzales and Fray Joseph Lopez, "*Obligacion de Dionisio Maestro - La portada*," September 27, 1767, in Celaya Microfilms, roll 4, frame 5220.

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 [neither] litigation nor dismissal, for which I place myself open to all legal 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 1,100 pesos in reales, and the iron tools with which I should additionally be supplied, leaving me free supervision, and in order that it be on record, I sign it with the minister of the said mission on the said day, month, and year.

Dionicio de Jesus Gonzales [rubric]

Fr. Joseph López [rubric][26]

Building Design and Plans

There was a "master plan" for the missions, at least in the sixteenth century, first described in 1548 by Philip II, and in fact the Franciscans selected their mission of San Juan Teotihuacán as their archetypical mission in plan and appearance for smaller missions, but by the eighteenth century this plan was long out of date.[27] On the northern frontier, the master mason designed the church and convento of each mission within the context of current practice and the desires of the missionaries who would use the buildings. In practice, this probably meant that the Father President of the province outlined the requirements of each mission, the maestro worked out an initial design, perhaps in consultation with the missionary acting as guardian of the mission at the time, and the Father President reviewed it for suitability.[28] When the Father President approved of a design, the maestro probably made final drawings of the plans and elevations, including a plan of the church facade and its fine-carved decoration and any other fine-carved details on the interior or exterior of the church.

[26] Gonzales and Lopez, "*Obligacion*," f. 5220.

[27] McAndrew, Open-Air Churches, 124–25; Kubler, *Mexican Architecture*, 2:344 and n. 155.

[28] Clara Bargellini, "Architecture: Colonial," in *Encyclopedia of Mexico: History, Society, and Culture*, Michaeol S. Werner, editor (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997), vol. 1, p. 73.

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, and domes. If any of these elements were executed incorrectly, the building could easily fall. In San Antonio, at least one church did, at San Antonio de Valero, and one section of vaulted convento at Concepción. For anyone to attempt the construction of such major projects 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 the time of the classical Greek architects, if not earlier, 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.[29]

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 the 1760s, the final church of Valero was being rebuilt after it had collapsed about 1749, while it was being finished by, apparently, the Franciscans themselves, or a local mason of less than maestro capabilities. Although the original church had been designed and begun about 1740 by the master mason Antonio Tello, after the collapse Gerónimo de Ibarra was responsible for the redesign and the first part of the construction of the new church, the present Shrine of the Alamo, beginning about 1755. The rebuilding was about half finished by 1759. Ibarra probably also redesigned the facade of Valero at the same time to produce the present familiar layout, apparently adapting Tello's original design to incorporate more modern features. The 1767 contract given above, hiring Dionicio Gonzales to finish the facade specifically mentioned that he was to complete the facade "*esta en el mapa* [as it is on the plan]."[30] This undoubtedly referred to the revised plan of the facade drawn by Ibarra about 1755. By 1772 the side walls of the church had been raised to nearly 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.*

[29] Kubler, *Mexican Architecture*, 1:106–08.. I have 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 1645–1651; Ivey, *Loneliness*, 67 n. 18.

[30] Gonzales and Lopez, "*Obligacion*," f. 5220.

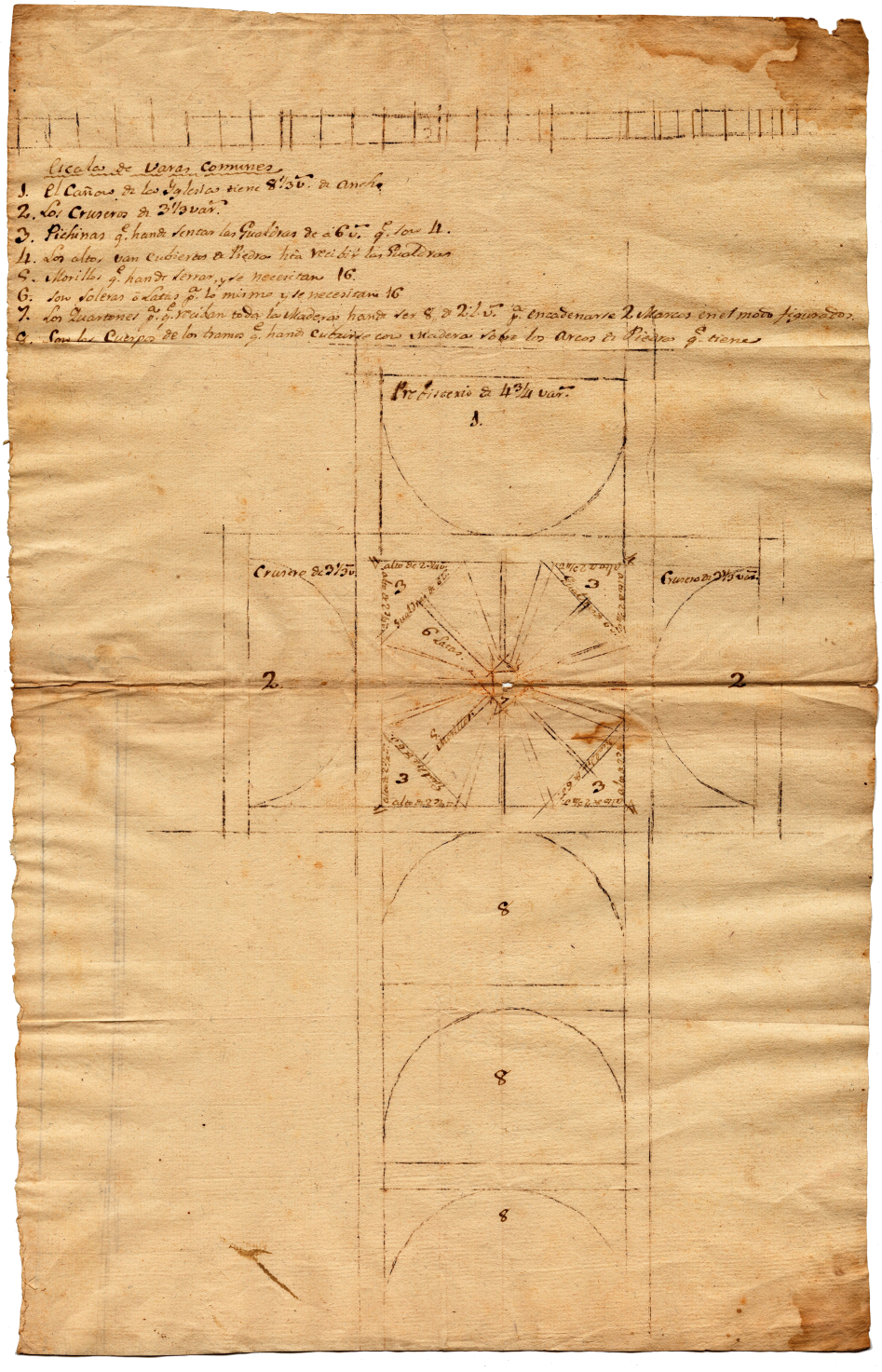


FIGURE 1: The sketch plan prepared as part of the 1810 estimate to roof the church of Mission San Antonio de Valero. Bexar Archives, di_01745, The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, the University of Texas at Austin.

> . . . *according to the plan* it will be 14.4 varas [about forty 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.[31]

[31] Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero*, pp. 7, 8. Emphasis added.

The plans for the San Antonio missions disappeared sometime after 1772. However, we do have an example of a plan for San Antonio de Valero from the early nineteenth century.[32] This plan was prepared by the master masons Juan Diego Veloz, Juan de Dios Cortes, and José Cayetano del Valle in 1810 to accompany an estimate of the costs and materials to complete the construction of the roof of the church in order to make the building into an artillery storehouse for the military forces stationed in San Antonio (see Figure 1). It shows the outline of the stone walls of the building and indicates the measurements of the walls, already built up to the point where the vaulting of the church was begun. Most of the details and notes on the plan and in the estimate are concerned with the proposed construction of a wooden roof over the building. These details are limited, and descriptive rather than specific. The plan is, in fact, not a mason's construction plan at all, but a rough sketch of the proposed wooden roof of the church.

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, such as fine-carving, carpentry, materials collection, stone-quarrying, or lime-making.

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 1,300 pesos in goods and loan him the iron tools with which to do the work.[33] One other stonecutter is known from the big push attempting to finish the church at Valero in the 1760s, Pedro de Alcantara, a Payaya Indian, who died on August 17, 1767.[34] He had probably

[32] [Juan Diego Veloz, Juan de Dios Cortez, y José Cayetano del Valle to Juan Ygnacio de Arrambide, April 25, 1810], Bexar Archives microfilm (BAM), roll 168, frame 802. The list of needed materials and an estimate of the cost of the work from which this plan was separated is Juan Ygnacio de Arrambide, Captain of the Compañia Volante, to Commandante General Second Brigade Bernardo Bonavia, April 25, 1810, BAM, roll 44, frames 953–955v. See Benavides, "Sacred Space," pp. 27–30, for a translation of the captions of its numbered details.

[33] Joseph Padron, last will and testament, March 16, 1779, *Wills*, no. 84, Bexar County Archives, Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas, p. 3.

[34] John O. Leal, "Burials of Mission San Francisco de Solano (San Antonio de Valero, Alamo), 1703–1782," manuscript, 1978, Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas at the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas, p. 60.

worked as a stonecutter through most of the construction episodes of the previous decade and a half.

A critical need of the missionaries in San Antonio was for sculptors in stone to finish the facades of the churches and in wood to furnish the interiors of the churches with such things as altar tables, sacristy cabinets, or retablos. A *maestro de carpentería*, or master carpenter, usually built the wooden structures for the master mason. Some of these men were also master sculptors, and could undertake other very necessary projects for the church interior. These could range from the construction of the retablo over the altar or the huge, intricately carved main doors to the corbels and railings of balconies, and in some cases even a pulpit or the roof of the church, to the finely carved and sculpted saints and stonework of the facade of the church. Felipe Santiago was such a craftsman, and another, the master carpenter "don Ángel," worked for several of the San Antonio missions in the 1760s. Valero referred to "don Ángel" as "*maestro escultor.*" This term in association with his title of maestro carpintero suggests that Ángel was a sculptor in stone as well as in wood. It is likely that "don Ángel" was don Mariano Ángel Galín y Anglino, who worked as a master carpenter and sculptor on the parochial church and several other churches in and around Saltillo through the decade of the 1790s (discussed below). He made large church doors, altar tables, wooden altar platforms, pulpits, cabinetry for the sacristies, several major retablos, and the facades of the Saltillo *paroquia* during this period.[35] This suggests what he was probably doing in San Antonio during the early 1760s.

Laborers

The work of construction was carried out by laborers hired locally. In San Antonio these were men (unlike in seventeenth-century New Mexico, where much of the construction of mission buildings was done by women).[36] Although there is a tendency to consider most of the laborers at the missions to have been Native Americans working under conditions equivalent to slavery, this was not necessarily the case. For example, when Fray José Francisco Jaudenes sent the governor a list of costs for rebuilding the mission of Rosario, he listed the labor force that he used:

For 6 *peones* who worked for 20 days in hauling rock, at 3 *reales* [per person per day]……...45 *pesos*
For 6 *peones* who worked for 4 days bringing in *tierra blanca* and *pastle*[37] for the roofs, at 3 *reales* [per person per day]……..……....9 *pesos*

[35] Clara Bargellini, personal communication, April 2003. More on don Ángel's activities in Saltillo is in Bargellini's book, *La Catedral de Saltillo y sus Imágenes: los Tiempos y Espacios de un Acervo* (UNAM y Instituto Coahuilense de Cultura, 2005).

[36] Ivey, *Loneliness*, p. 48.

[37] *Pastle* is Spanish moss, growing on the trees of the lowlands in the area. A layer of it was spread over the boards or sticks of the ceiling as a matting, over which the *tierra blanca* was

For 6 *peones* who worked for 8 days and nights in firing four limestone ovens at 6 *reales* [per person per day]……..36 *pesos*
For 4 *peones* who worked for 4 days bringing lime and sand……6 *pesos*
For 10 *peones* who worked with the master mason and the journeyman mason 60 days, and 5 who worked 30 days with the journeyman mason alone, at 3 reales [per person per day]……281 *pesos* 2 *reales*[38]

Corn, beef, and clothing for the Indians were also listed, but they are called "*Indios*," not *peones*, in that discussion—apparently these supplies were provided to keep them in the area while the work on the mission was carried out. We are left with the impression that either the Indians did not do the construction of the mission at Rosario, or if they did, they were considered hired labor and paid by the day.

A second example is the construction of the hospital at Valero in 1809–1810:

3,600 *peonadas de mosos* [days of labor of the laborers] at 3 *reales* per day……...1,350 *pesos*[39]

This was ten *mosos* (laborers) working for 360 days (a "peonada" is one day's work), or about one year, which was how long the repairs took. The three maestros on the job were paid twelve reales per day for 200 days each, so they must have staggered their work periods. No Indians were involved, as Indians, at least—if the *mosos* were Indians, they were still hired and paid as day laborers.

It is likely, however, that in the early days of the missions after their establishment in San Antonio, the Indians at the missions served as the labor pool for construction projects, and were undoubtedly not paid for their labor.

Rate of Construction

Discussions of the construction of a mission usually give the impression that large numbers of native laborers were forced to work on the mission buildings for a number of years. However, this was not the case. In New Mexico in the seventeenth century, there is enough information to work out the rates of construction on large stone churches. The friar and his Indian crews spent about six years constructing a flat-roofed church and convento, from the planning of the buildings through the final

spread to form the insulating fill of the roof. Frequently on more permanent buildings the roof surface was then coated with lime plaster as a waterproof layer.

[38] Fray José Francisco Jaudenes, October 21, 1791, Bexar Archives, roll 21, frames 803–804.

[39] Mariano Varela, José Manuel Barrera, and Juan José Saenz, *Relacion que manifiesta la Recomposicion … á la Casa de Hospital militar*, May 5, 1809, BA 41:207–208.

dedication of the completed structures.[40] The entire process of construction—with its prior planning, careful measurement, and concern for detail—would have served as an opportunity for the friar to teach lessons about authority, the "superiority" of Spanish culture, and what was to be gained by becoming Hispanicized and Christianized. Construction was, in all probability, an integral part of the acculturation process conducted by the mission.

Using a period of six years as the standard for the construction of a mission, it is possible to estimate the typical rate of construction by the work crews. Allowing about three months for site layout and foundation trenching, and nine months for roof construction, plastering, woodwork, painting and other finishing, the masons spent five years of the total laying stone.

If we assume eight masons actually on the scaffolding laying stone, working twenty days a month, nine months a year. At the rate of about thirteen cubic feet per person per day (a section of wall three feet thick, four feet long, and a little over a foot high, a moderate rate of stonework), eight masons together could accomplish a rate of construction of about 104 cubic feet a day. A church and convento in seventeenth-century New Mexico typically contained about 92,000 cubic feet of masonry. At the rate of 104 cubic feet a day, the masons were able to lay about 18,720 cubic feet of stone per year. An eight-man crew would have built the vertical stone walls of a typical New Mexico church and convento in five years.

Such a rate would require that each mason have a tender who supplied raw stone and mortar by raising buckets of mortar or flats of stone to him through the day, and that each tender had a collection and preparation crew of perhaps three people gathering the stone and making the mortar every few days, for a total of about forty people, many of whom would work only occasionally. This was the average crew size as indicated by the available records in New Mexico in the seventeenth century. The Jaudenes document above indicates a somewhat different combination of tender crew and wall-builders, but still essentially the same approach and rate.

It would have been possible for the crew to be increased in size, thereby increasing the speed of construction, but crews larger than about one hundred people are quite difficult to manage, and impractical to use unless they are highly trained. However, the San Antonio missions took much longer than five years just to raise the vertical walls of the buildings, suggesting a smaller crew and a slower rate of construction.

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[40] Ivey, *Loneliness*, p. 54. The one seventeenth-century mission about which definite information concerning construction time and the dedication ceremonies is available was Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at El Paso del Norte. The cornerstone of this church was laid in 1662 and the completed church and convento were dedicated in 1668, for a construction time of six years. See Scholes, "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions, II," p. 195. Construction at other New Mexico missions have been confirmed to take about the same length of time based on tree-ring dates.

The work period of twenty days a month, nine months a year might seem small, but the remainder of the time would be lost to below-freezing weather (when good mortar work was impossible), or to other high-priority work such as the harvest of the fields and the daily affairs of the Indians. Religious holidays must have affected the work schedule, too, but when and how much is unknown. However, most construction projects would not have been labor-intensive, and involved only a few people working a few days a week.

The Master Masons of the San Antonio Missions

Masons were available to the Franciscan endeavor in San Antonio from the first. For example, Francisco de la Cruz, 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, and several other masons lived at Mission Valero during the period from 1718 to 1726. For some reason, however, these men did not supply the expertise needed to construct a major mission church. 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. This indicates that the masons known to have been in town at the time were apprentice or journeyman masons, not maestros. With the establishment of the Zacatecan mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo south of the presidio in 1720, the need for a master mason was increased. When three of the Querétaran missions of East Texas were transferred to San Antonio in 1731, the need became acute for the Querétaran effort. Franciscan authority began the process of securing a maestro for the construction of several mission churches in San Antonio.

Antonio Tello and the Design of the San Antonio Missions

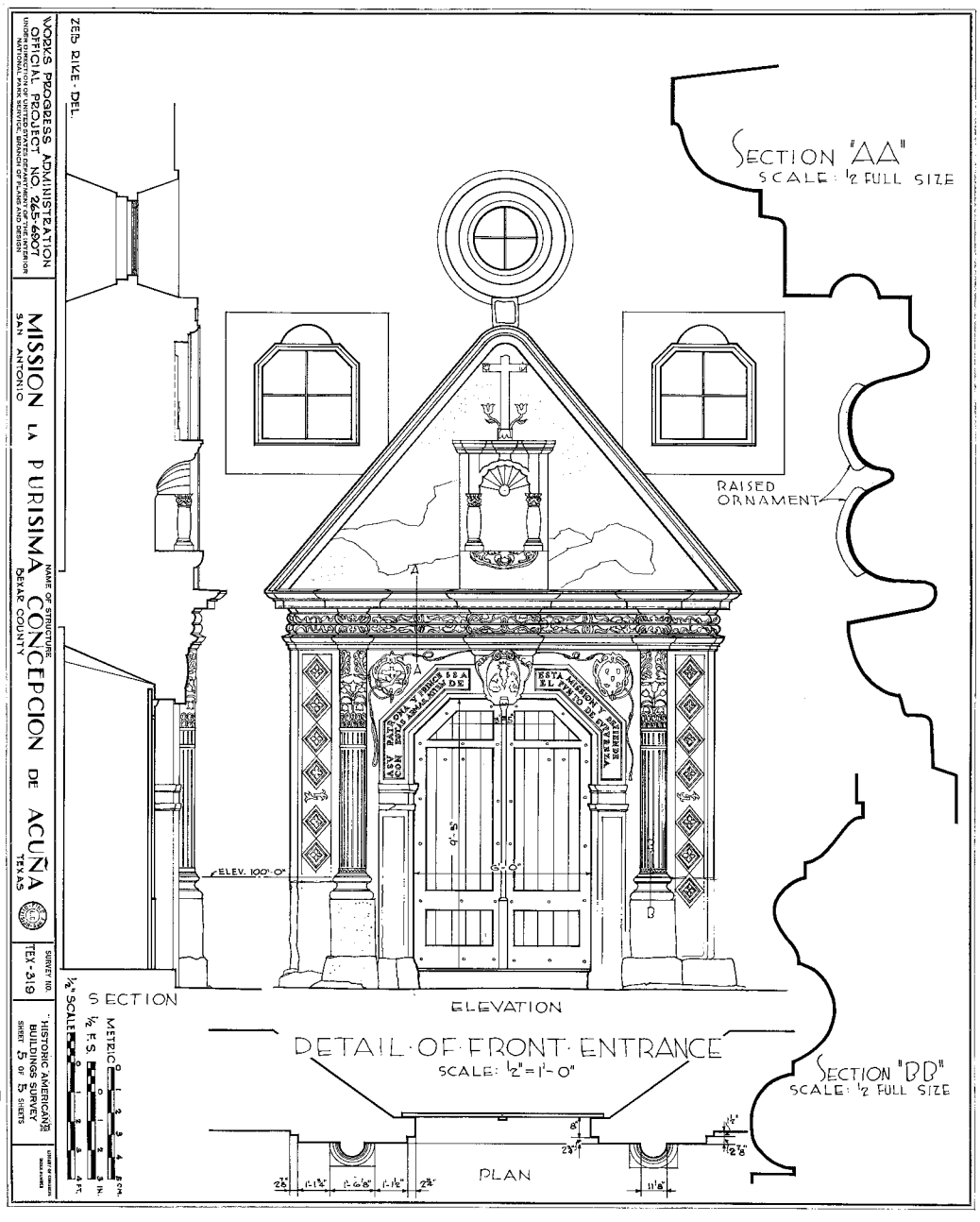
About 1740, the Franciscans hired the young master mason and sculptor Antonio de Tello to take on the huge task of designing and building the four churches of Querétaran San Antonio. Tello was about twenty-seven years old when he was hired to come to San Fernando, based on his testimony in 1744 that he was about thirty-one, "more or less."[41] No documentation of the Franciscan hiring of Tello is available yet, but it is highly unlikely that a master mason would have come to San Antonio on his own just as the missionaries needed one.[42] Tello was apparently paid in kind for at least a portion of his salary.[43]

Upon his arrival in Texas, Tello immediately set about creating his designs. He was about to attempt the rather incredible feat of directing the construction of the four

[41] Don Alberto Lopez Aguado y Villafuerte, "*Causa Criminal contra Ant[oni]o Tello*," August 21–September 2, 1744, in BAM, roll 8, frames 800–810.

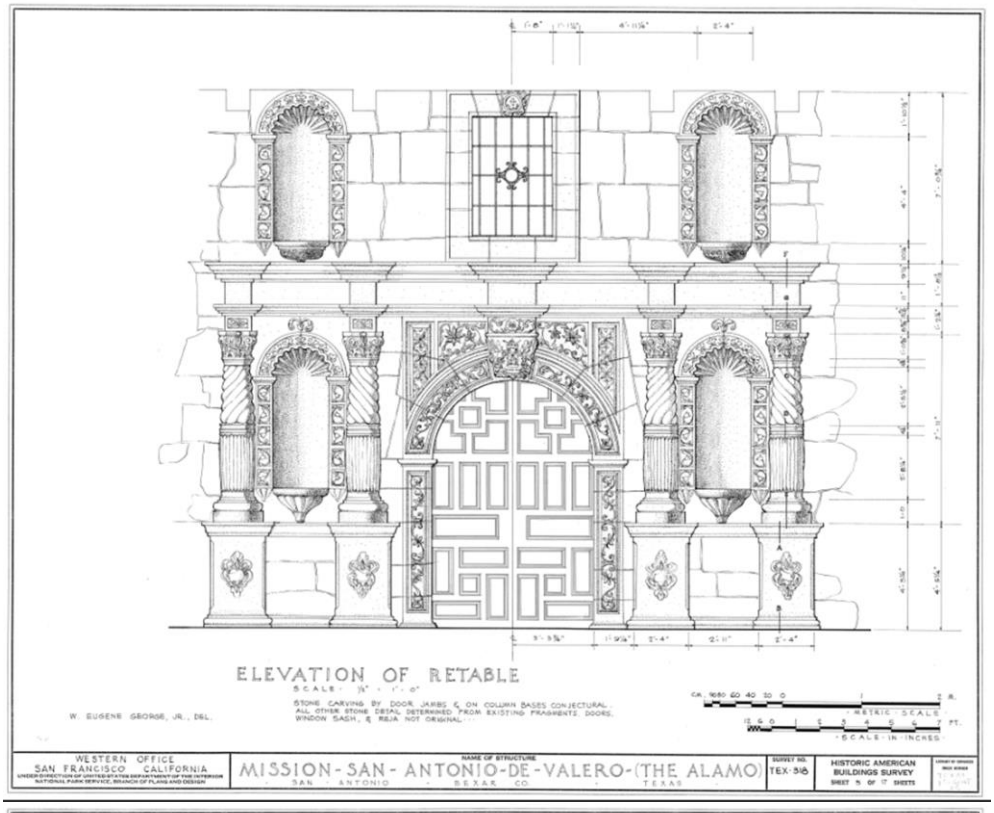
[42] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," pp. 19–20; Aguado y Villafuerte, "*Causa Criminal*."

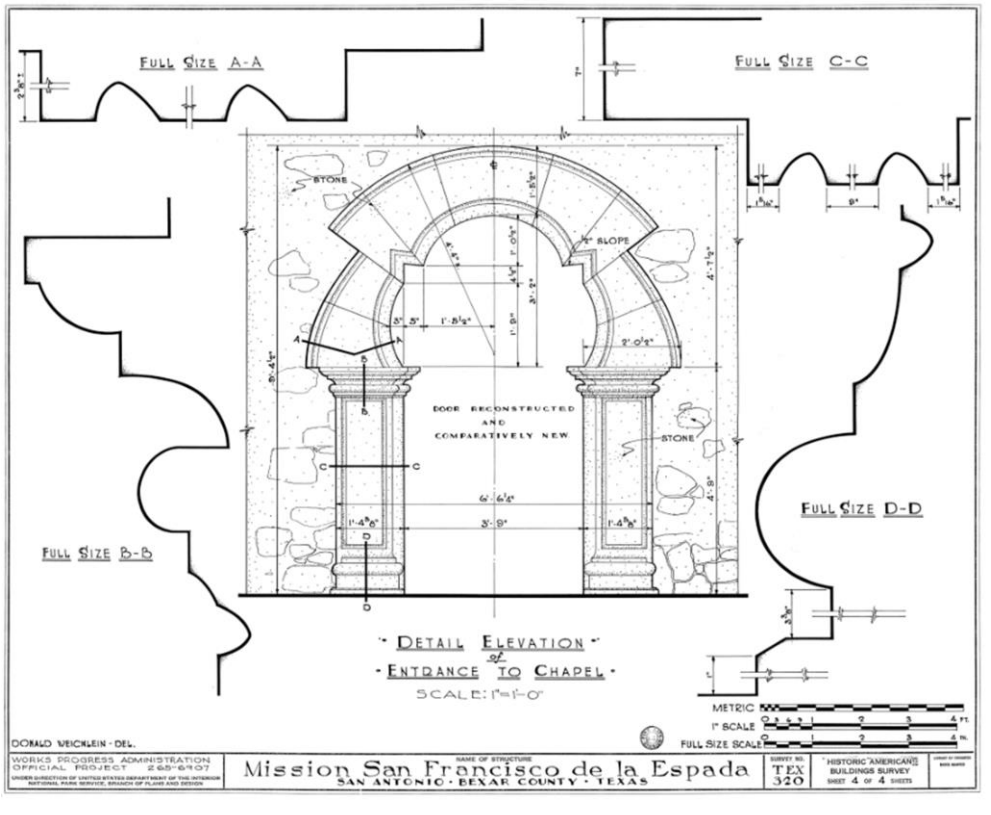
[43] Aguado y Villafuerte, "*Causa Criminal*," frame 802L.



FIGURES 2–4: The facades of Missions San Antonio de Valero (opposite page, top), San Francisco de la Espada (opposite page, bottom), and Purísima Concepción (this page) all feature the flat style called *plateresco*, more typical of the sixteenth century. This suggests architect Antonio Tello was running through the basic arch shapes to distinguish each facade from the others: *mixtillíneo* at Espada, *ochavada* at Concepción, *de medio punto* at Valero. Drawings are part of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and accessed through the Library of Congress Digital Collections.

major Querétaran churches at the same time. Tello probably designed permanent churches for all four missions over the next year. About 1741 he had his workcrews begin construction on Concepción, and in 1744 the crews began work on San Antonio de Valero and San Francisco de la Espada; they laid the cornerstone for the above-





ground walls of Valero on May 8.[44] Our first description of these buildings, in the report of 1745, states that the new church at Concepción was half-built and that of Valero as just begun.[45] Later descriptions show that as of the same date the permanent church of Espada had foundation trenches excavated, but the foundations themselves

only half-built. Most of the sacristy for the new church was built, and later became the Espada temporary church, still the church of Espada today.[46] Work on the church of San Juan had not started when Tello left town, so far as archaeology and documents can tell. Simultaneously, he apparently began several other projects at the missions, including massive stone granaries intended to be vaulted, the arched stone aqueduct of the Espada irrigation system, and arcaded and vaulted convento structures at Concepción, Espada, and Valero. He may have built some of the arches for the convento at San José in the same period. The evidence suggests that Tello was not doing something unusual in this; other architects who worked in San Antonio appear to have carried out a number of projects at the same time at different missions.[47]During the same period, he was apparently hired part-time to design and direct the construction of at least the facade of the parish church of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria y Guadalupe in the Villa de San Fernando, the original name of San Antonio. So far there is no direct documentary evidence for Tello's association with the construction of Candelaria. However, the facade of the church, assembled after his departure, resembles the designs of the other known church facades he built in San Antonio, and later testimony by Gerónimo de Ibarra suggested that Tello was involved (see below). When Tello arrived in San Antonio, construction on the church had already been begun by local artisans, and the building was intended to be thirty varas (82.2 feet) by six varas (16.4 feet), and constructed like the church at Valero.[48] The church in use at the time at Valero was a temporary flat-roofed stone building. As construction continued on Candelaria, the plans for the church were changed, and by the mid-1740s the building was twenty-six varas (71.2 feet) long and six and one-half varas (17.8 feet) wide, with a bell tower.

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[44] Habig, *Alamo Chain*, 49.

[45] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, "*Visita de las Missiones hecha de orden de H. M. P[adre] Comm[isari]o G[ene]ral Fr[ay] Juan Fogueras, por el P[adre] Fr[ay] Fran[cis]co Xavier Ortiz, en el aZo de 1745*," October 11, 1745, in Celaya Microfilms, frames 1267, 1272.

[46] Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario de la Mision de la Espada*," December 15, 1772, in Celaya Microfilms, roll 10, frames 4191, 4197; Ortiz, "Visita, 1745," frame 1270.

[47] The sequence of the beginning of construction at each of the principle churches is deduced from the condition of each in later reports. As with the actual contract agreement between Tello and the Franciscans, this sequence is undocumented except in the structures themselves and their later histories.

[48] Benavides, "Sacred Space," p. 11 and n. 25; Fray Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), p. 259. The vara used here is 2.74 feet long. This length was determined by comparing the present sizes of mission rooms with the sizes given in the inventories.

Tello determined a style within which all the San Antonio Querétaran missions were designed, as well as, it appears, the facade of the parish church of Candelaria. Tello's design philosophy set the pattern for the San Antonio Querétaran missions, a pattern that influenced the construction of the missions for the rest of their active lives. His basic tenets may be recognized in his works. The four mission churches and one secular church Tello designed were apparently very similar, as were the conventos. It appears that Tello produced a single church plan that he used at all the missions, changing the scale and facade slightly for each one. Each church had a facade with the same basic style but differing in its decorative elements and details. However, only Concepción was completed virtually unchanged from Tello's original design. The somewhat larger plan of his design for the church of Valero is preserved in the present building. Most of the above-grade construction was the work of later architects, but the plan, foundations, and central portion of the facade follow Tello's design, and include some of his original carved stone-work.

Tello's plan for the church facades were apparently all very similar. The main entrance doorways of Concepción, Valero, and Candelaria (the parish church), and the unfinished *mixtilíneo* arched doorway at Espada are very much alike,[49] all in the flat style called *plateresco*, more typical of the sixteenth century.[50] This suggests that Tello was running through the basic arch shapes to distinguish each facade from the others: *mixtilíneo* at Espada, *ochavada* at Concepción, *de medio punto* at Valero and the parish church. About the only distinctive shapes left for the facade of San Juan were the *conopial* (later used by Gerónimo de Ibarra for the window and doorway to the roof of the granary for the Father President's office at Concepción), and *de tres centros* or *de cinco centros* arches. Tello designed *ochavada* windows for the choir loft at Concepción; he may have intended similar windows for Valero with arches *de medio punto* forming their upper surfaces, and *mixtelíneo* window tops for Espada.

At Concepción, Tello ran the convento from one bell tower, with an arcaded corridor on the west side of the main row of convento rooms, facing the intended convento patio. These new vaulted rooms were to tie the old convento rooms to the south to the new church, and create a new convento patio space. The evidence suggests that he began construction on the same spatial arrangement for the conventos at Espada and San Antonio de Valero. At Valero, Tello decided to put the primary church back from the mission plaza, east of the row of already existing convento rooms. Tello planned to connect his new church and sacristy to the already standing convento rooms by a section of new, arched and vaulted convento, much like the convento he was building at Concepción. The sacristy door to the convento was to open into a small patio behind

[49] Although the church of Espada was not finished, Tello roughed out the stones of its main doorway (Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario de la Mision de la Espada*," 1772, frame 4197), and about 1777 these were installed, somewhat rearranged, where they can be seen today as the entrance to the temporary church that had been begun as the sacristy.

[50] Secretario del Patrimonio Nacional, ed., *Vocabulario Arquitectonico Ilustrado* (Mexico City: Secretario del Patrimonio Nacional, 1975), pp. 202–204, 210, 416.

the bell tower of the church, with a staircase to the choir loft planned to be against the bell tower base in this patio, and the convento corridor extending across the north side of the small patio.

At Valero, the foundations and thicker, lower portions of the walls of the present church, the top of which is marked by a molding set into the face of the church 4.26 feet above the top of the footing, are probably the surviving, leveled-off portion of Tello's work.[51] Inside the church, the ledges on the north and south end walls of the transepts are at the same height, and also probably mark the point where Tello's work came to an end, and the next architect's work begins.[52] About the time the construction had reached this height, almost four months after the cornerstone of Valero was laid, Maestro Antonio Tello was accused of murdering his lover's husband, Matias Treviño, and fled town.[53]

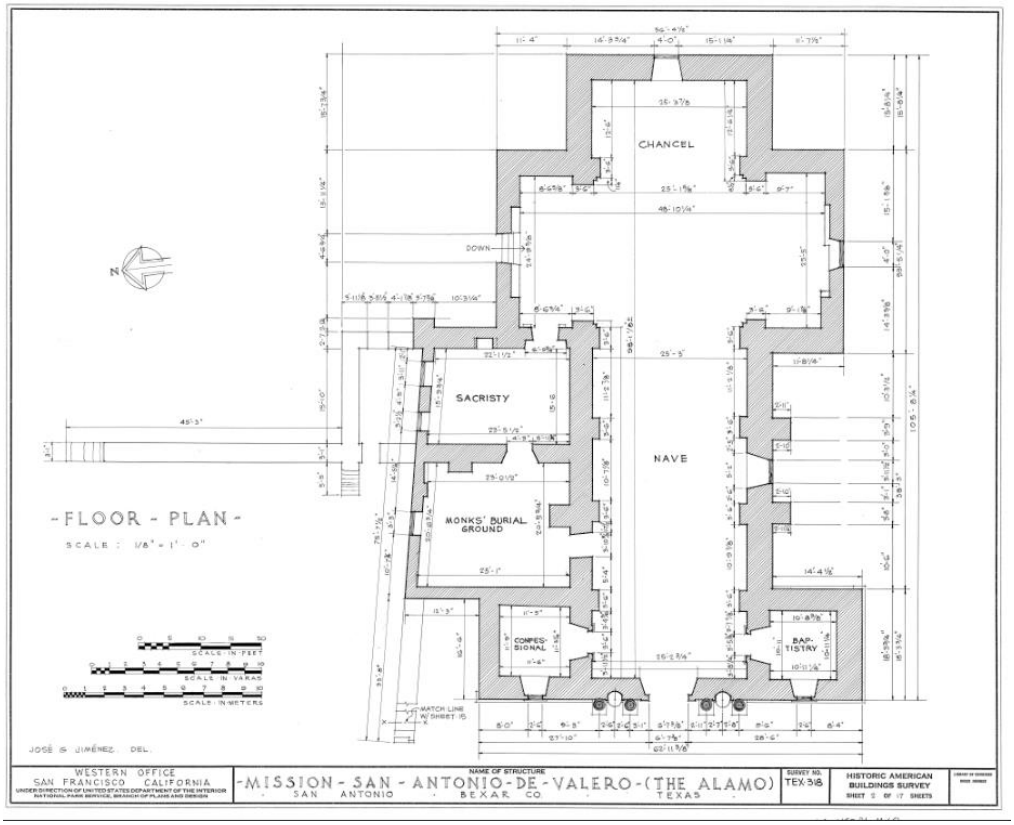
Tello Leaves Town

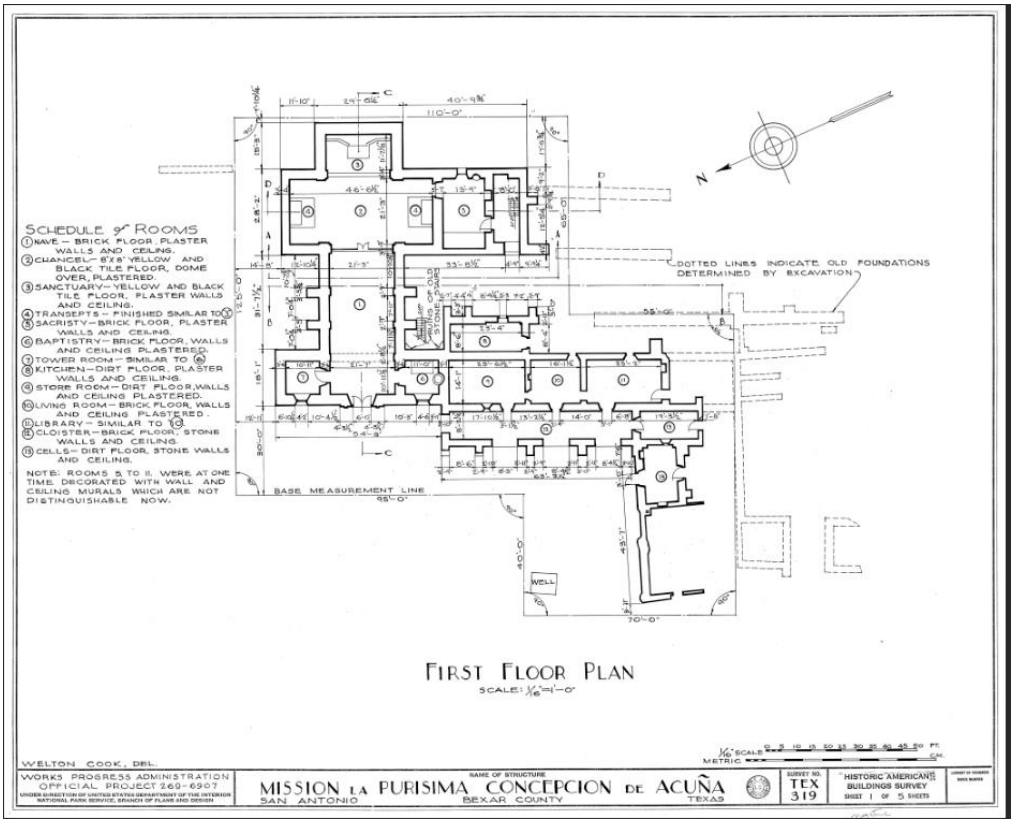
On the evening of August 21, 1744, the alcalde ordinario of San Fernando, Alberto Lopez Aguado y Villafuerte, was called to the house of Jerónimo Flores, where Matias Treviño lay mortally wounded with a bullet wound through his arm and body. Treviño died about 4:00 in the morning of the 22nd, but not before accusing the master mason Antonio Tello of having shot him because Tello was having an affair with Treviño's wife, Rosa Guerra, who, in Treviño's presence, had asked Tello to kill him. Aguado sent four soldiers to the mission of San Antonio de Valero to arrest Tello. These men found that he had taken refuge in the temporary church of Valero, the converted granary, today the north half of the "Long Barracks" containing the Alamo museum. Aguado stationed guards around the church, with orders to arrest Tello if he came out. The next day the alcalde went into the church with the permission of Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana, the minister of Valero, to take Tello's testimony. During questioning that day and the next, Tello denied everything, claiming that he had thought Treviño was an Apache attacking him, and had shot him in what he thought was self-defense. Only later that night did he hear that it had been Treviño. He insisted this was the truth even when Aguado pointed out that he had been so close to Treviño that there were powder burns on Treviño's shirt, and even in the wound itself—and Aguado didn't

[51] Jack D. Eaton, *Excavations at the Alamo Shrine (Mission San Antonio de Valero)* (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, 1980), pp. 25-26, 56 fig. 8.

[52] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," 17–71.

[53] Aguado y Villafuerte, "Causa Criminal."





FIGURES 5–6: Floor plans for Valero and Concepción. Drawings are part of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and accessed through the Library of Congress Digital Collections.

even ask about how it was that Treviño had been struck on the head several times with a gun barrel. Tello further denied any relationship with Rosa Guerra, Treviño's wife.

Other enquiries during the 22nd and 23rd revealed that the affair between Rosa Guerra and Tello had been so blatant that Treviño had gotten a court order on three different occasions to have Tello removed from his house, and Guerra herself had been removed from the house of Jerónimo Flores (where Treviño had died) several times while meeting Tello there. Other informants revealed that Tello had built her a house at his own expense, helped, oddly enough, by the curate of San Antonio, Father Juan Recio de Leon. Based on this evidence, and Treviño's statements that Rosa Guerra had asked Tello to kill him, Aguado had Guerra arrested on August 23. He questioned her, and like Tello she denied everything. Aguado decided that the testimony of various witnesses and the dead man was overwhelming, and requested Captain Toribio de Urrutia, commander of the presidio, to petition Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana that Tello be remanded to Aguado's custody for trial.

On the 24th, Aguado received Dolores y Viana's permission to remove Tello from the sanctuary of the church of San Antonio de Valero. He went to the mission to make the arrest, and found that in spite of the guards he had set, Tello had escaped during the night of the 23rd. Aguado sent a warrant to the Presidio de San Juan Bautista, where the Camino Real crossed the Rio Grande River, requesting that the captain of that presidio arrest Tello if he was seen there.

The last note in the file, on September 3, said that Rosa Guerra was being held pending trial. The results of that trial are not on record in the Bexar Archives. Antonio Tello was apparently never caught—and with Tello's departure, work stopped on the churches of Valero, Concepción, and Espada, and apparently the parish church of Candelaria as well.[54]

Between Architects

After Tello's departure in August 1744, the missionaries set out to use what they could of Tello's work, with no regard for how this might affect future construction. At Valero, apparently the Franciscans felt that they should be able to finish a simple version of the church. Using Tello's foundations and lower walls, they appear to have built a church with a flat earthen roof and a simple tower, which collapsed in late 1749 or early 1750. It may have been the unfinished tower collapsing onto the roof, smashing it in and knocking down some part of the walls of the nave, that caused the destruction of the church. In November of 1749 the book of burials records a burial in "the new church" which "was not finished," suggesting that the building had not yet fallen in.[55] The collapse probably occurred in early 1750; Father President Fray Mariano Dolores y

[54] Aguado y Villafuerte, "Causa Criminal."

[55] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 20; Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero*, p. 23.

Viana's decision in this year to contract for the service of another mason was probably prompted by the event.

The missionaries appear to have been responsible for the completion of the sacristy at Espada as a church by October 1745. After Tello's abrupt departure in late 1744, the missionaries decided to finish the building with a flat roof rather than the vaulted ceiling Tello had certainly intended. They built up its walls to a height of about seventeen feet, where they set the vigas of the flat roof in place. As finished, the structure had little resemblance to the present building. It had a simple rectangular doorway about four and one-half feet wide and six and one-half feet high, with its center about eight feet south of the northeast corner of the sacristy. It lacked the central doorway of carved stone, the square choir window above, and the triple-arched *espadaña* on the top of the wall. The interior was about thirty-eight feet long and fourteen and one-half feet wide, rather than the present sixty feet by sixteen feet. The missionaries built a choir loft into the east end of the building.[56]

Most of Tello's other projects were continued. At Concepción, for some reason the Franciscans left the half-built church undisturbed. Perhaps they felt that it was close enough to being finished that it would be worth the trouble to eventually get a maestro to complete it. However, the missionaries finished the granary, intended originally to be vaulted like the San José granary, by building up the walls to a height of fifteen feet and adding the flat roof that it had for the rest of the colonial period.[57] Tello had laid out similar granaries at San Juan and Espada that were also intended to be vaulted, and here again the Franciscans finished the buildings with flat roofs. They were in use by June 1745.[58] The San José granary, probably also begun by Tello, was left unfinished. The parish church had reached the height of its *soleras* (which usually refers to the bond-beams along the tops of the walls on which rest the roof beams) but work on it also stopped about 1744, giving further support to the supposition that Tello had been its maestro, as well.[59]

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[56] The choir loft is not mentioned in the 1745 report, but is described in 1756; Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, "*Vissita de la Mission de N[uestra] P[adr]e S[a]n Fran[cis]co de la Espada*," May 29, 1756, *Razon de la Viss[i]ta de las Missiones de San Xavier y de las de S[a]n Antonio de Valero en la Provincia y Governacion de Texas, Maio de 1756*, ed. Vargas Rea (Mexico City: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanes, 1955), vol. 1, p. 33.

[57] Ortiz, *"Visita, 1745,"* frame 1272., mentions the granary as in use and implies that it is of stone. The west half of the original north wall of the granary still stands to its full height, forming the south wall of the stairwell to the Father President's office.

[58] Ortiz, *"Visita, 1745,"* frames 1270–71.

[59] Benavides, "Sacred Space," pp. 14–15; Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," frames 5076–77.

In 1748, four years after Tello's precipitous departure, the Villa de San Fernando hired *maestro de albañil* Gerónimo de Ibarra and the *maestro de escultor* Felipe de Santiago in San Luis Potosí to complete the parish church probably begun by Tello in addition to his mission construction work. During this work, Ibarra was paid two pesos and a meal per day. Ibarra stated that for the seven years he worked on the parish church, he received 350 pesos in *libranzas*, bank drafts, and the rest in *generos*, goods. The 350 pesos in bank drafts may have been an initial payment on the contract, made in San Luis Potosí, since Santiago said that he had received an initial payment of forty pesos in reales in San Luis Potosí.[60]

After working on the San Fernando church for two years, in 1750 these two maestros accepted an offer from the Franciscans to work on the mission churches, as well. In that year the Franciscans paid for the transportation costs of Ibarra's wife to San Fernando, by order of the new Querétaran Father President of Texas, Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana. The mission accounts list charges for the transportation of Maria Gallegos, wife of the maestro de albañil Gerónimo de Ibarra, "*que se haya en esta Mission*," who is at this mission, and state that this was done "*por orden que havia del Padre Presidente Fray Maria-Anno*," by the order from Father President Fray Mariano.[61] Fray Mariano, who had been the minister in charge of Valero at the time of the murder of Matias Treviño by master mason Antonio Tello in 1744, was appointed Father President of Texas in 1750, and this order for the transportation of Ibarra's wife was among his first official acts. It is reasonable to suppose that Ibarra had been intending to charge the Villa de San Fernando for the cost of bringing his wife to Texas, but instead got the Franciscans to bring her on the annual supply caravan and pay for the trip as part of his additional contract with them. Certainly the Franciscans might hope they would have better luck with this maestro if his wife was with him.

According to his testimony in a lawsuit in 1756, Ibarra began working on the parish church on the 28th of October, 1748, and completed the building in 1755.[62] The date of the completion and dedication of the parish church has been a small mystery in the history of San Antonio. Habig has said Nov. 6, 1749, following P. F. Parisot and C. J. Smith, but Castañeda disagreed with Parisot and Smith: "Although it has been affirmed that the church was completed by 1749, the statement is doubtful ... the church [must have been] dedicated two or three years later." Castañeda indicated that he had been

[60] Benavides, "Sacred Space," pp. 19–20; Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," frames 5076, 5077, 5072. Santiago testified that his contract specified two pesos a day and one meal—presumably since Ibarra received the same wage per day, he also received a meal each day as well.

[61] Valero, "*Cuentas*," May 16, 1751, "for the past year of '50," frames 4887, 4890.

[62] Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," frames 5076, 5077, 5072.

unable to find any reference to an actual date. However, Adán Benavides has shown that it was very likely December 12, 1755.[63]

Ibarra tore down the old church, apparently at least partly built under the supervision of Antonio Tello, although his name is never mentioned in Ibarra's testimony. Ibarra said the old church was twenty-six varas (71.2 feet) long, and six and one-half varas (17.8 feet) wide, and had a bell tower. This tower, however, was not reached by a spiral staircase as, apparently, Ibarra's new church was, but by a ladder or stairs inside the church, probably up to the choir loft. Ibarra was required to reuse the foundations of the old church as much as possible, and did so at least for the area of the facade, and to reuse the stone from its walls in the new construction. Ibarra said that this was enough to build the walls "more than five varas of height," or about fourteen feet. As Ibarra completed it, the new church was of stone, had transepts and a tower (presumably with a spiral staircase inside it), and was 31.5 feet high to the parapets of the nave, 20.6 feet wide and 90.4 feet long. Ibarra had to use mud mortar for the walls, but insisted on lime mortar in the ribs and arches. The roof was a vault of wood set on the ribs.[64]

While work was continuing on the parish church, Ibarra began working part-time for the missionaries in 1750.[65] Although he lived at San Antonio de Valero, his first task was the supervision of the continuation of construction at Concepción. The Franciscans probably decided to have Ibarra begin work on Concepción because the

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[63] Benavides, "Sacred Space," 17, 31; Habig, *Alamo Chain*, 260; P. F. Parisot and C. J. Smith, *History of the Catholic Church in the diocese of San Antonio, Texas, 1685–1897* (San Antonio: Carrico and Bowen, 1897), p. 33; Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mission Era: The Missions At Work, 1731–1761*, vol. 3, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1938), p. 101; Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mission Era: The Passing of the Missions, 1762–1782*, vol. 4, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1939), 22; Carlos E. Castañeda, *Transition Period: The Fight for Freedom, 1810–1836*, vol. 6, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1950), 351–53; Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Church in Texas Since Independence, 1836–1950*, vol. 7, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1958), pp. 46, 50, 73–74; see also Frederick Chabot, *San Fernando: The Villa Capital of the Province of Texas* (San Antonio: Naylor Printing Co. 1930), with a section on the history of the church construction.

[64] Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," frames 5072–83; Benavides, "Sacred Space," p. 17; Benavides, "Building a Church in 18th Century Texas: Notes on the San Fernando Parish Church", pp. 13–17. Santiago thought the stone from the earlier church made the walls of the new church more than six varas in height, or about seventeen feet; Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," frame 5078.

[65] The missions paid for Ibarra's wife's transportation to San Antonio in that year. He completed the San Antonio parish church on December 12, 1755, since Concepción was completed and dedicated four days earlier, on December 8, 1755; Habig, *Alamo Chain*, p. 131; Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, "*Vissita de la Mission de la Purisima Concepcion de Acuna*," June 4, 1756, *Razon de la Viss[i]ta de las Missiones de San Xavier y de las de S[a]n Antonio de Valero en la Provincia y Governacion de Texas, Maio de 1756*, ed. Vargas Rea (Mexico City: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanes, 1955), 27.

church was in better condition and closer to completion than the poorly constructed and partially collapsed building at Valero, and undoubtedly because the Querétaran Father President, Mariano de los Dolores, had his office there.

Ibarra built the vaulted roof and dome of the church, as well as the upper halves of the bell towers. After the completion of Concepción on December 8, 1755, four days before he finished the parish church, Ibarra began working on other projects at Concepción and the other missions. Between 1755 and 1759, Ibarra carried out major construction at Valero, Espada, and San Juan, and continued work on the vaulted Concepción convento begun by Tello. He apparently ran into trouble while building the vaulting on a new wing of the Concepción convento.

In the 1759 visitation report, Fray Mariano Dolores y Viana stated:

> *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 vigas [to support the roofs] . . .[66]

According to Dolores y Viana's statement, the mission was ordered sometime in late 1758 or early 1759 to discontinue the construction of vaulting.

What caused this change? A possible implication of the statement by Dolores y Viana was that the vaulted structures proved to be structurally unsound—it may be that some of the new construction collapsed soon after completion. A likely candidate for such a collapse was Ibarra's new west wing to the convento. The broken section of this vaulted wing was shown as fallen in the earliest drawings, in the 1840s, and was apparently down as of the sale of the convento in 1823, when these rooms are not mentioned as part of the structure. In fact, the west wing was never described, whole or fallen, in any report or inventory. If it had collapsed about 1758, immediately after its construction,

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[66] Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, "*Testimonio de la Visita de las Missiones de las Pro[vinci]as de Coahuila y Texas pertenecientes al Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz; echa por el R[everedo] P[adre] Fr[ay] Mariano Fran[cis]co de los Dolores y Viana, Com[issari]o Visitador de todas ellas en el mes de Marzo de 1759*," May 20, 1759, in Celaya Microfilms, roll 9, frame 1493.

this would explain why it was never described later, in the 1772 inventory, and such a collapse would have probably been enough to prompt the command to finish the remaining rooms with flat roofs rather than vaults. As a result of this order, we can conclude that all Ibarra's construction on vaulted convento structures in San Antonio came to a halt in 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 early 1759. They may well have been built by the Franciscans, because not only new vaulted buildings, but also Ibarra disappears from the records at this point.[67] The last indication that he still lived at Valero was in the baptismal records of that mission for December 19, 1758.[68] Apparently Gerónimo de Ibarra was fired or quit in early 1759.

Felipe de Santiago

The town of San Fernando hired the maestro cantero Felipe de Santiago in San Luis Potosí at the same time they contracted with Gerónimo de Ibarra. He worked with Ibarra to complete the parish church, finishing the fine-carving of the doorway framing stonework and other facade details that had probably been begun by Antonio Tello in the 1740s. It is likely that Santiago was the same person as Felipe Sánchez de Santiago, who was a master carpenter in Zacatecas in 1727.[69] He was probably also the same person as the cantero Felipe de Santiago working in Guanajuato about 1734.[70]

During his work in San Antonio, Santiago was paid two pesos and a meal per day. Santiago said that he received forty pesos in reales in San Luis Potosí and the rest in

[67] This is based on the descriptions of the progress on these buildings in the visitation reports, and the lack of any evidence that there was any other master mason working for the missions during this period. Benavides, "Sacred Space," 15 n. 35.

[68] Benavides, "Sacred Space," 15 n. 35.

[69] Clara Bargellini, *La Arquitectura de la Plata: Iglesias Monumentales del Centro-Norte de Mexico, 1640–1750* (Ciudad de Mexico: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas, 1991), p. 134.

[70] Benavides, "Sacred Space," 15 n. 35; Glorinela Gonzales Franco, et al., *Catalogo de artistas y artesanos de Mexico* (Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, 1986), p. 289. Benavides says Santiago was working in Guanajuato in 1743, but this is apparently a typographical mistake for 1734.

goods.[71] In 1750 Felipe de Santiago probably began working part-time for the Franciscans on the mission churches, in partnership with Gerónimo de Ibarra.[72]

Santiago finished the fine-carving for the parish church in 1754, and moved to Concepción to begin working full-time for the missions in that year.[73] That same year, Mission Concepción paid for the transportation of his wife to San Antonio.[74] Santiago worked on both Concepción and Valero during these years. He probably made use of some parts of Tello's carved stone portal already standing at Concepción, and probably some part of the facade at Valero. Undoubtedly Tello had finished some further carved stones and left them sitting in the cutting yard awaiting assembly; but at some point on both facades, the stone-carving changes from that of Tello to that of Felipe de Santiago. It would be fascinating if a close inspection of the carving (and perhaps even a microscopic examination of the tool-marks) could distinguish between the work of the two stone-carvers.

Santiago was also a carpenter and sculptor in wood. In addition to the fine stone-carving he carried out for the facades of Valero and Concepción, he apparently built the stepped platform retablo in use at Concepción in 1756. By 1759, in the center of the altar was a gilded tabernacle, and above this the altar had a "*pequeño retablo, ovalado dorado.*"[75] The small gilded oval retablo was described in later reports as carved in the shape of a drapery. Both the tabernacle and retablo were probably built by Felipe Santiago sometime in 1756, before he left San Antonio, although they had not yet been put in place at the time the 1756 report was prepared in June. Adding to the likelihood that Santiago was responsible for the small oval retablo is that on the keystone of the main entrance of the facade of the church is a carved oval drapery—here it enclosed two angels holding a monstrance. This was first described in 1756, and is still on the facade today. Clara Bargellini has shown that it is common for the man who carves the facade of a church to also make some of the retablos on the interior, and to have echoes between the design of the interior retablo and the facade decorations.[76]

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[71] Benavides, "Sacred Space," p. 17; Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," frames 5078, 5072.

[72] The amount of fine-carving for the facade, vaults, dome and bell towers suggests that he could not have done all the work in the short time of 1754 and 1755.

[73] Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," frames 5072–83; Benavides, "Sacred Space," p. 17.

[74] Concepcion de Acuña, "Cuentas," 1754:4509, "*Por 60 p[eso]s que se pagaron a la muger de Phelipe Santiago Maestro Cantero de orden del P[adre] Ministro*."

[75] Dolores y Viana, "*Visita*, 1759," 1492.

[76] Clara Bargellini, personal communication, April 2003.

At the same time Santiago would have built the pulpit, its *guardavoz*, and its enclosed stairs, all of carved and painted wood, located at the southwest corner where the transepts crossed the nave.[77] In the sacristy was more of what was probably Santiago's work. This was a large cabinet of three drawers, in which were kept the vestments and silver items for saying Mass.[78] Santiago left San Antonio sometime in the late 1750s, probably in 1756 or 1757.[79]

Nicholas Albañil

Nicholas Albañil was a Tilpacopal Indian of Mission Concepción. He had trained at Concepción during the 1750s under Gerónimo de Ibarra and became recognized as a maestro sometime before 1764.[80] In spite of the fact that he was called a maestro, however, he must not have fulfilled the needs of the missionaries.

Joseph Palafox

After the departure of Ibarra about 1759, the Franciscans did not make the same mistake that they had in 1749, and attempt to finish Valero on their own. Instead, they quickly hired a new master mason and master sculptor to finish the building. The mason, Joseph Palafox, first appears in the mission records with his arrival at Valero in July, 1761, taking Gerónimo de Ibarra's place in the work on the missions.[81] Because there was no specific mention of where he was hired and transported from, it is likely that he was in Saltillo at the time, where the supply caravan to San Antonio originated. As the mission had for Ibarra and Santiago before him, Valero paid for the transportation of Palafox's wife to San Antonio the next year, in April 1762.[82] The accounts indicated that he was building the church of Valero: "*q[u]e haze la Ygl[eci]a de esta Mis[io]n.*"[83] Palafox was called maestro cantero, maestro albañil, and *maestro*

[77] Ortiz, *"Concepcion, 1756,"* 2:28.

[78] Ortiz, *"Concepcion, 1756,"* 2:33.

[79] He was still in San Antonio in January 1756, when he gave testimony against Vicente Travieso (Cardenas, "*Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso*," frames 5072–83) but there is no mention of him after that.

[80] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," 21.

[81] *Cuentas* Valero 1761:4942.

[82] *Cuentas* Valero 1762:4945.

[83] *Cuentas* Valero 1762:4945.

alarife at various places in the mission accounts; clearly he was a highly qualified mason.[84]

In 1763, Palafox charged twelve pesos against Valero's account as payment on a house "*quando passó a ella a la fabri[ca] de su Yglesia*," "when he moved to [the house] for the construction of [the mission's] church." A note added that this was according to the agreement between Palafox and Valero.[85] At Valero, Palafox finished the vaulted sacristy in the final church, and church services were immediately moved to this room. He roofed the small patio next to the sacristy to serve as the temporary sacristy.[86]

Palafox apparently designed the new church at San José in late 1763. He planned the building to be about 137 feet long and about twenty-seven feet wide across the nave, with transepts and two bell towers.[87] This original design was later changed twice, but in general, the building as it stands today probably looks very much like the church Palafox designed. Palafox probably directed the demolition of the old flat-roofed church in late 1763 or early 1764 (according to the Menchaca map the church was gone by March 1764)[88] and laid out the foundations of the new church late that year.

Palafox appeared in the accounts of Espada in 1763, and Concepción in 1763 and 1764, when he was paid for work at those missions.[89] If he was being paid two pesos a day as Ibarra had been by the town of San Fernando, then Palafox worked thirty-eigh and one-half days at Espada in 1763, 21 days at Concepcion in 1763 and 30 days at Concepción in 1764, in addition to his work at Valero during the same time. Palafox was working with the master carpenter and sculptor "don Ángel," (probably Mariano Ángel Galín y Anglino) who appears in the records at the same time at Valero, San

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[84] *Maestro cantero*, *Cuentas* Valero 1761:4942; *maestro alarife*, *Cuentas* Valero 1762:4945; *maestro alarife*, *Cuentas* Concepción 1763:4540; *maestro albañil*, *Cuentas* Concepción 1764:4547.

[85] *Cuentas* Valero 1763:4948.

[86] Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero*, p. 8; Fray José Francisco López, "*Ymbentario de las existencias q[u]e hay hoy dia 23 de Abril de 1793, en la Mis[ion] de San Antonio Valero*," April 23, 1793, Celaya Microfilms, frame 5809.

[87] Solís, "Report on Mission San José in the Diary of Fr. Gaspar José Solís, 1767–1768," in Fray Benedict Leutenegger and Fray Marion A. Habig, *The San José Papers, The Primary Sources for the History of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo From Its Founding in 1720 to the Present. Part 1: 1719–1791* (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1978), p. 140.

[88] Captain don Luis Antonio Menchaca, "*Mapa del Presidio de San Antonio de Bexar, i sus Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, F[ec]ho en 24 del Mes de Marzo de 1764, Por el Capitan Don Luis Anttonio Menchaca que lo es de d[ic]ho Presidio*," John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

[89] *Cuentas* Espada 1763:4672; *Cuentas* Concepción 1763:4540, 1764:4547

Juan, and Espada. At Espada, they undoubtedly built and furnished the new sacristy on the west end of the church in 1763, in the space where the southern bell tower of the permanent church was to have been, indicating that plans to finish the large church at Espada had been given up by this date. Palafox apparently left San Antonio about 1765.

"Don Ángel": Mariano Ángel Galín y Anglino

The master carpenter "don Ángel" was apparently the same man as the sculptor and engineer Mariano Ángel Galín y Anglino, a well-known maestro on the northern frontier, who worked in San Antonio during at least three periods from the early 1760s to the late 1780s. He arrived about the same time as Joseph de Palafox, and worked with him at several of the missions in the early 1760s, while living and apparently working at Valero.[90] It is not clear when he came to San Antonio, but he is first mentioned in the 1762 mission accounts.[91]

Ángel appeared in the accounts of missions Valero, San Juan and Espada only in 1762 and 1763. He lived and worked at Valero during this time. There are a few things we can attribute to him based on the reports and inventories. The record of construction indicates that after Joseph Palafox finished the vaulted sacristy in the final church about 1763, to serve as the temporary church, it was probably Anglino who built and installed the new platform and altar table, and who carved, gilded and mounted the new retablo above the altar.[92] Next to the sacristy serving as the church, in the room converted to be the temporary sacristy, he built a new sacristy cabinet.[93]

San Juan paid Valero ninety-nine pesos seven and one-half reales in1763 for work he did there in 1762, while Espada, instead of paying him directly, paid sixty-one pesos one real for his horse, underwear and socks, shoes, a work hat, cooking oil and ordinary chocolate in 1762, and fifty-three pesos five and one-half reales in 1763 for more shoes, the transportation of some of his belongings, and one piece of *lija*, sandpaper or shark-skin for polishing wood.[94] If he was paid two pesos a day as Felipe de Santiago was in

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[90] *Cuentas* San Juan 1763:4805; *Cuentas* Valero 1762:4945, 1763:4948.

[91] *Cuentas* Valero 1762:4945.

[92] W. Eugene George, "Mission San Antonio de Valero (The Alamo)," (San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas: Historic American Buildings Survey, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1961), sheet 10; Cisi Jary and Pamela Rosser, "Mission San Antonio de Valero, the Alamo Shrine—Sacristy Room: Investigation, Documentation, Conservation Treatments Report," 2001, report in the files of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, The Alamo, San Antonio, Texas; Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero*, p. 8.; López, "*Ymbentario de 1793*," frame 5809.

[93] Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero*, p. 8; López, "*Ymbentario de 1793*," frame 5809.

[94] *Cuentas* Espada 1762:4669, 4671; 1763:4672, 4674, 4675.

the 1750s, then the payments in the account books indicate that he worked a fraction less than fifty days at San Juan in 1762, about thirty and one-half days at Espada in 1762, and about twenty-nine days at Espada in 1763.

Unfortunately, the accounts do not indicate precisely what Ángel did. However, a hint is given by the accounts of 1762, when Valero called him *"maestro escultor."* The term maestro escultor in association with his title of maestro carpintero indicates that Ángel was a sculptor in both wood and stone, as the sculptor and carpenter Felipe Santiago had been. Don Ángel was probably making *bultos* and retablos, as well as fine-carved stonework for the missions.[95] If this was the case, and the probability that he was Ángel Galín y Anglino indicates that it was, then Ángel probably furnished the sacristy at Espada in 1762 and 1763, and worked with Palafox to build a new sacristy and renovate the church at San Juan in 1762. This was in addition to the work he was doing at Valero, the payments for which do not appear in the accounts, suggesting that they were covered by separate arrangements. Don Ángel apparently left San Antonio about the end of 1763 or early 1764.

Mariano Ángel Galín y Anglino was back in town in the 1770s, listed by his full name, and hired as a surveyor in 1776–1778 to supervise the construction of the Upper Labor ditch for the city.[96] He returned to San Fernando in the late 1780s, when in 1787 he worked for the military as an engineer.[97] About 1788 he contracted to help survey the layout of a proposed irrigation system at the Presidio La Bahia.[98] In January 1789, he left San Antonio again, and went at the orders of Comandante General Rafael Pacheco to the Valle de Santa Rosa to assist on a government construction project ("*las obras del Rey*").[99]

From Santa Rosa, Anglino went to Saltillo, where he spent the years from about 1790 to 1806 as the master carpenter and supervisor of the final construction on the parish church there, now the Saltillo Cathedral, as well as a number of smaller projects at other

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[95] *Cuentas* San Juan 1763:4805; *Cuentas* Valero 1763:4948.

[96] *Expediente*, Don Juan Maria de Ripperda, Baron de Ripperda, et al., Febrero 17, 1776–April 17, 1784, Bexar County Archives, Spanish Records, vol. 3, pp. 317–348; Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar, A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 81–84. Teja mistakenly says that his name was "Pedro Anglín."

[97] Documents concerning an expedition to San Bernardo Bay, September 15–November 10, 1787, BAM, roll 18, ff. 257–259, 295–300, 387–388, 472–474

[98] Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mission Era: The End of the Spanish Regime, 1780–1810*, vol. 5, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1942), 177; Pedro de Huizar to Manuel Muñoz, March 4, 1791, BAM, roll 21, frames 210–11.

[99] Comandante General Juan de Ugalde to governor Rafael Martinez Pacheco, BAM, roll 19, f. 420; Governor Rafael Martinez Pacheco to Comandante General Juan de Ugalde, BAM, roll 19, ff. 498–99.

churches in the area. In the account books for the construction of the various churches of Saltillo, Clara Bargellini has found that Ángel did a great deal of work there in the 1790s. He built the cabinetry for sacristies, pulpits, altar tables, several large main church doors, the railings and grillwork for choir lofts and baptistries, and several major retablos. His work on the retablos included their design, carving, gilding, and assembly. In addition, Anglino directed the final construction work on the carved stone facades of the parish church. Bargellini demonstrates that Anglino was apparently responsible for the design of these facades as well, and may have taken part in the carving of the stones. She presents a strong argument for the great similarity between the stone facades of the church and the major retablos within it that Anglino had built.[100]

Estevan de Losoya (also called "de el Oyo" or "de los Oyos")

After the departure of Palafox about 1765, Estevan Losoya, an Indian from Aguas Calientes, became master mason for the Querétaran missions from about 1765 until his death in 1767. He worked principally at Valero, where in 1766 he was called *maestro de la obra de la Yglesia*, master of the church project, and in l767 he was called maestro de albañil, master stonemason.[101] During this period, Losoya was carrying the walls of the church up to the point where the ribs and vaulting would begin. Burials in 1765 and 1766 were noted to be in "the new church being built."[102] Losoya was apparently not an escultor, a fine-carver, and work on the facade was held up until one was found.

Estevan Losoya probably accepted a contract with the Zacatecans as well, and continued the construction of the foundations of Mission San José in 1765 or 1766. Losoya died at Valero on March 15, l767, about the time he had completed the foundations of the new church at San José, and was buried at Valero.[103]

Dionicio Gonzales

In 1767 the Franciscans hired the master sculptor Dionicio Gonzales to complete the facade of Mission San Antonio de Valero. He became maestro de la obra at Valero on September 27, 1767, six months after the death of Estevan Losoya.[104] The contract stated that Gonzales agreed to "complete the facade of the [mission] church of San Antonio [de Valero] precisely as it is shown on the plan." The contract was specifically

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[100] Clara Bargellini, personal communication, April 2003.

[101] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 21.

[102] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 20.

[103] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 21; Leal, "Burials of Mission San Francisco de Solano (San Antonio de Valero, Alamo)," p. 60.

[104] Gonzales and Lopez, "*Obligacion*;" Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 21. Gonzales's name was misrecorded in the Valero records as "Domingo."

limited to work on the facade; the missionaries were apparently hiring Gonzales to complete the carving of the statues and shaped stones needed to complete the facade, as well as to assemble these pieces. Gonzales agreed to cover the cost of the cut stone, while the missionaries agreed to pay him 1,700 pesos for the work, give him needed iron tools, and to give him "free supervision" of the work. Although unstated, it can be assumed that the mission supplied the workforce in the form of unskilled Indian labor. Gonzales declared himself to be liable for litigation if he did not complete the contract; presumably this was the equivalent of a bond.[105] Gonzales may have executed some of the fine-carving for the San José church during the period from 1768 to 1770, as well, if any such work was needed during this period. It is not presently known where he worked before he came to San Fernando, or even if he was locally trained. He was apparently an old man even when he started work on Valero in the mid-1760s, and by 1770 seems to have been showing his age. He stopped working for the missionaries about 1771 or 1772. Dionicio Gonzales and his wife continued to live in San Fernando until their deaths in 1789.

Antonio Salazar

Antonio Salazar was a mulatto, born about 1733 in Zacatecas. We do not know where he trained, or where he was working before he was hired by the Franciscans in San Antonio. Mardith Schuetz suggested that he may have designed and carved the side portal of the church of San Agustín in that city. However, Clara Bargellini, working on the architecture of the *Plata* region of Mexico, examined the records for the church of San Agustín and found that the name of Antonio Salazar "has not been encountered in the records of Zacatecas." Bargellini pointed out that "Salazar, moreover, as an *albañil* was not necessarily a stonecutter, although the possibility should not be discarded."[106] By this, she meant that he may have been the designer of the church of San José without actually cutting the stone for it himself.

Salazar probably arrived in San Antonio about 1768, hired to replace the mason Estevan Losoya. He was apparently not a sculptor—the Franciscans had already hired the sculptor Dionicio Gonzales to take over the sculpting projects.

Schuetz-Miller speculates that Salazar was the designer of San José, but, as discussed above, it is more likely that Estevan Losoya was the designer of the Baroque church of San José in 1765, and that Salazar was brought in to take over the construction project after Losoya's death in 1767. Antonio Salazar's presence at the San Antonio missions can be proven only after 1779, when he is first mentioned in the records of San José. The San José books before that year were destroyed, but the references suggest that he had been a resident for some years by that time.[107]

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[105] Gonzales and Lopez, "*Obligacion*."

[106] Bargellini, *Plata*, p. 66.

[107] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 31–32.

Salazar lived and worked at San José through at least mid-1801, when he was in his seventies. Beginning in the mid-1770s, the missionaries started planning for the secularization of the missions, with the necessary cutbacks on expenditures on mission structures. Salazar had a strong influence on this era of mission architecture in the San Antonio area.

His contributions may be found at all the missions of San Antonio. At Valero, by 1772 Salazar had built the ribs to support the vaulting above the pilasters except in the area of the choir loft. Here, only the first stones of the rib to support the choir loft had been set in place. Later evidence, in the drawings of Edward Everett in 1847 and on the wall of the church itself, indicate that Salazar had begun the choir loft, but had not put any stones in place for the pilaster and rib above the choir loft. As of the inventory of December 1772, Salazar had completed the ribs at the crossing of the transept that would support the dome, and the groined vaulting over the sanctuary.[108]

In 1772 the Querétarans left and all the missions were placed in Zacatecan hands. At that point, the priority shifted from the completion of Valero to the completion of the church at San José. Salazar had completed the foundation of the new San José church in early 1768, and began work on the above-grade construction of the walls after the ceremony dedicating the cornstone on March 19.[109] Soon afterward, when the walls were perhaps two feet above grade, Salazar changed Losoya's original design. This was a cost-cutting redesign that shortened the building by thirty-seven feet, removed the transepts, and created the sacristy and its splendid window in the same baroque style as the facade of the church. The effects of the redesign were directly observed during excavations in the sacristy, which revealed that the foundations and lower two feet of the sacristy walls were butted against the already built nave wall of the church, while the fabric from about two feet up was unified construction, built at the same time.[110] About 1770, Salazar may have enlarged the San José granary and converted it to a temporary church with the addition of a choir loft and stairs, and painted decorations on the interior, traces of all of which can still be seen in the building, and at the same time constructed flying buttresses on the exterior of the building to help support the vaulted roof. He completed the church about 1782.

At Espada, about 1770 construction began on a new wood-vaulted granary, apparently designed and built by Antonio Salazar. This structure was located just east of what may have been the old granary. At the request of the missionaries, he converted this granary

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[108] Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero*, p. 7.

[109] Solis, "Report on Mission San José in the Diary of Fr. Gaspar José Solís, 1767–1768," in Leutenegger and Habig, *San José Papers, part I*, p. 140.

[110] Ivey, "Appendix D," in David L. Nickels and Anne A. Fox, *Archaeological Investigations within the Church Sacristy at Mission San José (41BX3), San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas* Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report No. 242 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio,1999), p. 26.

to the permanent church of Espada about 1773, only to have it collapse or burn out about 1775.[111] He then remodeled the old sacristy, probably inserting the stones carved by Tello for the door of the original church, and returned the building to use as the church of Espada, as it still is today.

At San Juan, Salazar probably designed and began the incomplete church on the east side of the mission, with its odd octagonal sacristy. He also built a new stone granary to replace the temporary *palisado* granary, which had itself replaced the original stone granary of 1745. The new granary apparently was intended to reuse some parts of the foundations of the 1745 *oficina* that stood just south of the old granary, but appears to have been a completely new building on a new alignment requiring mostly new foundations. Salazar built a series of relieving arches braced by pilasters along the east side of the building, and probably along the west side, too. He added flying buttresses at the north and south ends of the building, and perhaps at the center points, for additional support. The arrangement of relieving arches suggests that much of the mass of stored grain was to be on an upper level of the granary.[112]

Salazar probably designed and built the renovations at Espada's Rancho de las Cabras, near Floresville, about 1780–1785. As of 1772 the ranch headquarters was hexagonal in plan, 314 feet by 233 feet, and enclosed by a stone wall eight and one-quarter feet high and two and three-quarter thick, with a number of palisado buildings along the inside of the walls. The redesign and reconstruction reduced the fortification walls to an irregular quadrilateral with octagonal bastions at the northwest and southeast corners. A chapel built at the same time had a half-octagonal apse (which also served as a bastion for the northeast corner of the compound). Four rooms of stone were built against the north wall of the compound. It is uncertain whether these rooms were ever lived in, or the church ever completed and used.[113]

Salazar may have worked on the parish church, as many of his predecessors did. He may have been responsible for the vaulted roof, dome, and demioctagonal apse and transepts that produced the church of the 1850s, a portion of which survives today as the apse to the Cathedral. The design suggests the church at San Juan with its octagonal

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[111] Fr. Juan Agustín Morfí, *Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico* (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrua e Hijos, 1935), p. 228.

[112] This peculiar building does not resemble any other colonial structure on the northern frontier; it is called a granary here because it looks very much like the sort of stone granary built in England about the same time, with relieving arches in the walls of the first floor and the grain stored on the second floor. At the mission of Tumacácori, in Arizona, in the early nineteenth century the Franciscans built a somewhat similar granary of adobe with massive round posts and vigas designed to support storage on the second floor, but that building has no relieving arches.

[113] James E. Ivey, *Archaeological Testing at Rancho de las Cabras, 441 WN 30, Wilson County, Texas: Second Season*, Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report no. 121 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1983), pp. 35–37.

sacristy and the reconstruction of the Espada ranch headquarters with its demioctangonal chapel apse and octagonal bastions.

Pedro Huizar

With the retirement of Dionicio Gonzales about 1772, the Franciscans needed a new sculptor to carve the facade and other details of the new church at San José, as well as a master carpenter to make the church doors, interior woodwork, and furnishings. Antonio Salazar was apparently a master mason, not a fine-carver, and was not able to do this work. We have no candidate for this position after Gonzales left active work ... except for a long-standing legend in San Antonio. It appears that, as they had done before with Felipe de Santiago and Ángel Galín, the Franciscans found a skilled craftsman who could do both jobs. This was the carpenter Pedro Huizar.

Pedro Huizar was from Aguas Calientes, as Estevan Losoya had been, and arrived in San Antonio sometime in the 1770s. He may, in fact, have arrived in San Antonio about 1772, soon after the retirement of Dionicio Gonzales. He married Maria de la Trinidad Henrriques of San Antonio, probably at San José about 1778, but as I noted above, the San José books before 1779 have been destroyed. Huizar's first child of record was baptized at San José in January 1779.

The San Antonio tradition that Huizar carved the facade and "Rose" window of San José dates to at least the mid-nineteenth century. One of the earliest statements of the tradition in print was by Edward King in 1875, who was told at the time of his visit that "the King of Spain sent an architect of rare ability to superintend [San José's] erection. This architect, Huizar, finally settled in Texas, where his descendants still live."[114] Since we are not entirely clear on how funding was arranged for the hire of master masons and sculptors for work at the missions, this may well be an entirely accurate statement. The story was repeated regularly over the years, increasing in elaboration and romanticism, adding elements of a lost love named Rosa, after whom the window on the sacristy was named. A version of this more romantic story was published by Nora Franklin McCormick in 1909. The story includes such details as: "The artist who designed [the "Rose" window] ... was a Spaniard. He crossed the seas to make a fortune for the girl he loved, who was to wait for him, keeping faith until he should return..." This story actually has him joining the Franciscans after his loved one proved faithless, while other versions say that she died in a shipwreck as she crossed the Atlantic to join Huizar. So far as the available records go, none of these details are true.[115]

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[114] Edward King, *The Great South* (Hartford: The American Publishing Co., 1875), pp. 154–55.

[115] Nora Franklin McCormick, *San Antonio, Historical and Modern* (San Antonio: Passing Show Pub. Co., 1909), pp. 23–24.

The story has been repeated regularly since, most recently by James Early in *Presidio, Mission, and Pueblo*:

> Local tradition credits Pedro Huizar, a native of Aguascalientes, with the frame of the sacristy window, but he is recorded as a carpenter and that design is too sophisticated for an amateur sculptor. Huizar may have been the principal carpenter at San José.[116]

Pedro Huizar, however, was much more accomplished than that. He was another of the unusually skilled men who were both a master carpenter and a master sculptor in both stone and wood, like Felipe Santiago and Ángel Anglino before him at the San Antonio missions. We know he was in San Fernando earlier than January 16, 1773, because purchases by him are listed in the 1773 account book of the merchant Marcos Vidal as taking place on and before that date.[117] Pedro Huizar was referred to frequently as a carpenter, and the census of 1779 gives his profession as escultor. The local legends about Huizar are approximately true: Huizar was, like maestro Ángel Galín y Anglíno, indeed a master sculptor in addition to his other skills, and did indeed carve the facade, sacristy window, and numerous other baroque details of the San José church façade, doors, and retablos as Salazar's sculptor.[118]

In addition to his profession as sculptor and carpenter at San José, Huizar was a surveyor and carpenter for the military and the civil government in Texas. For example, in 1790 governor Manuel Muñoz commissioned him to survey the Villa de San Fernando and propose a new plan for the complete rebuilding of the defenses of the Presidio de Béjar—that is, for him to design an entire new fortification enclosing the entire town. As laid out in his plans, Huizar's design called for a new wall enclosing the town on the south, west and north (the San Antonio River would protect the east side), 1,170 varas (3,206 feet) long, four and one-quarter varas (11. 6 feet) high, and three-quarter vara (two feet) thick. Including the cost of reconstructing some presidio

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[116] James Early, *Presidio, Mission, and Pueblo: Spanish Architecture and Urbanism in the United States* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2004), pp. 116 fig. 4.13, 117. Later versions of the story of Pedro Huizar, decreasing in romance as research progressed, may be found in Mrs. S. J. Wright, *San Antonio de Béxar: Historical, Traditional, Legendary—an Epitome of Early Texas History* (Austin: Morgan Printing Company, 1916), pp.149–150; Mary Ann Noonan Guerra, *The Missions of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Alamo Press, 1982), p. 14; and Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 32.

[117] Vidal, "*Quaderno, 1773*," f. 363R lists "Maestro Pedro de Sa[n] J[ose]ph," with his account on ff. 363R and 364L. His purchases consisted mostly of *aguardiente* and wine. The census in Villareal, *Tejano Patriots*, p. 100, lists him as married in 1779, with two children, both under the age of 14.

[118] In Villareal, *Tejano Patriots*, the census of 1779 lists Pedro Huizar as a mulatto from Aguas Calientes, 39 years old, with the profession of "*escultor*."

buildings, Huizar estimated the entire project would cost 6,385 pesos. Huizar's recommendations caused a good deal of debate from the level of the governor up to the viceroy. Although Ramón Castro, the Comandante General of the Provincias Internas del Oriente, considered his plans to be effective and argued strongly in their favor, ultimately the project was never carried out.[119]

Other military projects by Huizar included his 1791 reevaluation of Ángel Anglino's survey for an irrigation ditch at La Bahia, the construction of gun carriages for the Presidio de San Antonio in 1796–1798. Finally, during the temporal secularization of the San Antonio missions in 1794, he carried out the survey of the lands of the missions in preparation for their distribution.[120]

After Salazar

A number of master masons were available in San Fernando in the period from 1790 to 1810. For example, the maestros Juan Mendes and Antonio Aguilar were working in the Villa in 1790; Juan de Dios Cortes, of Valero, had lived and worked in the area all his life. Manuel Deonicio of Mission Espada, José Gaspar of San José, and Alberto Morales of San Fernando were also masters. Andres Aguirre had arrived in town in 1807 from La Punta de Lampasos; Juan Diego Velor, a master mason from Saltillo, had arrived in 1804, as had Juan Lopes from Alamo de Parras, and Jacobo Aleman, from Germany, had come to town in 1806. Other masons, who may not have been masters, were José Antonio Bustillos, who lived at San José and was an active mason from 1786 to 1804, and Cayetano Bustillos, who may have been Antonio's brother, at San José in 1792 and perhaps later.[121] Work continued at the secularized missions, although at a much lower rate. For example, a rectory was added against the west wall of the church at San Juan sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, about the same time that the Benedictines moved into San José and apparently built a row of residence rooms against the north wall of the convento, where they lived while working on the reconstruction of the convento. Both the San Juan rectory and the San José residence rooms are known only from archaeology and structural marks on the walls of the

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[119] Manuel Muñoz to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, March 26, 1790, Nacogdoches Archives, vol. 7, pp. 42–45; viceroy Revilla Gigedo to governor Muñoz, December 10, 1790, Bexar Archives, roll 20, f. 1045; Castañeda, *The Mission Era*, pp. 196–197.

[120] Castañeda, *The Mission Era*, p. 177; Manuel Espadas, Captain of the Presidio de la Bahia to Manuel Muñoz, March 3, 1791, BAM 21:203–05; Pedro Huizar to Manuel Muñoz, March 4, 1791, BAM 21:210–11; Pedro de Nava to Manuel Muñoz, June 28, 1796, BAM 26:631; Pedro Huizar, receipt, April 20, 1798, BAM 28:218; Pedro Huizar, *"Materiales que se necesitan para la obra,"* March 31, 1801, BAM 29:1037.

[121] Manuel Barrera, "*Noticia de los Alvaniles que existen en estte villa hoy dia . . .*" May 18, 1809, BAM 41:401; "*Expediente formado sobre el pago de los travaxos expendidos por los Vecinos de la Villa de S.n Fernando, y presidio de S.n Antonio de Bexar en la obra de las casas reales de esta villa, consiguiente á orden del Excellentisimo señor Virrey,*" April 11, 1793, BAM 23:311ff; Schuetz, "Indians," 273; Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," 35.

adjacent buildings—no photographs or historical references to them have yet been found.

Conclusion

The identification of the names and the origins of the architects and sculptors who built the San Antonio missions, and their association with specific episodes of construction in this study, allows the possibility of tracing of their work back to previous projects, and in some cases ahead to other work they did after San Antonio, as Clara Bargellini and I have been able to do with Ángel Galín de Anglino. This in turn will let us compare their body of work to what they accomplished in San Antonio, and give us a broader perspective on their careers as a whole. This will allow us a much better understanding of the architecture of the San Antonio missions, and how it relates to the development of church architecture on the northern frontier of Mexico in the eighteenth century.

Chapter 3
Development and Construction of a Mission on the Texas Frontier

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 explicit codes 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 established houses in Europe by 500 A.D., and subsequent monastic development followed the basic ideas which he had outlined.

A derivative of the Rule of St. Augustine was the Rule of St. Benedict, written about 540 A.D. For those in the Augustinian, 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.[1]

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."[2] This eventually resulted in an archetypal plan for monastic houses, which formed the guiding principle for all subsequent construction.

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[1] Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders,* third edition, translated by Alastair Laing (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 11.

[2] Ibid., 10.

Wolfgang 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.[3] 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."[4]

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, three centuries later, the typical layout of a monastery was quite similar to the St. Gall ideal. The core structures of such a monastic complex normally consisted of the following:

- The church
- A "dorter," or dormitory, where the monks slept communally
- A kitchen
- A "refectory," or dining hall, again a communal arrangement
- A "cellar," or storehouse
- 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, 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 guesthouse with a separate kitchen; a physician's

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[3] Walter William Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

[4] Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe*, 10.

house; housing and training areas for novices; and the house and kitchen for the abbot, the chief administrator of the monastery.[5] Beyond the principal enclosure of the monastery would be the essential 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.[6]

The Franciscans were not monks. They called themselves "Friars minor" and were mendicants and 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. As a result, a separate establishment for the abbot's residence was not needed. Ideally, the brothers did not pursue activities for economic gain, living instead on 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. Because of this, the communal dormitory was given up and a separate cell, or sleeping room, was provided 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.[7]

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[5] Ibid., 34, 39.

[6] Ibid., 129.

[7] John McAndrew, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965) pp. 26-27; Braunfels, Monasteries of Western Europe, 132-33.

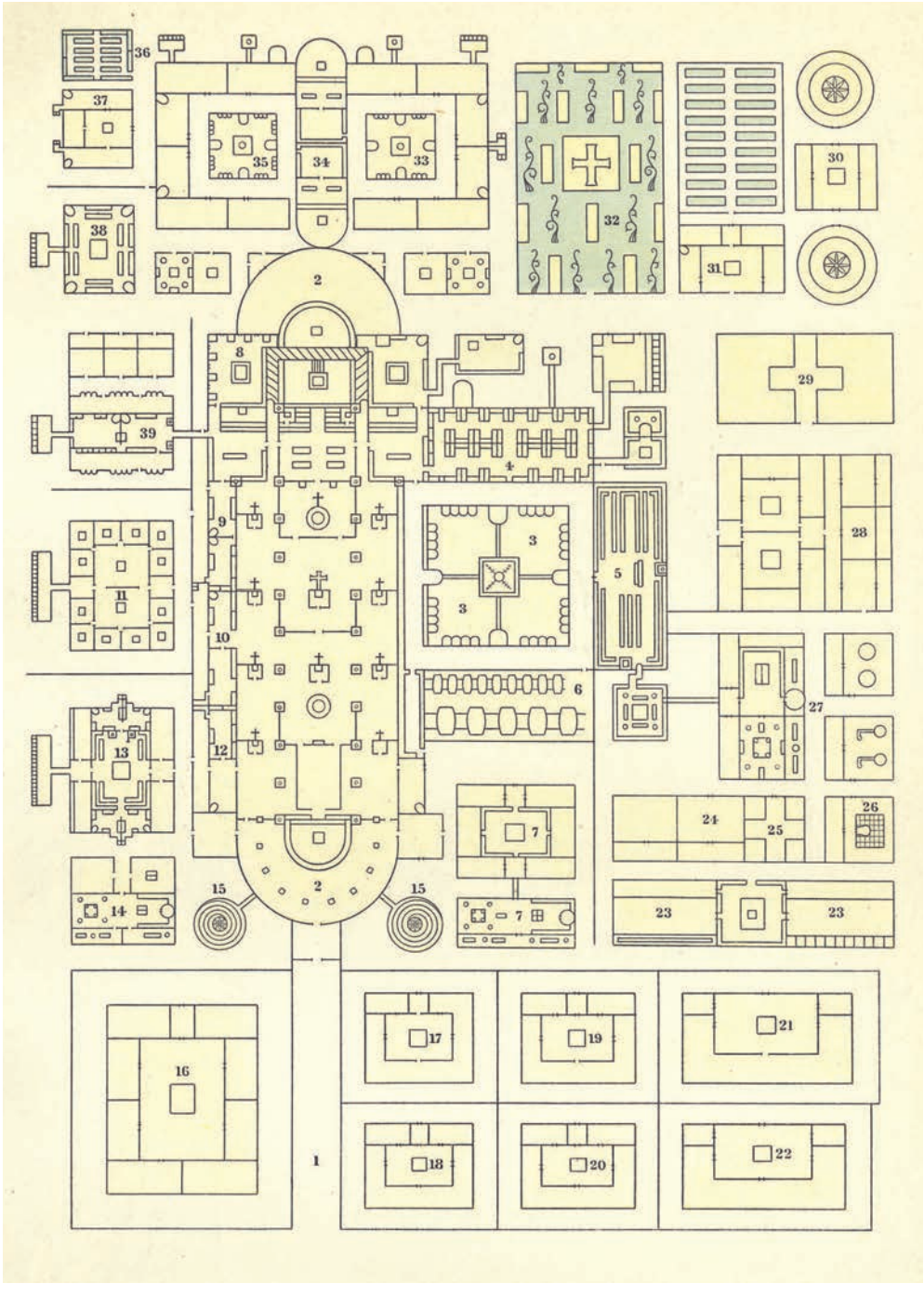


FIGURE 7: Plan of St. Gall. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

By the first half of the fifteenth century the Franciscans had fully evolved the traditional Benedictine plan into a friary plan. In this adapted plan, the cells of the friars, the offices, and the other necessary rooms were incorporated into a continuous rectangular enclosure around the cloister, with the cells usually 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.[8]

Sixteenth Century Adaptations

From 1524 to 1570 the Franciscans constructed their friaries with Indian labor following 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 and teaching purposes.[9]

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." Recent archaeology at Huejotzingo, for example, has shown this sequence there.[10] This sequence is of interest because it is followed again in 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, drowned 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 stone cuttings; they cannot be prepared in the absence of highly skilled workmen . . . Among the buttressed cloisters, two types may

[8] Ibid., 27.

[9] George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), vol. 2, 314-15; McAndrew, *Open-Air Churches*, 203–216.

[10] Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2:345; McAndrew, *Open-Air Churches*, 122–23; Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

> 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.[11]

The convento structures built in San Antonio in the eighteenth century are similar in many respects to this last variety of buttressed cloister.

Sixteenth Century Missions Typology

From 1524 to ca. 1570, according to Robert Ricard, three types of missions developed: the mission of occupation; the mission of penetration; and the mission of liaison. 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." 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." These were established so that regular clergy might move from one mission to the next while remaining inside the jurisdiction of their order. 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, became several missions of penetration, and grew into a complex of missions of occupation.[12]

The Mission and Village

Documents of the original founding of San Juan Bautista and San Francisco Solano clearly reveal the method which was 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

[11] Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2:347.

[12] Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572*, translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 77, 78.

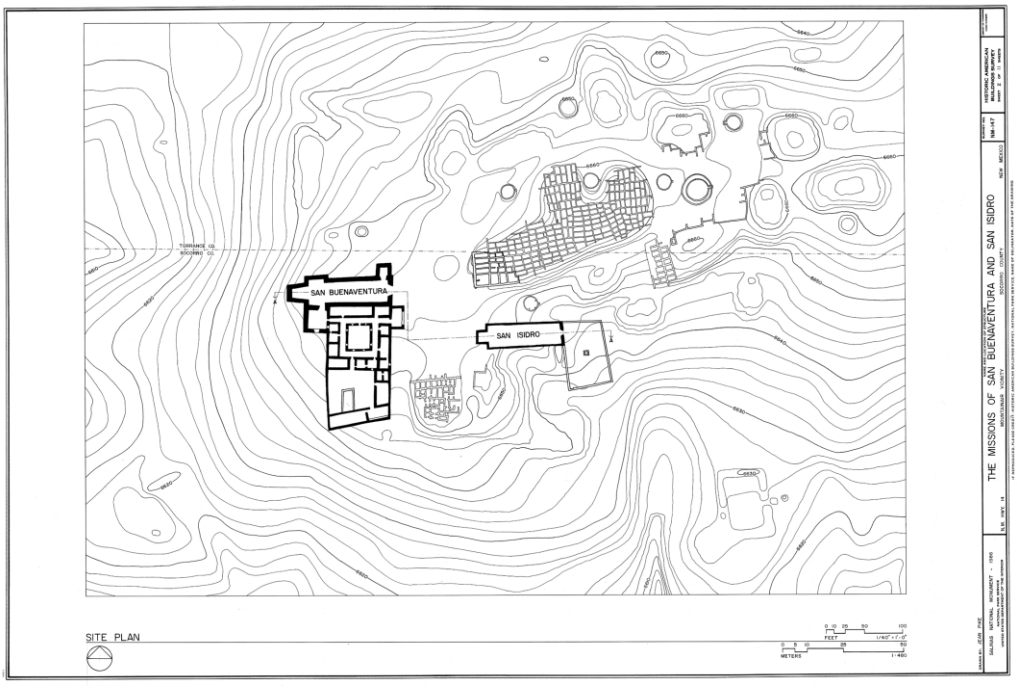


FIGURE 8: San Buenaventura and San Isidro, seventeenth-century Franciscan missions in New Mexico, feature an open village plan. San Antonio's missions initially took the open village approach, but later became enclosed and fortified for residents' protection. Drawing is part of the Historic American Buldings Survey (HABS) and accessed through the Library of Congress Digital Collections.

Indies.[13] He located the streets and main plaza and then 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.[14]

A century earlier, 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. 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

[13] Robert S. Weddle, San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 24, 32.

[14] This is in direct contrast to the policy followed in New Mexico a century before, when the missions were established at pueblos that already existed. The practice of *reducción*, the "reduction" several towns of the native populace into one, had been used farther south since at least 1550 (Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 1:86), and was also used among the nomadic Indians of the San Antonio area.

traditional approach and by the 1760s most of the Texas missions, at least, adopted 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 1750 and 1770 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.[15] Kubler also notes a change in the general relationship of the churches and friaries to the Indian pueblos in New Mexico after the reconquest of 1692. 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.[16]

What caused such a major change in the philosophy of the ideal plan of a mission? One probable cause of this move toward fortification can be identified, Apaches. Beginning about 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 areas of southern New Mexico and Arizona.[17] By 1730 the problem was recognized as one which threatened the entire northwestern frontier.[18] 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.[19] 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.

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[15] Marc Simmons, "Settlement Patterns and Village Plans in Colonial New Mexico," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West 1540–1821*, edited by David J. Weber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 110–11; Paul Kutsche, John R. Van Ness, and Andrew T. Smith, "A Unified Approach to the Anthropology of Hispanic Northern New Mexico: Historical Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnography," *Historical Archaeology* 10(1976):6.

[16] George Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and Since the American Occupation*, School of American Research (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1940), 20 fig.26, 47.

[17] Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 233, 236.

[18] Ibid., 236

[19] Weddle, San Juan Bautista, 174; Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar, A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 8–9.

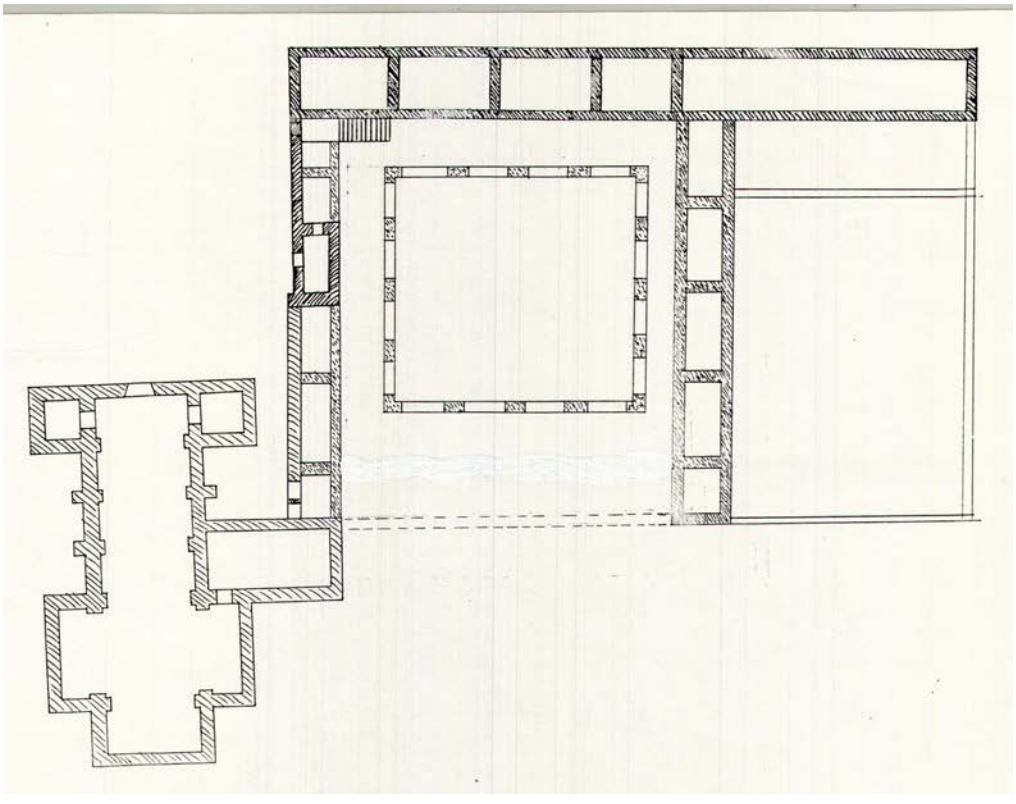


FIGURE 9: The standard plan of a Franciscan church and convento in the early eighteenth century: San Antonio de Valero, San Antonio, Texas. The Franciscans never completed construction on the full plan of the convento. Drawing by James E. Ivey, National Park Service.

The Fortified Village Plan

At various times after 1700 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.[20] Not until 1745, when San Juan had again been rebuilt on another site, was that mission explicitly described as having a

[20] Fr. Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, "*Visita de las Misiones del Rio Grande del Norte,"* October 15, 1727, Archivo General de Mexico, Historia vol. 29, ff. 29–29v, 34v–35. Microfilm of the original in the Spanish Colonial Research Center, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, roll 4, ff. 10–11, 16.

fortified village compound.[21] The missions of the San Antonio River developed fortified villages about 1760.

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 José y San Miguel de Aguayo in 1720, Mission San Francisco Xavier de Najera in 1722, and Missions Nuestra Señora de la Purísima 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.

The San Antonio Missions as a Record of Franciscan Development

The pattern of development in San Antonio 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, derived from Spanish law and the role of the missions within the Empire. 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 workforce. 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 mission development.

As finally completed in San Antonio, the missions were the product of the continuing process of traditional 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. 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 affected not only the individual mission, but the entire mission system. 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 structural history of the San Antonio

[21] Fr. Francisco Xavier Ortiz, "*Visita de las Misiones de la Provincia de Texas*," September 2, 1745, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, Celaya microfilm archives (hereafter Celaya microfilm), roll 9, f. 1276.

missions is, therefore, a critical record of both the development of the San Antonio missions and the missionary enterprise of the northern frontier.

The Establishment and Construction of the San Antonio Missions

In the following sections are discussed the considerations of the missionaries in the selection of a site in the San Antonio River Valley; planning and work organization; construction skills, tools, and building materials; and construction methods and structural systems necessary to maintain the mission.

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.

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 followed a previous establishment attempt on the Colorado River (then called the San Marcos River) near the present town of 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."[22]

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. It has been argued that the mission dam was actually a "*weir*," a "fence or embankment . . . to turn the course of a stream,"[23] but in San Antonio it is clear that the purpose of the dam was to hold the level of the water in a pond behind the dam so that it was high enough that water would flow through a cut in the riverbank into the head of the irrigation ditch system, while the normal flow of the river fell over the top of the dam. The Franciscans themselves always referred to these structures as the "*presa*," dam, or "*toma de agua*," a water outlet.

A good dam location would be a "short distance from the plains," and have "firmness of the edge." The bottom should lend itself "more than any other spot to the building

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[22] Don Juan Antonio Peres de Almazán, March 5, 1731, "*Testimonio de asiento de misiones.*" Spanish Archives of the Texas General Land Office (GLOSA), box 122, folder 2, 14.

[23] David B. Hafernik, I. Waynne Cox, and Anne A. Fox, *Archaeological Investigations of the San Juan Dam*, 41 BX 266, Bexar County, Texas, Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report, no. 179 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1989), 7–9; Waynne Cox, *The Acequias of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2005), 4.

of the dam, and should be of stone and gravel so that in no way will the beasts get mired."[24]

After the dam, other water 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.[25]

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."[26]

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."[27]

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

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[24] Kathleen K Gilmore, *The San Xavier Missions: A Study on Historical Site Identification*, State Building Commission Archeological Program, vol. 16, (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1969), 132.

[25] Captain Juan Valdéz, "Report of Juan Valdéz," March 13, 1720, in *The San José Papers: Edited Primary Manuscript Sources for the History of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Part 1, 1719 to 1791*, Fray Benedict Leutenegger, trans., Fray Marion Habig, ed. (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1978), 31-33.

[26] Gilmore*, The San Xavier Missions*, 126.

[27] Janet R. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands; Instrument of Bourbon Reform, 1764-1815* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1977), 213.

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."[28]

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 Terán 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,[29] 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.[30]

In San Antonio, Governor Almazán said that the mission sites should offer "irrigation, good land, stone, lime, and timber." Therefore, the siting needs of a mission were:

- 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.

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

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

- 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.

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[28] Ibid., 213.

[29]This phrase may refer to the privies, the necesarias, of the convento, or casa, the missionary residence in the presidio.

[30] Gilmore, *The San Xavier Missions*, 134-35

- 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*,[31] 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 329 feet], and the houses will be laid out in the customary manner, and the Streets will be laid out in the same form and manner which is customary [about 37 feet wide on each side].[32]

These measurements would give a plaza about 402 feet on a side. This is virtually the same wording used when mission San Juan Bautista was founded in Coahuila in 1699,[33] and paraphrases the pertinent sections of the Laws of the Indies.[34] 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 Terán that a master map of the proposed construction was in hand at the time the survey and layout of these sites was conducted.[35] The Laws of

[31] 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.

[32] Juan Valdéz, "Report of Juan Valdéz," *The San José Papers*, part 1, 35; translation by Ivey.

[33] Robert S.Weddle, *San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 24.

[34] Dora P. Crouch, Daniel J. Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 11-19.

[35] Gilmore, *The San Xavier Missions*, 133-136.

the Indies indicate that such a map is necessary.[36] Rabago y Terán 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."[37]

Layout of the Structures: Standardized Concepts versus a Physical 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. Concepción and San Juan do the same, even though the plan of known foundations indicates at least one major change of layout design. The construction history of San José does not easily match the idea of long-term development following a master plan, but probably represents 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 of the churches. 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.

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? Probably not. Captain Juan Valdéz, 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 Valdéz refers was probably the standardized concepts of the arrangement of a mission

[36] Crouch et al., *Spanish City Planning*, 13.

[37] Gilmore, *The San Xavier Missions*, 135.

and the necessary size of its components as supplied by Fr. Miguel Nuñez and Fr. Agustín Patron, who accompanied him in the establishment of the mission.[38]

When missions Concepción, San Juan, and San Francisco de la Espada were transferred to the San Antonio River Valley on March 5, 1731, the officer representing the Crown was the same Captain Juan Antonio Perez de Almazán who four months later would lay out the plan 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 Valdéz in 1720, but granted the property as he would any tract of land. Fray Gabriel de Vergara, the president of the Querétaran mission of Texas, accepted the site of Concepción from Almazán; 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 marked out on the ground.[39]

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 practices and capabilities of the time.

As of 1700–1730 there were three 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.[40] A second 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 considered less important than landmark references. A third method, frequently 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 grants for the Rancho San Lucas of Mission San José and the Rancho Monte Galvan used jointly by missions San Antonio de Valero, Purísima Concepción,

[38] Juan Valdéz, "Report of Juan Valdéz," *The San José Papers,* part 1, 35.

[39] Gilmore, *The San Xavier Missions*, 141-42.

[40] John Noble Wilford, *The Mapmakers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 174-175.

and San Juan.[41] The Rancho San Lucas grant is a more formal document than the Monte Galvan grant 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. It was sufficiently unusual that when Fray Morfí visited mission San Juan in 1778, he gave one as a gift to the missionary there.[42] The only known reference to the use of a compass for surveying on the northern frontier is by Virginia Taylor, who points out that it was used in 1714 in southern Coahuila by surveyors of a grant made to the Marqués 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."[43]

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 Almazán, made use of a *cuerda* or *cordel* (cord) of 50 Castilian varas in length, almost exactly 137 feet. 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.,[44] and a similar description was written in 1883 by the surveyor William Gillespie, who remarked that "a well made rope . . . when

[41] 41"Testimonio á la Letra de los autos de Denuncia de tierras hecha por D[o]n Domingo Castelo Vezino de la Villa de S[a]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[eñ]or S[a]n Joséph," February 9, 1764-November 22, 1766, GLOSA, box 122, folder 7, pp. 50-95v (hereafter called "Testimonio a la Letra"); Captain Don Toribio de Urrutia, "Combenio hecho p[o]r las Mis[ione]s de S[a]n Ant[oni]o, Concep[ció]n, y S[a]n J[ua]n Cap[istra]no sobre las entradas al monte de Galvan aprobedo p[o]r el V[?]e Discretorio," October 11, 1755, Celaya microfilm, 4:5252-5253 (hereafter called "Combenio, 1755"); Missionaries ofValero, Concepción, and San Juan, "Trasumpto, o Copia literal del Convenio, o Compromisso hecho entre la tres Missiones de S[a]n Ant[oni]o de Valero, la Puriss[im]a Concepc[epció]n de Acuña, y S[a]n Juan Capistrano, sobre el Monte nombrado de Galvan," October 4, 1766, Celaya microfilm, 4:5250-5257 (hereafter called "Compromissio, 1766").

[42] Fray Juan Agustin Morfí, *Diario y Derrotero 1777-1781* (Monterrey: Edicion de Eugenio del Hoyo y Malcolm D. McLean y Escuela de Verano, 1967), 106.

[43] Virginia H. Taylor Houston, "Surveying in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* 65(October 1961)2:205

[44] Edward Noble Stone, *Roman Surveying Instruments*, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1928), 218-19.

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."[45]

In addition, Almazán mentioned using 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. Samuel Guye and Henri Michel, in their study of the history of surveying instruments, said of the equinoctial ring 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 [at the correct time], [the] instrument . . . is now a compass."[46] 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. The equinoctial ring had the advantage of being pocket-sized, could be set up quickly, and gave immediate results with acceptable accuracy. This made it a far better tool for surveyors. Certainly, Almazán's statement indicates that he used an instrument something like this.

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. Vitruvius 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.[47] The method was still being used to determine true north in surveyor's handbooks as late as 1904.[48]

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[45] W. M. Gillespie, *A Treatise on Land-Surveying* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883), 15.

[46] Samuel Guye and Henri Michel, *Time and Space: Measuring Instruments from the l5th to the l9th Century*, Diana Dolan, tr. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 244, 246-47.

[47] Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid D. Rowland (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); *Southwestern Missions Research Center Newsletter*, 15(March 1981)48:5.

[48] Gillespie, *Land-Surveying,* 160.

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 Joaquín de Eca y Músquiz using a surveying cord and cardinal directions. Músquiz 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 Béjar.[49] During the survey, the crew was accompanied by Fr. Juan Domingo de Arricivita, 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.[50] 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 site 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 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.[51]

[49] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), 224.

[50] A vara equaled thirty-three inches, or 2.78 feet, in Texas in the nineteenth century, *Handbook of Texas* vol. 2 p. 833; and 2.74 feet in the eighteenth century on the northern frontier, Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer 1981 *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981), 68, 70.

[51] Gilmore, *The San Xavier Missions,* 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 flood-plain, with its multiple river scars, old channels, and oxbow lakes, was usually rejected in favor of the first terrace, where the river had once cut 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, but above potential flooding.

The difficulties of supplying irrigation water to the mission fields of the San Xavier River were not insurmountable, although there was a mild disagreement between the missionaries and the experts over the best location for the dam and head-gate 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 María de la Visitación, were considered very good for farming. Músquiz's report implies that he and his experts also found this to be a better site for the missions than the locations selected in 1750. Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana 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 dam and acequia at this proposed location had started in October of 1750, but apparently was never completed.[52]

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 and 1719 for the mission of Valero, 1720 and 1721 for San José, and 1731 for the East Texas missions being moved to the San Antonio River Valley. 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 on file in the Texas General Land Office. 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. Fray Gabriel de Vergara,

[52] Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 234-237.

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.[53] 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 ejido, or common lands, and that the law prevented others from owning land within three leagues of the boundary markers of the mission lands.[54] Ranchlands were added to each mission on a case-by-case basis, through governor's grants (not clear title, but a governor's license to use the land without interference from others). A clear delineation of the ejidos of each mission apparently was not carried out until the l750s, and the boundaries of the ranchlands were still in dispute between missionaries and secular land owners through the l770s.

The methods for surveying and staking out the plan of the sites of the San Antonio missions are not specifically described. However, by examining the procedures used by Almazán in laying out San Fernando in 1731, and by Rabago y Terán in siting the Presidio San Francisco 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 plaza of a town, the presidio, or in this case, the mission. Within or along the edges of 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 distance 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 (see Chapter 7). 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.

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[53] Fray Gabriel de Vergara, "Escrito duplicado del P[adr]e Vergara p[ar]a las tierras y aguas de la Concep[ció]n, Espada, y S[a]n Ju[a]n Capistrano," May 31, 1731, Celaya microfilm, 3:3560-3565.

[54] Vergara, "Escrito duplicado," Celaya microfilm, 3:3562, 3563.

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."[55] 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 Terán remarked that the missionaries are "themselves well-versed in this matter."[56] 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.*
>
> They were the ones who stretched the cords, measured the streets, gave lots for the houses, and laid out the churches.[57]

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.[58] When basic shelter was available, a final planning assessment of the new site would probably have been made, evaluating the various possible arrangements of structures for the best use of the site. The conceptual elements of a mission and their interaction as discussed earlier in this chapter formed the basis for this planning evaluation. At the same time, areas were selected for the first fields,

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[55] Gilmore, *The San Xavier Missions*, 136.

[56] Ibid., 135.

[57] Sidney David Markman, *Colonial Architecture of Antigua Guatemala, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, Volume 64 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society , 1966), 52.

[58] Carlos E. Castañeda*, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, vol. 2, *The Mission Era: The Winning of Texas, 1693-1731* (Austin: von Boeckman-Jones Company , 1936), 94.

and clearing and plowing was started. The final evaluation of the line of the acequia was carried out and its excavation 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.[59]

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, arches, and buttressing, were delayed until a master mason could be brought to conduct the work.

The San Antonio missionaries had skilled tradesmen and experienced Indian neophytes to aid them in their work and supervision from the very beginning.[60] 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.

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 few documents are available from various archival sources that outline these accepted procedures quite well on the Texas frontier in the period from 1718 to 1824. Using these documents, work organization and the supply of construction materials will be discussed.

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 managed 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 a given trade. A typical mission construction program would have something like the following components:

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[59] Castañeda, *The Winning of Texas*, 94; Paredes, "Visita de las Misiones del Rio Grande del Norte," ff. 5-6.

[60] Mardith K. Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions 1718-1821," dissertation, University of Texas, 1980.

- The general supervision of the project 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.[61] 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.

- 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, New Mexico, in l7l0 and the reconstruction of Mission Rosario, near Goliad in south Texas in 1791.[62] 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.

- 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.

- 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 and Collectors/transporters.

"Manufacturers" included the freemason, the carpenter, the ironworker, and the makers of lime, plaster, mortar, and other construction and finishing materials. The freemasons carved stone blocks into the proper shape for arches, vaults, cornerstones ("quoins"), and the like. Fine-carving of doorways, facades, windows, and other sculpting was usually done by specialists in this art (masons are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). 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

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[61] Castañeda, *The Winning of Texas*, 86; Montgomery et al. 1949:145.

[62] George Kubler, *The Rebuilding of San Miguel at Santa Fe in 1710* (Colorado Springs, Colorado: Taylor Museum, 1939), pp. 16, 23; Fr. Josef Francisco Jaudenes, "Razon por menor de los gastos ocasionadas en el levantam[ien]to y subsistencia de la Mision de N[ues]tra S[eño]ra del Rosario de la Bahia . . ." October 21, 1791, Bexar Archives microfilm, roll 21, frame 803.

it with sand and gravel also supplied by the collectors to produce the range of lime-based materials needed for the construction and surfacing of the new buildings. Adobe brick was made by specialists in this skill, and when needed, fired brick would be made in kilns like those used for making lime.[63]

"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.[64]

"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 *savinos* (peeled sapling sections) or small planks above the roof beams, and the layer of earth which formed the uppermost roof surface.[65]

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."*[66] Near the granary of Valero in the same year was a pile of 150 cedar logs which had been prepared for 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*

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[63] Cabildo of San Fernando, *"Expediente formado sobre el pago de los travaxos expendidos por los Vecinos de la Villa de S[a]n Fernando, y Presidio de S[a]n Antonio de Bexar en la obra de las Casas Reales de esta Villa ...,"* April 11, 1793, Bexar Archives microfilm, roll 23, frame 318L; Jaudenes, "*Rosario,"* 1791, frame 804.

[64] Cabildo, *"Expediente,"* 1793, frames 316L, 318R; Jaudenes, "Rosario," 1791, BCAMR frame 804.

[65] Cabildo, *"Expediente,"* 1793, BCAMR 316R-318R; Jaudenes, "Rosario," 1791, BCAMR frame 804.

[66] Fray José Francisco López, *"Ymbentario de las existencias q[u]e hay hoy dia 23 de Abril de 1793, en la Mis[ion] de San Antonio Valero,"* April 23, 1793, Celaya microfilms, roll 4, frames 5813–5814.

de zedro q[u]e estan preparados para reparar los techos, con 5,500 tabletas de mesquite, y 18 canales de lo mismo."[67]

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.[68]

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*, or timbers, 21 juniper boards, and 300 mesquite logs, all stored in the carpenter's shop.[69] 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.[70]

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

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[67] Ibid., frame 5814.

[68] Curtis D. Tunnell and William W. Newcomb, Jr., *A Lipan Apache Mission, San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz, 1762–1771*, T exas Memorial Museum Bulletin no. 14 (Austin: Texas Memorial Museum, 1969), 9, 14, 26, 39.

[69] Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario de la Mision de la Espada*," December 15, 1772, Celaya microfilms, roll 10, frame 4222. 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.

[70] Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario de la Mis[io]n de San Juan Capistrano*," December 16, 1772, Celaya microfilms, roll 10, frame 4290.

operated the supply trains between the missions and the nearest distribution point, which by 1745 was Saltillo.[71]

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

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

[71] Nuestra Senora de Purisima Concepcion de Acuna, *"Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la importancia de los avios, que a la Mission de la Purissima Concepcion de Acuna, remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . ."* 1745, Celaya microfilms, roll 15, frame 4476.

mason's procedure in use throughout Europe for a number of centuries.[72] Traditionally, masons responsible for basic construction were called "setters" and "wallers," while those who carried out fine decorative carving were called "freemasons."[73]

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."[74]

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:

> *declaro: como me tiene pagada la miss[io]n de S[a]n Juan Capistrano la cantidad de mil, y tresientos p[eso]s en g[ene]ros arreglados p[o]r el trabajo de sacar toda la piedra de la Yglesia, y adviente estar obligados mis herederos a cumplir d[ic]ho trato hasta finalizarla, con la diferencia de q[u]e d[ic]ha Yglesia se trazo mas grande q[ue] de lo consertado, y la sacristia esta ochavada, y nesesita mas piedra, y asi acabada d[ic]ha obra se hade pagar lo restante a mis herederos. declaro q[u]e me dio la miss[io]n p[ar]a sacar la piedra sinco Barras, y un azadon, todo lo q[u]e se hade volber a d[ic]ha miss[io]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,[75] 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

[72] Bill Risebero*, The Story of Western Architecture* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1979), 64.

[73] Ibid., 65.

[74] Harley J.McKee, *Introduction to Early American Masonry: Stone, Brick, Mortar and Plaster,* National Trust/Columbia University Series on the Technology of Early American Building, no. 1 (Washington: Preservation Press, 1973), 16.

[75] This remark indicates that the sacristy was probably originally square.

of the stone, all of which must be returned to the said mission upon completion of the work.[76]

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.[77] 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:

- *alazena*, cabinet in which most of the smaller tools were stored[78]
- *azuelas,* adzes for dressing lumber and hollowing out log troughs
- *barreña grande,* large auger for drilling holes
- *cepillo,* a plane for final smoothing of beams or boards
- *compaz*, compass, used as a divider or for setting
- *curves escoplos,* straight-edged chisels of various widths
- *fierro de moldura armado,* iron grinding wheel
- *formon,* large firmer, a broad, straight-edged forming
- *chisel garlopa,* jack-plane, a large plane for smoothing beams or boards
- *gurbias* or *gubias*, gouges or chisels with a curved cutting edge

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[76] Joseph Padron, *"En el nombre de la SS[antisi]ma Trinidad, Padre, Hijo, y Espiritu S[an]to..."* March 16, 1779, Bexar County Archives, Will 84, Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas, 3.

[77] See for example McKee, *Early American Masonry*, 29, 30.

[78] Saenz de Gumiel, "Espada," 1772, OSMHRL frame 4222.

- *hachas viscainas, Vizcayan* (Biscayan) axes in various sizes, a larger for felling trees and a smaller for cutting, splitting, and smoothing wood[79]

- *martillos,* hammers

- *mollejones,* grindstones for sharpening the various tools

- *sierra brazera,* frame pit saw, used to cut long planks

- *sierras manuales,* handsaws

- *tenazas*, tongs

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 invoice by the carpenter Pedro Huizar for work carried out on a structure in San Fernando:

Materiales que se necesitan para la obra, costo de ellos con el importes a que asciende la hechura de las piezas—A saver.	*Pesos Reales*
Pesos R 30 Palos de Mesquite para tres Puertas de 2 1/4 v[ara]s de alto cada una y vara de ancho a 4 rr[eale]s	*15.0*
12 Tablas a 1 p[es]o	*12.0*
18 Libras de Fierro para 12 Gosnes de a pulgada de grueso a 5 rr[eale]s cada libra	*11. 2*
Por hechura de los gosnes a 4 rr[eale]s	*6.0*

[79] Marc Simmons and Frank Turley *Southwestern Colonial Ironwork: The Spanish Blacksmithing Tradition from Texas to California* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1980), 70.

Por 100. clavos de Fierro para dichas Puertas constantes todos de 20 L[ibre]s de Fierro a 5 rr[eale]s	*12. 4*
Por hechura de los clavos a 1 rr[ea]l	*12. 4*
Por construccion de las tres Puertas a 15 p[eso]s	*45.0*
Por 33 Libras de Fierro para tres chapas con tres serrojos, seis armellas, y tres arpones a 5 rr[eale]s lib[r]a #. 20. 5	*20. 5*
Por la hechura de cada chapa con cerrojo, dos armellas, un Arpon, y 4 clavos de Garbanzo a 10 p[eso]s	*30.0*
Ojo a la g[as]ta de m[aes]tro Antonio:Por 30 Bigas a 3 p[eso]s	*90.0*
Por 800 Raxas a 4 rr[eale]s el ciento	*4.0*
Por 10 canales a 1 p[es]o con costo demadera	*10.0*
Por 6 Morillos para 30 v[ara]s de soleras y su manefactura	*15.0*
Por 2 Morillos y dos tablones para los lugares comunes a 1 p[es]o cada Pieza y dos p[eso]s por la construccion	*6.0*
Total	***289.5***
S[a]n Antonio de Bexar 31 de Marzo de 1801 Pedro Huizar [rubric]	

Materials which were required by the work and their cost, including the increase of the value because of labor—To wit:	Pesos Reales
30 timbers of mesquite for three doors, each 6 $^{1/4}$ feet high and 2 $^{3/4}$ feet wide at 4 reales.	15.0
12 planks at 1 peso.	12.0
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.	6.0
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.	45.0
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.	30.0
Attention: to the account of Maestro Antonio: For 30 vigas at 3 pesos each.	90.0
For 800 shingles at 4 reales the hundred.	4.0
For 10 canales at 1 peso including the cost of the wood.	10.0
For 6 logs for 83 feet of *solera* [beam along the top of a wall on which rests the ends of the vigas] and their manufacture.	15.0
For 2 logs and two large planks for the privy at 1 peso each piece and two pesos for the construction	6.0
Total	**289.5**
San Antonio de Bexar, March 31, 1801 [signed] Pedro Huizar	

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. It is possible that Huizar did some stone-carving for the construction of the church of San José, since master carpenters were frequently also master freemasons and sculptors; see the discussions of Felipe Santiago and "Don Ángel" in Chapter 2, for example.

Ironworking

In the blacksmith shop was found 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 forge, bellows, and large anvil formed the core of the smith's shop. In addition to this core complex, the smithy would contain the basic ironworking tools:

- several *pares de tenazas*, pairs of flat-jawed tongs for holding plate or bar stock
- *martillos*, hammers, usually in two sizes
- a *martillo de peña*, peening hammer
- a *canoa grande de fragua*, a large water trough for cooling or tempering heated metal

Beyond these most basic tools, a typical blacksmith shop could contain a wide range of other tools, selected according to the jobs that particular shop would usually handle. These could include:

- a *bigornia en su banco*, a two-horned anvil on its bench
- *cerrucho de azerrar hierro*, a hacksaw
- *chaflan*, a bevelling device
- *cincel*, cold chisel
- *clavera*, nail-header for making nails from barstock
- *escariador*, reamer
- *limas tabliadas*, flat tapered files
- *limas de media caña*, half-round files
- *limas de diversos tamaños y figuras*, files of various other sizes and shapes
- *limatones,* coarse round files
- a *mazo grande*, large wooden maul or mallet
- a *mesa en la que esta el torno y un cajoncito,* a table on which is a lathe and a small box. 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
- *punzones de frio, y de caliente*, cold punches and hot punches

- *tajadera,* hardie, used to put a nick in bar or round stock so that it can be broken at a specific length. The hardie was a small, chisel-like tool, hard-tempered, that usually fit into a hole in the face of the anvil

- a *taladro con broca*, a drill and bit. Some of these bits could be taps for making threaded holes in metal

- *tenazas redondas, curvas,* or *corbas,* "bolt" tongs for holding round stock

- *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

- *tornillos*, vises of various sizes and uses

- *rompadera*, hot chisel

- *unos alicates,* fine-pointed pincers or nippers

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 Oñate expedition to New Mexico in 1598.[80]

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 important elements in the annual accounts of items shipped to the missions, along with bar stock of iron and steel. This indicates that 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

[80] Simmons and Turley, *Southwestern Colonial Ironwork,* 23.

constructed ovens for this purpose have been found at San José; Espada; and at Rancho de Las Cabras, 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[em]. tiene la Mission un orno de Piedra con su escalera necesaria de lo mismo para quemar cal, el que lleno suele rendir seiszientas fanegas.*

> 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].

Lime was usually slaked by a controlled admixture of water in vats constructed for that purpose, and it was stored wet in a larger vat under a blanket of sand until it was used.[81] This was probably the purpose of the storage house described at Espada.

The evidence from archaeological excavations and the historical record indicates that lime-making and use on the Spanish colonial frontier was surprisingly sophisticated. The methods that missionaries and masons selected varied according to the intended use of the lime, but when necessary could produce clean, white lime for plastering and whitewashing the walls of colonial buildings, or large volumes of lime of lower quality for general construction, such as walls and building foundations. Gypsum plaster (also called Plaster of Paris), made by burning gypsum, was used at some frontier missions, usually for interior moldings and carved plaster work.

There were two basic types of lime kiln: the flare kiln and the running kiln. The "flare" kiln was charged with a single load of limestone and wood, and allowed to burn out.[82] This produced clean, white lime. The running was continuously charged at the top with limestone and wood as the lower layers burned.[83] In a standard running kiln, the lime was raked out of the oven through openings at the base, and the operation could continue as long as the manufacturers desired; in simpler structures, however, there was no provision for raking out the lime, and the burning could continue only until

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[81] Markman, *Colonial Architecture,* 29.

[82] Charles S. Lindsay, "Lime Preparation at 18th-Century Louisbourg," Canadian Historic Sites, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, no. 12 (Ottowa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1975), 8.

[83] See Lindsay, "Lime Preparation," 13, figure 5, for a depiction of running kilns with staircases.

the oven was too full of lime to maintain a fire. Running kilns had the disadvantage of producing lime contaminated with charcoal and ash, making it gray rather than pure white, but such a kiln could produce a much larger volume of lime than the flare kiln.[84]

An example of the flare kiln is the oven in use in 1793 at the mission of San Antonio de Valero, about 270 feet east of the convento. This oven had an exterior diameter of 16.6 feet and a height of 15.1 feet. The inventory said that it was "*cinco [varas] de centro,*" apparently meaning its interior was five varas in diameter, or 13.7 feet, indicating that the walls of the kiln were 1.5 feet thick. The interior volume of this kiln was 650 cubic feet, but according to the inventory, a single charge of this oven would produce twenty fanegas of lime.[85] A fanega was equal to almost exactly two cubic feet;[86] therefore, one charge of the Valero oven produced about forty cubic feet of lime, only about six percent of the total volume of the kiln.

The lime kiln at Espada in 1772 appears to have been a running kiln. This large oven had a staircase up its side to help with the filling and control of the burning, and one burn produced 600 fanegas, or 1,200 cubic feet, of lime.[87] If the Espada kiln had followed the same size to product volume ratio as the Valero kiln, it would have had to be eighty feet in diameter and eighty feet high to produce this much lime, clearly unlikely for this period on the frontier. Instead, the Espada kiln was probably of a different design than the Valero kiln, one that gave a much higher ratio of lime to oven volume for a burn. The production rate and the staircase described by the inventory makes it likely that this was a running kiln of the simple variety that had no provision for raking out lime at the base of the kiln.[88]

At mission San José de Tumacácori, in southern Arizona, the ruins of a lime kiln of the flare type can still be seen today. It is about 100 feet north of the north wall of the church, and built of adobe bricks which have been baked by the heat of the lime-making fires. The inner face of the kiln is coated with green glassy vitrified clay and

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[84] Lindsay, "Lime Preparation," 8.

[85] López, *"Ymbentario, Valero,"* 1793, OSMHRL, frame 5814-15: *"a la parte del oriente distante de la casa del Padre como 100 varas un orno de quemar cal fabricado de piedra y lodo con 19 varas de circunferencia, sinco de centro, y poco menos de 5½ de altura, cuia carga rinde como 20 fanegas."*

[86] Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain, A Research Guide* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981), 69.

[87] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Espada,"* OSMHRL, 1772, frame 4221: *"un quarto de piedra techo de zacate proporcionado para guardar cal, para el gasto en el que quedan como dozientas fanegas poco mas o men[o]s . . . tiene la Mision un orno de piedra con su escalera necesaria de lo mismo para quemar cal, el que lleno suele rendir seiszientas fanegas."*

[88] See Lindsay, "Lime Preparation," 13, fig. 5, for an illustration of a running kiln with a staircase to its top.

impurities from the limestone. As it survived in the mid-1930s, the kiln was about seven feet deep, and was seven feet in diameter at floor level, about half the size of the Valero kiln. At three feet above the floor, the diameter of the kiln enlarged to 8.6 feet in diameter, forming a flat-topped bench around the interior 0.8 feet wide and three feet high. An arched opening was in the southeastern side of the kiln; it was 2.7 feet wide. The structure of the Tumacácori kiln indicates that the firewood was piled in the lower section, and the limestone was stacked on the bench above the fire, with the fragments corbeled inward to form a dome over the fire.[89] A single firing of this kiln would have produced about 10.6 cubic feet, about one quarter the amount of lime made by the Valero kiln.

In periods where smaller construction required lesser amounts of lime, the builders would use smaller lime kilns and slaking operations. At San José during the period from 1720 to 1760 the missionaries built at least three lime kilns, each about five feet interior diameter, into a gully on the edge of the river terrace just north of the mission. They probably supplied the lime for the slaking pit discussed previously. Espada had at least four similar early lime kilns, ranging in size from four to seven feet in diameter, cut into the high portion of the bank of the river, but the slaking pits for these kilns have not yet been found.[90]

After lime was burned, it had to be slaked, and could then be stored for some time. The same general slaking methods were used all across the Spanish New World.[91] At San José, the architect Harvey Smith found a stone-walled slaking pit north of the church, near the small early lime kilns and probably associated with them.[92] This slaking pit was five feet by 6.5 feet, and just over three feet deep as it survives today. It probably would have been at least one foot deeper as built, but the drain from the adjacent mixing tank would have put a limit of about three feet on the depth to which it could be filled. With such a depth, the pit would have held 97.5 cubic feet of slaked lime, or the equivalent of about 2.5 charges of the Valero lime kiln. The San José slaking pit had a circular stone tank 3.5 feet in diameter next to it, about one foot deep (probably originally about two feet deep) and with its floor about three feet above the floor of the

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[89] Paul Beaubien, "Excavations at Tumacácori—1934," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report,* March 1937, *The Supplement*, 217.

[90] National Park Service, "Draft Cultural Landscape Recommendations, Mission Espada, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park," December, 1990, in the files of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, 36.

[91] Markman, *Colonial Architecture*, 29–30.

[92] John W. Clark, Jr., *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Archaeological Investigations*, December 1974, Office of the State Archeologist Report no. 29 (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1978), 43; "The History of the Mission San José Landscape," *National Park Service, Mission San José Cultural Landscape Report* (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1995), 2-13 and exhibit H.

holding pit, and two channels from the acequia to supply water for the slaking operation. This slaking pit is of the same plan and operation as that described by Jaques Blondel in the 1770s.[93] According to Blondel, the lumps of quick-lime were put into the higher circular tank, and crushed and mixed with water until the lime reached the proper consistency. It was then allowed to run into the larger square holding tank, while lumps of undissolved lime and impurities remained in the circular mixing tank. The tank was then cleaned out before the next mass of quicklime was treated. This would be repeated until the square storage tank was full, at which time the lime would be used in construction or removed to a larger storage tank. This design of a mixing and slaking tank was usually used to produce lime for immediate use, not for long-term storage.[94] At Tumacácori, a pair of stone-lined tanks at the front of the church may be the slaking and storage tanks for lime.

> *Ytt[em]. un quarto de piedra techo de zacate proporcionado para guardar cal, para el gasto en el que quedan como dozientos [f]anegas poco mas o men[o]s.*
>
> 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.[95]

After slaking, if necessary the lime was stored in a pit with a thick layer of sand on top, where it could be kept wet and usable for two to three years, or even longer.[96] At Espada, the lime was stored in a stone building with a thatched roof, probably in a large stone-walled square pit. As of 1772, this storage shed held 200 fanegas, or 400 cubic feet, of lime; this would have required a storage tank about nine feet square and six feet deep, with the top foot filled with sand.

At Espada's ranch, the Rancho de las Cabras, during excavations in 1980 and 1981 a small lime kiln and a probable slaking pit were found, dating probably from the period of the major remodeling of the ranch headquarters building about 1780. The oven was a little flare kiln only 2.8 feet in diameter and 7.2 feet deep, and probably produced no more than about four cubic feet of lime per charge. The slaking pit was a circular pit excavated into the clay of the hilltop on which the building stood. The last residue of lime, several inches thick, was still in the pit when it was excavated, beneath dirt, trash

[93] Lindsay, "Lime Preparation," 15–17 and fig. 7.

[94] Jaques Blondel, *Cours d'architecture* (Paris: Desaint, 1771–1777), vol. 5, as quoted in translation in Lindsay, "Lime Preparation," 16–17.

[95] Saenz de Gumiel, "Espada," 1772, frame 4221.

[96] Lindsay, "Lime Preparation," 15.

from the ranch building and food bones that had been tossed in when the hole was later used as a trash pit.[97]

Lime had to be started some days in advance of need. The kiln north of the church at Tumacácori, dated to about 1820, was probably built for the big push to finish the church, with its large quantities of lime mortaring and wall surfacing, beginning about September 1823.[98] The kiln would have required about forty-three charges to produce the 450 cubic feet of lime needed to make the mortar and whitewash to finish the Tumacácori church, although this would have been spread over a period of perhaps one year as the church was finished and plastering progressed. Burning a charge required several days, and slaking perhaps a day or two per charge. A lime-burning crew consisted of a number of laborers who would work for several days and nights continuously, collecting limestone and firewood and keeping the lime furnaces going to produce enough lime to supply the finishing crews. For example, in 1791 Fray Francisco Joseph Jaudenes began the construction of a new church at the mission of Rosario, near Goliad, Texas, and estimated that the lime needed would take six *peones* eight days and nights to burn "four ovens of lime" at a pay of six reales each for the eight-day period, and that it would require four *peones* four days to haul the lime and sand to the construction site.[99] Unfortunately, it is unknown at this time the size of the kiln or kilns at Rosario, which would allow calculating the rate of production for such a crew.

Finishing required that the lime be mixed with water and a specific amount of gravel or sand, depending on where the resultant mixture was to be applied. The final wall coating, or leveling mortar, used at Tumacácori was approximately one-part lime to three-parts sand.[100] This was sandier than *mescla segunda*, mortar of second quality, with one-part lime to two-parts sand, but was the standard mix used in construction earlier in Europe and the United States.[101] The interior of the church received two coats

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[97] James E. Ivey and Anne A. Fox, *Archaeological Survey and Testing at Rancho de las Cabras, Wilson County, Texas,* Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report no. 104, (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1981), 28–29; James E. Ivey, *Archaeological Testing at Rancho de las Cabras, 41 WN 30, Wilson County, Texas, Second Season,* Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report no. 121 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1983), 14–16, 37–39.

[98] "Preliminary Archeomagnetic Dates, Appendix, Final Report 1972–73," in Robert DuBois, director, Earth Sciences Laboratory, University of Oklahoma, to Douglas Scovill, Arizona Archaeological Center, April 30, 1974, p. 7, in the files of Pecos National Historical Park, Pecos, New Mexico.

[99] Jaudenes, "Rosario," 1791, BCAMR, frames 802–804.

[100] Charlie R. Steen and Rutherford J. Gettens, "Tumacácori Interior Decorations," *Arizoniana* 3(Fall 1962)3:28–29.

[101] Mardith K. Schuetz, trans. and ed., *Architectural Practice in Mexico City: A Manual for Journeyman Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987),

of mortar with a total thickness averaging about one inch. On the exterior, the coats totalled almost two inches. Assuming an average coating of about 1.5 inches over the entire surface of the church, the volume of lime mortar used to finish the church during the final work was about 1,800 cubic feet, using about 450 cubic feet of lime.[102] For wall construction using lime, one cubic foot of lime mortar, containing 0.25 cubic feet of lime, would build about 110 cubic feet of adobe wall at Tumacácori, or a section of wall ten feet square and about one foot thick.

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.[103] The adobe was then packed into wooden forms and allowed to dry before the forms were removed.[104] Examination of a number of bricks made at various times from 1617 through the mid-1800s all along the northern frontier 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 eighteen inches by nine inches by five 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

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p. 23; Anthony Crosby, *Historic Structure Report, Tumacácori National Monument, Arizona* (Denver: National Park Service, 1985), 26.

[102] The total interior plastered surface area of the church was about 5,550 square feet. The total exterior plastered area was about 8,800 square feet. This makes 14,350 square feet of plastered area, covered with a thickness of 1.5 inches, or about 0.125 feet of mortar. The volume is therefore about 1,800 cubic feet. One quarter of this volume was lime, or about 450 cubic feet.

[103] Tunnell and Newcomb, *San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz*, 9.

[104] Secretario del Patrimonio Naciónal, *Vocabulario Arquitectónico Ilustrado* (Mexico City: Secretario del Patrimonio Naciónal, 1975), 12.

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, fired 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 fired brick, for example.[105] A colonial brick-making operation was described at Espada in 1772:

> *Ytt[em]: 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[em]: quedan en la Mission cozidos, y encerrados como trezientas valdosas, y diez mill Ladrillos para lo q[u]e gusten emplearlo.*
>
> Item: the mission has an oven where bricks are fired; and a jacal of posts and tule [reeds], twenty-one varas [about fifty-eight feet] long for the enclosing and protecting of the brick, with its door and key.
>
> Item: there is in the mission, fired and stored, about 300 floor tiles and 10,000 bricks to be used as desired.[106]

Construction Methods and Structural Systems: Layout of Structures

The actual marking out of structures on the ground used two general approaches.[107] 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."[108] More substantial, long-lived buildings received more formal treatment: "the lines [were] stretched using a square, the bigger the better, and . . . Once the foundation trenches are filled the lines [were] rechecked to see whether they have not been moved. After this has been done, the foundation is then

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[105] López, *"Ymbentario, Valero,"* 1793, OSMHRL frame 5814.

[106] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Espada,"* 1772, OSMHRL frame 4222.

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

[108] Markman, *Colonial Architecture*, 71.

leveled off before proceeding with the raising of the walls."[109] No doubt measuring devices such as surveyor's cords were 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 nine inches wide and eighteen to twenty-four 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 four to six inches in diameter.[110] The posts were cut to a length sufficient to give a wall height of five to six feet. Earth was then rammed back into the trench to hold the posts firmly in place, and 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.[111] However, it should be noted that the term "jacal" was used as a generic term as well, meaning the equivalent of a shack or similar building of poor construction, but which could be of adobe or stone as well as wooden posts.

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 two to four 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. Jacales were usually given thatched, gabled roofs. 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 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 gave a distinct advantage: its top extended perhaps a foot

[109] Ibid., 71.

[110] Ivey and Fox, *Rancho de las Cabras*, 27, fig. 7.

[111] See, for example, Kutsche, Van Ness, and Smith, "Anthropology of Hispanic Northern New Mexico," fig. 6.

above grade, protecting the bottom rows of adobe bricks from pooled water or rain splashing from *canales,* or drainspouts, which could cause extensive erosion.

The bricks were laid in a variety of patterns determined primarily by the desired thickness of the wall.[112] Bricks were mortared with adobe clay, and the joints could range from a negligible width to three to four inches. Little concern seemed to be given to "breaking the joints," or laying a brick over the joint between bricks of the course below.[113] 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, rising perhaps eight to twelve 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 (2.8 feet, or about thirty-three inches) or more in thickness, while lesser structures or non-loadbearing partition walls could be eighteen inches or even nine 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 three to six feet of adobe. Once wall construction and rough plastering was completed, the doorway and window frames, usually made in advance, were installed and the building given a final coat of plaster and whitewash.[114] 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 six or more feet into the ground and up to five feet in width. Foundations of this latter 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 mortar) was considered an inferior material in the construction of permanent buildings.[115] Such substantial foundations usually have carefully excavated

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[112] Tunnell and Newcomb*, San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz*, 9, 10.

[113] Ibid., 36.

[114] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Espada,"* 1772, OSMHRL frame 4220.

[115] Ibid., frame 4275.

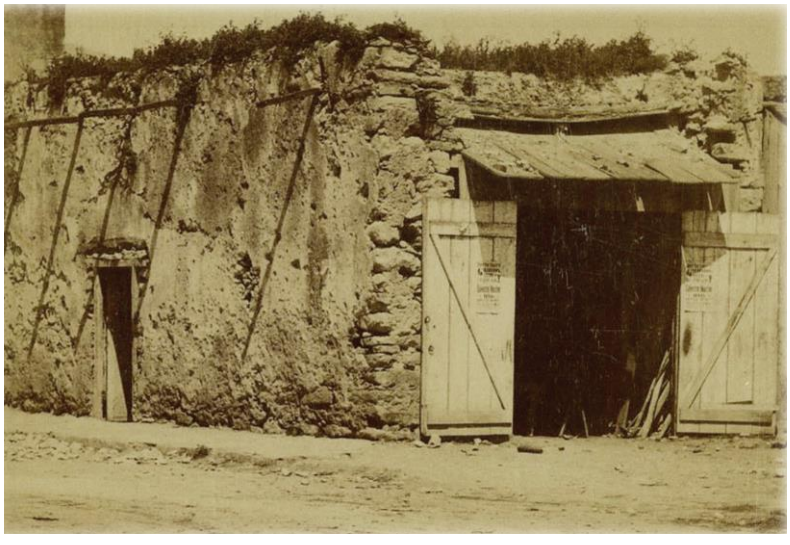


FIGURE 10: Cross-section of a stone building with a flat earthen roof supported by horizontal beams, or vigas. This building stood on what was Acequia Street (now North Main Street), San Antonio, Texas, ca. 1865. National Park Service photo, SAAN accession 383.

trenches. An examination of the footing trenches for the church of Mission San José in 1974 by John Clark showed that their bases were 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. The foundations of Mission Valero are very similar.[116]

Once above grade, walls were built with the aid of scaffolding tied with leather or rawhide strips. Corners and faces were kept vertical by use of the plumb bobs mentioned in the carpenter's 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 winches and pulley systems. The list of materials and expenses for the reconstruction of the west wing of the convento of San Antonio de Valero as a military hospital in 1809 gives a good idea of the provisions made for this sort of work.

[116] John Clark, *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo,* 64–66; Jack D. Eaton, "Excavations at the Alamo Shrine (Mission San Antonio de Valero)," (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, 1980), 25–26.

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:	350.0
355 cartloads of tierra blanca to make lodo delivered to the same place at 4 reales each:	162.4
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:	1,500.0
820 cartloads of sand to make mortar averaging 4 fanegas each cartload and 4 reales each cartload:	410.0
520 morillos to repair the beams of the roofs and the crossbeams at 1 peso each	520.0
16,995 tabletas [roofing boards] at 30 pesos the thousand:	510.0
73 canales of wood at 1 peso each:	73.0
600 days' work of the master mason at 12 reales per day:	900.0
3,600 days' work of the workmen at 3 reales per day:	1,350.0
12 cowhides to make leather straps and to tie the scaffolding at 6 reales each:	9.0
6 buckets of wood for taking up the mortar at 1 peso each:	6.0
12 tubs for the same purpose at 6 reales each:	9.0

100 pesos assigned to buy cordage for cables, barrels to carry water, litters, picks and shovels:	100.0
5 doors which have to be made new, with frames and doorsills, at 16 pesos each:	80.0
Total	**5,979.4**

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 177.5 pesos, not 162.4 (there are eight reales to a peso, so that "177.5" is the notation for 177 pesos, five reales, not 177.5 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.[117] Finally, one or two coats of fine surfacing plaster were applied. Churches and conventos were frequently decorated with polychrome 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 painting in 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 large stone slab, or a number of arch variants. Doorway and window openings in thick walls were usually splayed toward the interior, probably to maximize the amount of daylight admitted to the room. Doorway and window frames were added after the first rough 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 six feet.

[117] Markman, *Colonial Architecture*, 34.



FIGURE 11: Details of the stonework used to construct vaults and walls in 18th century Texas can be seen in this photo of the church of San José. Courtesy of the San Antonio Conservation Society Foundation.

These beams supported a floor of planks. Occasionally a loft had a partition wall built above or below, and usually had a steep wooden staircase for access.[118]

Roofing Systems

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 required a relatively low level of 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)

[118] Saenz de Gumiel, "Espada," 1772, OSMHRL frame 4219.

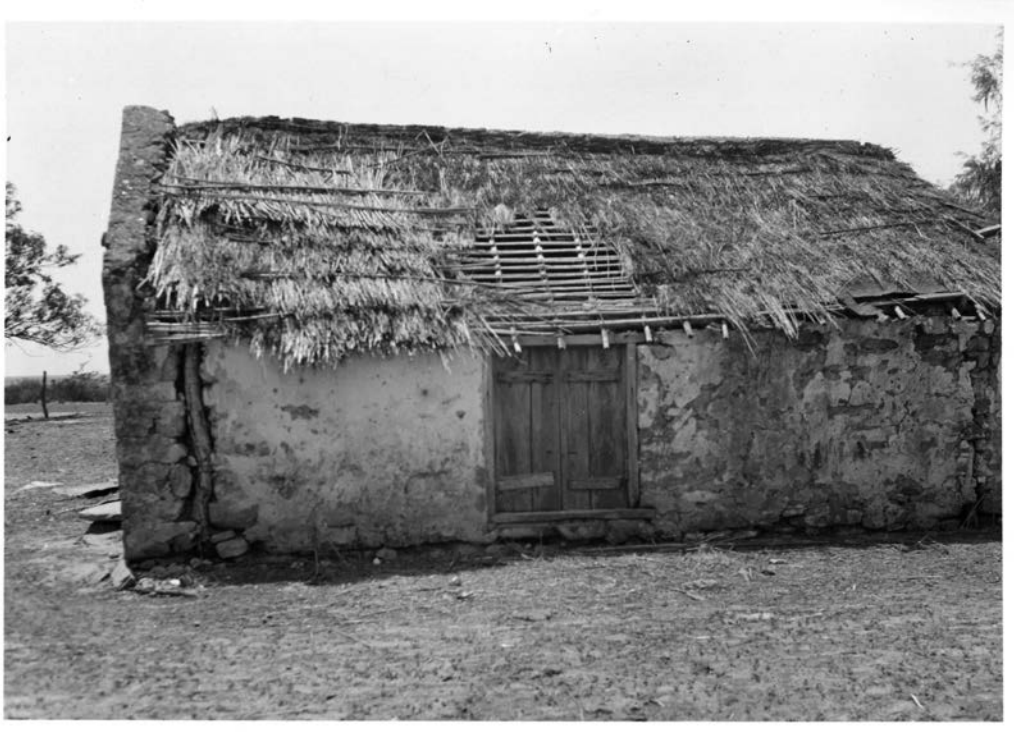


FIGURE 12: The structure of a thatched roof. The main beams and lighter crossbeams can be seen where the bundles of thatch have fallen away in the center of the roof. National Park Service photo, SAAN accession 543.

at each end of the building, connected by a *hilera* (ridge beam). The ends of the *pares* rested on *suelas* (wooden beams forming wall plates) along the tops of the walls.[119]

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 in the roof structure 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.

[119] Secretario del Patrimonio Naciónal, *Vocabulario Arquitectónico*, 42, fig. 53.

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, such as wooden pegs or leather ties through holes drilled in the shingles, but these were awkward, labor-expensive and time-consuming. In general, the high cost of shingled roofs discouraged their use during the colonial period. Roofs of fired rounded tiles, although popular in California in the later 18th century, were apparently virtually never used in Texas.

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. (see Figure 10). 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*.[120] Above this was a layer of packed clay ranging from six to eighteen inches thick. Its upper surface usually sloped toward one side of the building, where runoff would be channeled 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 a layer of lime plaster, *laja* (flagstone) or *ladrillo* (brick tiles), 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,[121] and as the covering of the second floor surface of the convento at San José.[122]

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[120] Jaudenes, *"Rosario,"* 1791, BCAMR frame 803.

[121] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Espada,"* 1772, OSMHRL frames 4215, 4219; Saenz de Gumiel, *"San Juan Capistrano,"* 1772, OSMHRL frame 4287.

[122] Ramón Músquiz , *"En la Ciudad de S[an] Fernando de Bexar ...,"* GLOSA, box 122, folder 10, 114 rev.

Vaults

Buildings which were to be vaulted required considerably more technical knowledge than flat earthen 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 Concepción or San José will be considered. Other structures (for example, vaulted convento and granary buildings) would use somewhat simplified versions of the same procedures.[123]

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, or sometimes a little more slowly, as demonstrated by the 1772 description of San Antonio de Valero, which made it clear that the facade was completed almost 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 the Valero church discussed in Chapter 2. Copies of these plans were rarely filed in any church or state archives. Markman describes similar procedures in use in Guatemala from the sixteenth century up to the present.[124]

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, one or two more down the length of the nave, depending on the number of bays in 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.

Building a vault was not a simple task. It required the supporting of tons of stone in the air until the keystones were put into place, making the structure self-supporting. The master mason had to assemble a massive construction of vertical supports and centering that held each piece of stone in its correct position while the rest of the arch

[123] Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 1:181–84.

[124] Markman, *Colonial Architecture*, 39–40.



FIGURE 13: 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 18th century would have been very similar. National Park Service photo, SAAN accession 172.

or vault was built. All of this support structure was made of wood, and had to be designed and built by the master carpenter in such a way that it could be disassembled, moved to the location of the next arch or vault, and reassembled.[125]

Vaults were built in a sequence of steps. A long nave was divided into a series of sections, called "bays," by pilasters, or half columns attached to the walls, and by ribs extending up from these pilasters across the ceiling and down to the opposite pilaster. The ribs and vaulting of each bay were built separately. Among other things, this was a kind of damage control: if one portion of a roof decayed or cracked and fell in, the

[125] Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 1:183

collapse would usually be limited to that single bay. The walls of a building to be vaulted were built with substantial foundations and reinforcing buttresses on the exteriors of the walls, usually outside the pilasters on the interiors, in order to support the weight of the vaulting. Because of its shape, a vault tries to push the tops of its supporting walls outward until the vault could collapse, and the buttresses and ribs are designed to counteract that force. As the walls were built, using the standard methods of scaffolding and lift systems, the buttresses and pilasters had to be built as part of the same fabric. When they reached the point where the curved surface of the vault was to spring out from the wall, the mason had to change over to a rather different construction method. The ribs were the first to be put up, because they formed the primary supports for each section of vaulting. To build a rib, the mason constructed the centering across the nave of the church, forming a curved wooden surface above its massive supporting posts, with the precise curve that the rib was to take. Then the springer stones, or *salmeres*, were placed on top of the pilasters on each side, and each successive pair of *dovelas*, or wedge shaped stones, were put in place outward from the salmeres along the curve of the centering. Each stone dovela was a complex shape that had been precisely cut so that it had exactly the right angle on its faces that would meet the neighboring dovelas, and at the same time have all the ridges and curves of whatever decorative pattern the mason wanted to run the lengths of the ribs, while having the correct curve of its lower and upper surfaces to form the soffits and extrados of the arched rib. Each rib had shoulders on each side where the vaulting stones would fit, as well.[126]

Once the uppermost stone, the keystone, was placed, the structure of the rib took its own weight, transferring it to the walls, pilaster, and buttressing of the sides of the church, and the centering could be removed and set up under the next location for a rib.

Vaulting followed generally the same process, with its spring-points higher up the wall and forming a continuous line between ribs. Vaulting was thinner than ribs, with much of its strength supplied by the massive rib structure, keeping the vaulting from shifting laterally and taking some of its weight. The stones were set in a series of arcs or arches. A centering of sufficient width to allow the construction of a single arc would be built next to a rib, the vaulting would be assembled, and then the centering would be moved over the width of an arc to repeat the process down the length of the bay. If a bay was narrow, the centering might be built wide enough to allow the construction of the entire vault of that bay without moving the centering.

For vaults that were other than simple cylindrical sections, the carving of the individual stones took a surprising level of skill. For a groined or lunette vault, for example, the stones must form two intersecting cylindrical sections with their axes at right angles. Each stone required the cutting of its own individual curved surfaces, and flat, angled faces of contact in the mason's yard; then the many hundreds of pounds that each stone

[126] Ibid., 1:183–84.

weighed was hauled up the scaffolding to the surface of the centering thirty or forty or fifty feet above the floor of the church, where it was carried to its precise location with the expectation that it would fit where it was designed to fit.[127] The fine limestone for the facade and the ribs and vaults of Valero probably came from the quarry near present Trinity University or near the San Antonio Zoo. This quarry was in use at the time, shown on the Menchaca map, and had the right sort of stone.[128]

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

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.[129] 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 to have the proper curvature. 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.

Ribs in the San Antonio missions seem to have been intended as stabilizers, rather than supports for the vaults. The vaulting did not rest on the tops of the ribs, but were butted against their side faces. 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.[130] 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.

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[127] Ibid., 1:183.

[128] Captain don Luis Antonio Menchaca, "*Mapa del Presidio de San Antonio de Bexar, i sus Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, F[ec]ho en 24 del Mes de Marzo de 1764, Por el Capitan Don Luis Anttonio Menchaca que lo es de d[ic]ho Presidio,"* in John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

[129] Fray Juan Jose Saenz de Gumiel, OSMHRL.

[130] Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero*, 1772, OSMHRL 7.

San Antonio tour guides usually say that some of the vaulted structures of the San Antonio missions, 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.[131] 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.[132] This system would make the use of movable vault centering, a rather difficult procedure, and 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.[133] 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 mortar and gravel or clay secured with a thick plaster finishing coat. This layer of earth was contoured so that rainwater runoff was channeled 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 of San Antonio in the kind of materials chosen. Stone buttressing was used on the exterior of the building,

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[131] See, for example, J.W. Beretta, "Notes on the Engineering Features of the San José Granary, San Antonio, Texas," 1933, in the Harvey P. Smith, Jr. Collection, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, San Antonio, Texas.

[132] John Fitchen, *The Construction of Gothic Cathedrals: A Study of Medieval Vault Erection* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 30–31; figs. 11, 20, 21.

[133] Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero,* 1772, OSMHRL7, 8.

but fired brick pilasters and ribbing formed the interior supporting structures. This ribbing supported a wooden vault with a layer of cement above to secure the beams in place.[134]

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.[135]

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. As the simple buildings were completed, more advanced structures were begun using more technical methods. The labor force would have the opportunity to observe and to some extent participate in the physical processes of stone-working, woodworking, smithing, and the like. Those who demonstrated some interest in, or aptitude for, one trade or another could be placed in an apprenticeship status.

With the completion of the stone structures of the mission, the indigenous people would have been trained and indoctrinated in a major aspect of European civilization, that of construction. These newly colonized citizens of the Spanish Empire may have advanced to relatively high levels of expertise in one or another of these disciplines over a short time period.

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

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[134] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Espada,"* 1772, OSMHRL frame 4220.

[135] For a detailed speculative analysis of this possibility, see Schuetz, "Proportional Systems and Ancient Geometry," *Southwestern Mission Research Center Newsletter*, 14 (December 1980) 48:insert.

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 can be more easily understood with a firm knowledge of the structural context and technical expertise in which it occurred.

Chapter 4
The Structural History of San Antonio de Valero, 1718–1793

The Establishment of the Town and Mission of San Antonio

As the soldiers and Franciscans made the long trip back and forth between the Presidio San Juan Bautista and the missions and presidios of East Texas, they regularly remarked on the potential they saw for a town and a mission at the headwaters of the San Antonio River. In 1717 authorities decided to establish a military settlement, the Villa de Béjar, and a mission, San Antonio de Valero, on the San Antonio River as way stations for military and Franciscan personnel going to and from East Texas. Valero was established in 1718, and although Querétaran, was intended for use by missionaries of both Querétaro and Zacatecas until the Zacatecans could build their own mission. Two years later, in 1720, the college of Zacatecas established the mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo on the San Antonio River as their way station mission.[1]

Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares established the mission of San Antonio de Valero on May 1, 1718, between the San Antonio River and San Pedro Creek, and between one-half and three-quarters of a league (one to two miles) south of San Pedro Springs, about on the later location of the Presidio de San Antonio and the Villa de Béjar.[2] The military settlement of the Villa de Béjar (separated into the Presidio de San Antonio and the civilian Villa de Béjar a year later) was established on May 5 just south of San Pedro Springs and perhaps one and one-half miles north of the new mission.[3]

Valero apparently did not receive a grant for its new site on the San Antonio River. Instead, it seems to have continued to use the grant given when it was first founded under its original name of San Francisco Solano, on March 1, 1700, near the Rio Grande; certainly Fray Sevillano de Paredes, who wrote the first available report on

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[1] Carlos Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. 2, The Winning of Texas, 1693–1731* (Austin: von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1936), pp. 91–95, 128–30.

[2] A league is 2.63 miles; Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981).

[3] Fray Marion Habig, OFM, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), p. 38; Fritz Hoffmann, "The Mezquia Diary of the Alarcón Expedition into Texas, 1718," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly 41*(April 1938):318; Fray Francisco Céliz, *Diary of the Alarcón Expedition into Texas, 1718–1719*, Fritz Leo Hoffmann, trans. and ed., Quivira Society Publications, Vol. 5, (Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1935), pp. 49, 55; Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, pp. 90, 92 n. 30, 94; Hoffmann, "Introduction," pp. 24–25, in Céliz, *Diary of the Alarcón Expedition*.

Valero in San Antonio in 1727, considered all the previous sites to be earlier locations of the same mission.[4] The same opinion was expressed by Fray Francisco Ortíz in 1745 and 1756; he said that the mission had been founded in 1703 with the advocation of San Francisco Solano, and had moved five times before it reached its present location on the San Antonio River.[5]

It seems to have been an accepted condition for the establishment of a new mission in the first decades of the eighteenth century that mission grants allowed the mission to move to a better site if the missionaries so desired. For example, when reestablishing the six East Texas missions for the second time in 1722, the Franciscans stated in their petition for each refounding: "If, after the mission was established here … a more suitable or better location for the mission was found, the present Act of Possession would not be invalidated, but would apply to the new site." The governor agreed to this provision, stating: "In case it was found advisable to move the mission and pueblo to another site, the grant would still be valid, but the missionary in charge at such a time should be instructed, for the sake of information and of permanent record, to notify officially the Captain or Justicia of the neighboring presidio regarding the removal."[6]

If Valero was laid out according to the standard model plan, as reflected in the grants of San Juan Bautista, San José, and San Francisco Solano, Valero's own previous incarnation, then the mission would have immediately been set up with its temporary mission church and convento, storerooms, and Indian quarters arranged around a main plaza about 120 varas (330 feet) square. With the standard provision for streets (13.33 varas or 36.5 feet wide), the plaza would have been about 403 feet on a side.

The Franciscans plowed fields near the site of the first mission during the summer of 1718, but did not build an acequia to irrigate these fields until early the next year. Alarcón carried out a formal organization of the Pueblo of Valero in early January 1719, setting up the administrative structure for the Indian pueblo of the mission. The

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[4] Fray Sevillano de Paredes, *"Visita de las Missiones del Rio Grande del Norte por Fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes en 15 de Ocubre de 1727,"* November 6, 1727, p. 23v., Spanish Colonial Research Center, National Park Service, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, microfilm roll 4, frames 1–29.

[5] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortíz, *"Visita de las Missiones hecha de orden de H. M. P[adre] Comm[isari]o G[ene]ral Fr[ay] Juan Fogueras, por el P[adre] Fr[ay] Fran[cis]co Xavier Ortíz, en el año de 1745,"* October 11, 1745, in OSMHRL Celaya Microfilms, frame 1268; Fray Francisco Xavier Ortíz, "Vissita de la Mission de S[a]n Antonio de Valero," June 9, 1756, Razon de la Viss[i]ta de las Missiones de San Xavier y de las de S[a]n Antonio de Valero en la Provincia y GoverNación de Texas, Maio de 1756, ed. Vargas Rea (Mexico City: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanos, 1955), vol. 3, p. 9.

[6] Castañeda, *The Winning of Texas*, pp. 150, 151.

acequias for Valero and the presidio were begun on January 12, and finished by the end of the month.[7]

France declared war on Spain on January 9, 1719, and French forces in Louisiana made an attack on the Spanish missions in East Texas in late June 1719. Don Baltasar de Zúñiga, Marqués de Valero, the viceroy of New Spain, received notification of the French declaration of war in July 1719, at which time the king ordered him to place all forts and ports on a war footing. The order changing the Villa de Béjar to the combined Presidio de San Antonio and Villa de Béjar appears to have reached Béjar about October 1719, with the troops mustered by Joseph Azlor Virto de Vera, Marqués de Aguayo, the new governor of the combined provinces of Texas and Coahuila, sent to reinforce the new Presidio de San Antonio. Most of the troops, Franciscans, and civilians from the East Texas missions and presidios arrived in San Antonio as refugees in early November 1719. The disruptions of the presence of the refugees and the military reinforcements, and the establishment of a full presidio where before there had been only a military settlement, probably prompted the Franciscans' decision to move Mission Valero away from the presidio to the east side of the San Antonio river, to escape the uproar and probable disputes over water and farmland. A move in November 1719, would have been early enough to allow time to build temporary dwellings, storerooms, and a church before the worst of the winter. The Franciscans had mission San Antonio de Valero in operation at its second site on the east side of the San Antonio River by February.[8]

The Marqués de Aguayo moved the presidio in 1722 to the present location of Military Plaza in downtown San Antonio.[9] It is likely that he established the presidio just west of the original site of San Antonio de Valero. The structures of the mission plaza, abandoned only three years before, were apparently put back into use as the civilian plaza for the new location of the Villa de Béjar; in 1731 it became the plaza for the Villa de San Fernando, and today it is the Plaza de las Islas on the north side of the

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[7] Castañeda, *The Winning of Texas*, pp. 94–96; Céliz, *Diary of the Alarcón Expedition*, p. 86.

[8] Castañeda, *The Winning of Texas*, pp. 114, 115, 123, 128, 130, 174 and n. 4; Captain Juan Valdéz in *"Oposición a la fundación de la Mission de San Joséph del rio de San Antonio,"* February 23, 1720, in *The San José Papers: Edited Primary Manuscript Sources for the History of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Part 1, 1719 to 1791*, Fray Benedict Leutenegger, trans., Fray Marion Habig, ed. (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1978), p. 25; Valdéz, "Report," *San José Papers*, pp. 28–29; Céliz, *Diary of the Alarcón Expedition*, p. 86; Fray Antonio Olivares, *"Oposición a la fundación de la Mission de San Joséph del río de San Antonio,"* February 23, 1720, *San José Papers*, 19-26; Habig, *Alamo Chain*, p. 42.

[9] Castañeda, *The Winning of Texas*, p. 147; Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar, A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), p. 32.

courthouse. This decision to make military and civilian use of what was still technically mission land led to years of legal dispute between the mission of Valero, the presidio, and the town of San Fernando.[10]

The Second Site

When it was moved away from the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar, the mission of San Antonio de Valero was reestablished on a terrace on the east side of the San Antonio River Valley. The site to which Valero moved was probably on the north edge of the area presently called La Villita. The evidence for this is fairly straightforward. First, since the second site had to occupy the same relative position to the river as do all the other missions, between the acequia and the river near the acequia, there are only two general areas where it is likely to have been. One is north of Valero on the line of its acequia, and the other is on the acequia south of the mission. Because of the terrain, a southern location is more likely.

The mission documents offer us a few clues about the location of the second site. In the 1756 visita report for Valero is a brief description of a small chapel called the Capilla de la Santa Cruz, which had been built on the second site location of Valero "at a distance of more than *una quadra* [one block] from the mission" at its third site, where it is today. The 1756 inventory of this chapel, made a month after the visita, says that the Capilla was very close to the mission. The 1759 visita report stated that the distance from the present site to the Capilla was "*quatro quadras regulares*," four standard "blocks."[11]

Unfortunately, we do not know what these Franciscans considered to be a standard "block." Assuming this meant a typical mission town square or plaza, the plaza used in the layout of San José in 1720 was the usual size, and measured 146.7 varas (about 402 feet) on a side, including the width of the streets around the plaza, suggesting that the friars meant a distance of about 1,600 feet. One other estimate of the distance between the two sites was made by Fray Sevillano de Paredes in 1727: the second site was "*dos tiros, de escopeta* [two musket-shots]" from the present site.[12] The musket-shot was a

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[10] James E. Ivey, "A Reconsideration of the Survey of the Villa de San Fernando in 1731," in the collection of the author.

[11] Fray Juan de los Angeles, *"Imbentario de la Capilla de la S[an]ta Cruz echa por el P[adre] Visitador Ortíz el ano de 1756,"* Julio 3, 1756, OSMHRL Celaya microfilms, Roll 10:5090-5098; Ortíz, 1756, "*Vissita,*" BHM vol. 3, p. 13; Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, *"Testim[oni]o de la Visita de las Missiones de las Prov[inci]as de Coahuila y Texas pertenecientes al Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz; echa por el R[everendo] P[adre] Fray Mariano Fran[cis]co de los Dolores, y Biana, Com[isionari]o Visitador de todas ellas, en el mes de Marzo de 1759,"* April 26, 1759, f. 1499-1500, OSMHRL Celaya microfilms, roll 9:1470-1505.

[12] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC f. 5.

general estimate of distance, rather like the modern estimates of "football fields" in length. A musket could fire a ball over 900 feet,[13] so Sevillano de Paredes was indicating a distance of perhaps 1,800 feet, which roughly agrees with the "block" estimate. These considerations suggest that the second site was about 1,700 feet south of the present site of the mission church, near the Valero main acequia, and between it and the river. This would place it somewhere near the northeastern corner of La Villita.

The Aguayo Map and the Second Site of Valero

Aguayo left San Antonio in May 1722, while Valero was still on its second site. The map he drew eight years later, to accompany his recommendations for the location of the proposed new civil settlement at San Antonio, was based on his memories of the area as of 1720, when he first saw the missions, as is shown by where he put various elements.[14] For example, San José is shown on the east bank of the river, opposite the mouth of San Pedro Creek. San José, probably originally established on the present site of Purísima Concepción at precisely this location, appears to have moved to its present site on the west side of the river in the summer of 1721, and the new mission of San Xavier de Nájera was established on its old site, then the site was abandoned in 1726, none of which was recalled by Aguayo in 1730 when he drew the map.[15]

It appears that eight years later Aguayo could not remember which mission he had left on that site. At Valero, the drawing shows a church with a bell tower and perhaps a thatched roof, and a similar but separate building for the convento, both on the west side of this plaza, and the Indian quarters in rows along streets on the east side (the missions of San Antonio were not enclosed in defensive walls until about 1760).[16] The

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[13] David H. Snow, "Review of Agrarian and Linear Land Measurements of Land from 17th Century Documents in Colonial New Mexico," *Santa Fe Historic Plaza Study: With Translations from Spanish Colonial Documents, vol. I*, Linda Tigges, ed. (Santa Fe: City Planning Department, 1990), p. 96.

[14] Marqués de Aguayo, "Map of San Antonio de Bexar," in Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar, A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), p. 54.

[15] De la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 54; Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, pp. 148, 280–81; James E. Ivey, "Excavations at Mission Concepción," in James E. Ivey and Anne A. Fox, Archaeological Investigations at Mission Concepción and Mission Parkway, Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report No. 114, (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1999), pp. 19–20, 46–47.

[16] Valdéz, "Report," OSMHRL, San José Papers, pp. 27–42; Robert S.Weddle, *San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), p. 24; James E. Ivey, "Comparative Franciscan Architectural Design on the Northern and Central Frontiers of New Spain," *The Spanish Missionary Heritage of the United States: Selected Papers and Commentaries from the November, 1990, Quincentenary Symposium* (San Antonio: National Park Service and Los Compadres de San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, 1993), pp.

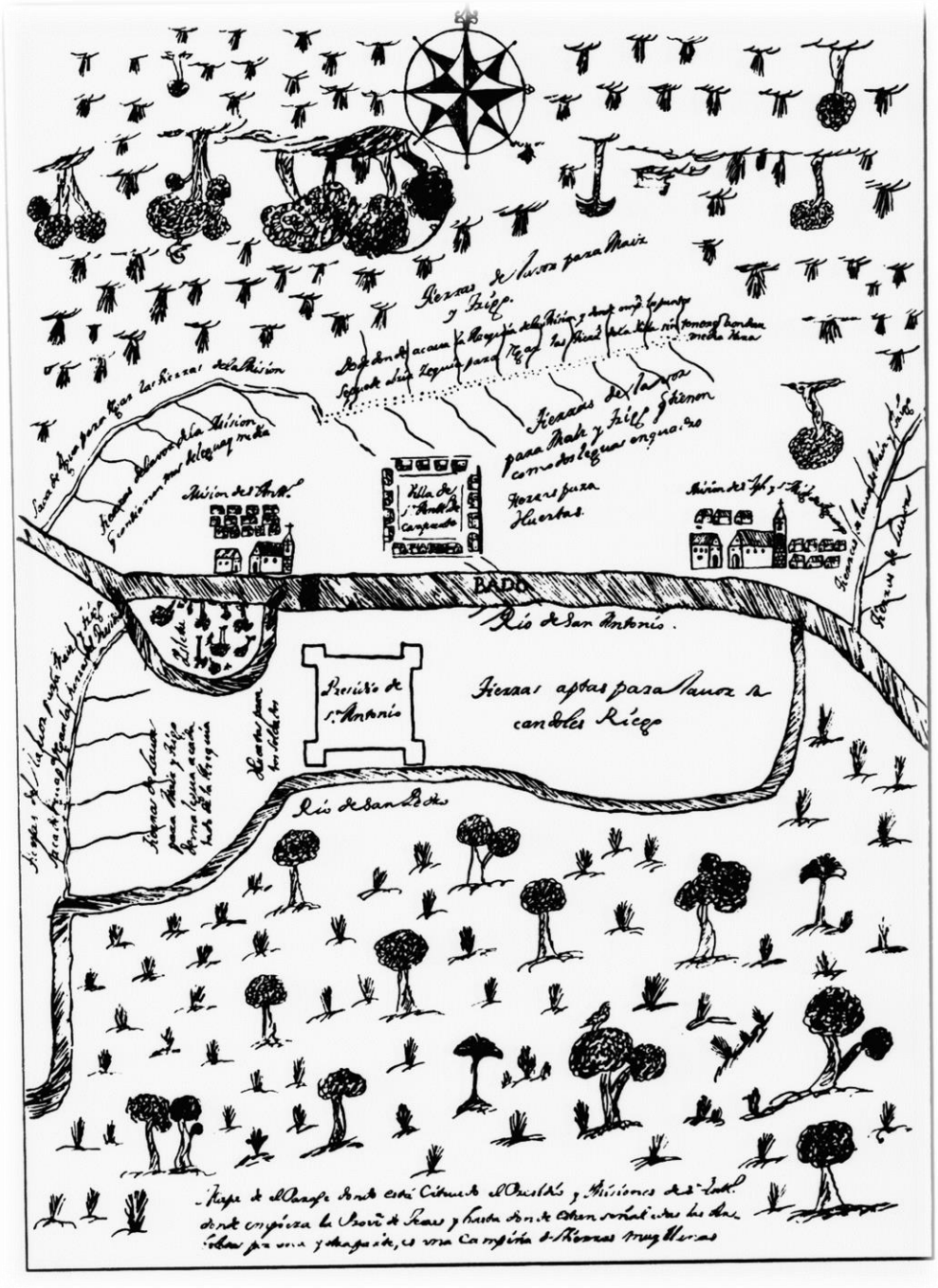


FIGURE 14: The Aguayo Map of 1730 is believed to show the second site of Mission San Antonio de Valero. Image courtesy UTSA Special Collections.

177–199. The exception to this statement is Mission Concepción, which had an enclosing wall by 1745, built around at least the convento and church, if not also the Indian pueblo; Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL f. 1272. However, this pueblo and enclosing wall were completely replaced in the 1760s with one of a similar design to those built at the other missions in the same period; Ivey, "Excavations at Mission Concepción," pp. 19–20, 46–47.

only available description of the second site of Valero, written in 1727 by Fray Sevillano de Paredes, matches the drawing by Aguayo. Sevillano de Paredes said that the mission consisted of "*un Torreonsillo de Adobe . . . y unos Xacalitos*," a little tower of adobe and some small jacales.[17] Therefore, we can accept the Aguayo map as a depiction of the vaguely remembered details of the appearance of the mission at its second site. The plaza was probably about 400 feet on a side, as at its earlier sites would have been laid out at the time of the establishment, as part of the usual actions signifying occupation of the new site. The missionaries began construction on a church, Indian quarters, and a new dam and irrigation ditch separate from that of the villa.

The missionaries built the dam across the San Antonio River near the springs at its headwaters in 1723.[18] The new dam was built somewhat south of the springs forming the headwaters of the San Antonio River, in the northern part of present Brackenridge Park, probably on or near the good location for a dam noticed by the Alarcón expedition in 1718, about one-quarter league, or half a mile, above the principal ford of the San Antonio River, apparently the ford later called the "*Paso de Tejas*," because the road to East Texas and the Tejas Indians crossed the river here.[19] From the pond formed by this dam the missionaries and Indians dug the main irrigation ditch or *acequia madre* southward to the fields. This acequia system probably had a main branch that brought water to the mission buildings. The acequia was completed about 1727, and Fray Sevillano de Paredes in that year described it as extending one league (2.6 miles) from the mission, apparently referring to its length down the valley south of the mission.[20]

The Third Site

In 1724 the new buildings of Valero were destroyed in a severe storm, described by Sevillano de Paredes: "*. . . vino un furioso huracan, y derríbo todos los Xacales con notable destrozo 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 jacales with significant destruction of their contents. Because of this the mission was moved to a more convenient site where it is now.[21] From the description, it can be assumed that the "huracan" was a tornado. After this destruction, the Franciscans began construction of a new group of mission buildings. Rather than rebuilding on the old second site, they chose to begin the structures again on a new site, the third location

[17] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, frame 5.

[18] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 5.

[19] Hoffmann, *"Mezquia,"* pp. 317–18.

[20] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 5.

[21] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, "Visita," BTHC, f. 5.

where the mission is today. Presumably the second site had shown some shortcomings that hadn't been apparent at first.

The Franciscans created a new plaza twice the size of the one that had been at the second site. The new location for the convento buildings was at the northeast corner of the new plaza, along its east side. Because the mission moved only a short distance to the north, about 1,700 feet, the original acequia system did not have to be replaced—but because the new location of the convento was crossed by the original channel of the acequia *desague*,[22] or overflow drain, begun in 1723, this branch of the acequia was modified. The first rooms built on the third site were small adobe and stone shelters for temporary living and work areas. They were constructed in a loose group where the two patios would be later, and across the path of the old acequia drain.

Archaeological investigations along the north wall of the northern courtyard of the later convento found traces of this earliest period of the mission on its third site.[23] Here the earliest construction on the site was an irrigation ditch seven feet wide and eighteen inches deep, with a lining of a hard white sandy-lime mortar about two inches thick. The ditch ran approximately at S 74°W at this point, and was probably part of the original desague built beginning in 1723; it must have extended from the point where the later desague divided from the inner (western) ditch northeast of the mission. The original desague ran diagonally across the third site of the convento and the northern portion of the new, northern half of the plaza to the west edge of the plaza and down to the river.

When the mission moved to this site in 1724, the Indians had to refill a portion of the earlier ditch (which they had only just completed) and dig a new one curving west and then south around the new site of the convento and the north end of the new plaza. They filled the 1723 ditch with dirt and trash. The Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at the University of Texas at San Antonio found this ditch while excavating along the north wall of the Alamo grounds. Artifacts in the layers of dirt that filled the ditch indicate it went out of use in the first decades of the 1700s. Above this the CAR found wall and floor traces of a stone building with adobe partition walls, with at least

[22] A desague is a runoff ditch for an acequia system, to drain excess water from it. In Texas it frequently ran through the town for which the acequia was built to supply water for the use of the villagers.

[23] James E. Ivey and Anne A. Fox, Archaeological and Historical Investigations at the Alamo North Wall, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas, Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report no. 224 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1997).

two rooms, one ten feet wide and of an unknown length. These walls ran at about N 25°E, about 15 degrees off the general plan of the convento.[24]

In excavations carried out in 1991, Alton Briggs found the southeastern corner of a structure with narrow stone walls and a packed caliche floor at the northwest corner of the Alamo Sales Museum.[25] This structure, about sixty-five feet southeast of the building found in the north wall excavations, may be at the same depth and in the same stratigraphic context as the north wall structure.

John Greer found a third structure of about the same date, built entirely of adobe bricks with an interior width of thirteen feet and an unknown length, in the Well Courtyard of the Alamo in 1966.[26] It was at somewhat more of an angle than the structure the CAR found in the north courtyard, closer to N30°E. It had at least nine inches of layers of earlier European material beneath it, suggesting that it, too, was built on the acequia, which may have curved down this far south before it ran west to the river.

During the north wall excavations, the CAR saw broken plaster and melted adobe material from other buildings of the same general period spread across the original ground surface predating the new convento structures in the northwestern corner of the north courtyard, indicating that additional structures had stood in the area. The CAR did not see the foundations of these structures, and they await discovery somewhere in the north courtyard.[27]

Among the first buildings begun around the new plaza in 1724 were houses for the Indians who came or were brought to the mission to learn about Spanish ways and to be Christianized. They formed the majority of the workforce that built the buildings, dug the acequias, and tilled the fields of the mission. The houses were jacales, buildings made of wooden posts set into a trench, coated with adobe and plaster, and covered with gabled roofs of thatch (although the same word could be used to mean a shack or temporary building of adobe or stone).[28] The new acequia flowed through the plaza

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[24] Ivey and Fox, North Wall, pp. 20, 22, 34–35; Waynne Cox and James Ivey, field drawing "41BX6, North Wall, Unit EII, Plan," February 12, 1980, field notes, Alamo North Wall Project in the files of the CAR.

[25] Alton Briggs, Archeological Investigations at the Alamo, Mission San Antonio de Valero, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas (Comfort, Texas: Lone Star Archeological Services, 1998), p. 28 and p. xiii, fig. 10.

[26] John W. Greer, A Description of the Stratigraphy, Features and Artifacts from an Archeological Excavation at the Alamo, Archeological Program, Report No. 3 (Austin: State Building Commission, 1967), p. 9 and figure 7.

[27] Ivey and Fox, North Wall, p. 15 and figure 7.

[28] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, "Visita," BTHC, f. 5.

from the northwest corner parallel to the west side to a point about halfway down the plaza, where it intersected the old line of the desague, turned between two houses, and ran down to the river.

Construction on the permanent convento began in 1724, at the same time as the construction of the temporary buildings. The Franciscans laid out a row of five rooms running north to south along the east side of the plaza, and began their construction in stone with adobe mortar. Four of the rooms were to be living quarters, offices, and storerooms for the missionaries. These four cells formed the core structures of the convento of San Antonio de Valero, and were the ground floor rooms on the west side of the later convento. The fifth room was a *galera*, a large room, by which Sevillano de Paredes meant a granary.[29] The western walls of 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.[30]

The Mission, 1727–1745

By 1727, the temporary buildings were probably going out of use as the more permanent structures were finished. In the three years from the destruction of the second site and the move to the present site in 1724, reported Fray Sevillano de Paredes, the missionaries had completed three cells of the convento and were building the fourth cell and galera, or granary, all of stone with adobe mortar.[31] In the meantime, the friars lived in "*otros Jacales fuertes*," other strong jacales—in this case, the word "jacal" may have referred to the temporary stone and adobe buildings east of the row of permanent convento rooms under construction, rather than one of vertical posts. A similar jacal was in use as the church, "*muy capaz, con buena Puerta*," very spacious, with a good door.[32] When the new convento buildings were completed about 1728, the Franciscans moved into the new rooms, and demolished the temporary buildings to clear the area of the patio.

The jacales where the Indians lived had been finished by 1727. The location of these houses for the Indians is not known, but were probably along the sides of the mission plaza on either side of the new acequia, where the permanent Indian quarters were built later, replacing them.[33]

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[29] See his description of the granary at San Juan Bautista as *"una Galera de piedra, que haze mas de mil Fanegas de maiz,"* Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 10, and again at San Bernardo, *"una Galera para maiz,"* on f. 11.

[30] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 5.

[31] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 5.

[32] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 5.

[33] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 5.

Soon after the 1727 report by Sevillano de Paredes, the galera, the structure being built as the granary for the mission, was completed as an interim church to replace the jacal church while waiting for a master mason to build the permanent church. The choir loft had to have been built during this period of original construction, because it would have been virtually impossible to put the massive main beam of the loft in place after the wall was built. The presence of this choir loft in all the descriptions of the temporary church, including the 1762 church in the granary, makes it likely that they all refer to the same place, and that the building intended to be the granary was built with a choir loft when it was finished about 1728.

A stairway up the east face of the convento gave access to the choir loft, traditionally above the main entrance door of the church. The main door would have opened onto the plaza to the west, and that the stairs to the choir loft were on the convento rather than on the granary serving as the church indicates that the doorway and choir loft were on the south end of the building, where it connected with the convento. The Franciscans built a room to serve as the sacristy, presumably on the east side of this temporary church at the north end, against the north wall of the north courtyard.[34]

Encroachments

In 1731, the Villa de San Fernando was established next to the Presidio de San Antonio. The villa occupied the small plaza just east of the presidio, which had been the Villa de Béjar since 1722, and may have begun as the original site of San Antonio de Valero in 1718. The Villa de San Fernando and Mission Valero kept up a running dispute over Valero's claim to land in and just east of the Villa de San Fernando as a result of the villa being established in 1731 on the mission's land west of the San Antonio River, when it took possession of the town developed by the Villa de Béjar.[35] In 1745, the two parties reached an agreement that resolved their dispute. In return for that portion of the land of San Fernando that extended north and east of Olmos Creek, Valero gave up her rights to the land west of the river. The two parties agreed that in the area of the potrero, the pastureland within the great horseshoe bend of the river to the east between San Fernando and San Antonio de Valero, no sale of land or settlement would take place, except for the possible future construction of "a sanctuary" or church of some sort.[36] This buffer of empty land took up the eastern half of the potrero and some

[34] Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, ff. 1267–68.

[35] James E. Ivey, "A Reconsideration of the Survey of the Villa de San Fernando in 1731," in the collection of the author.

[36] Fray Benito de Santa Ana, ca. June, 1741, Letters and Memorials of the Father Presidente Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, 1736–1754: Documents on the Missions of Texas from the Archives of the College of Querétaro, transcribed and translated by Fray Benedict Leutenegger, O.F.M, Documentary Series, No. 6, (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, 1981), pp. 37–38; Habig, *Alamo Chain*, p. 42; Céliz, Alarcón

of the area east of the river and south of the potrero, on which had been the second site of the mission, where La Villita is today. For most of the mid-eighteenth century this agreement between the town and the mission held. Eventually, in 1756 Valero built a chapel on the second site of the mission in the present La Villita area, and soon after, beginning in 1762, the Villa began to overflow into the potrero.[37]

The Effort to Build a Permanent Church

The missionaries had evolved a general rule of thumb restricting missionary construction activities: any construction requiring an arch, vault, or dome was contracted to a professional mason, or it was not built. This guideline determined the character of church architecture across the northern frontier. Fray Sevillano de Paredes stated that the missionaries of San Antonio de Valero were constructing the first stone rooms of the convento themselves, but "wanted to build a church all of stone, and with good form and appearance. For this it was necessary to bring acceptable materials and a master mason." They had begun to gather the materials, but could go no further without a master mason.[38] By the mid-1730s the missions were well-established and producing an income; the Franciscans decided they were ready to accept the burden of paying for full-sized, elaborate, permanent churches. They began searching for a master mason who would be willing to do the job.[39] The projects were to be the permanent churches for all the Querétaran missions of San Antonio.

Antonio Tello

The first of these master masons was Antonio de Tello. Little is known of Tello other than the testimony in the records of the Bexar Archives.[40] Much of the following

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Expedition, p. 86; Olivares, *"Oposición,"* in Leutenegger pp.19–26; Fray Benito Fernandez de Santa Ana and the Cabildo of the Villa de San Fernando, *"Escritura de Combenio de los Ysleños y Miss[ion]es, 1745,"* August 14, 1745, Texas General Land Office, Spanish Archives, box 122, folder , pp. 48–49v; also a slightly different copy in Celaya microfilms, roll 4, frames 5214–5217.

[37] Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar*, pp. 36, 39; Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519–1936, vol. 5, The Mission Era: The End of the Spanish Regime, 1780–1810* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1942), p. 38.

[38] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 6.

[39] Mardith Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions, 1718–1821," Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin (1980), p. 297; Mardith Schuetz, "Professional Artisans in the Hispanic Southwest," *The Americas,* 40(July 1983)1:19.

[40] Don Alberto López Aguado y Villafuerte, *"Causa Criminal contra Ant[oni]o Tello,"* August 21–September 2, 1744, Bexar Archives microfilm, roll 8, frames 800–810. We know that Tello was from Zacatecas because he says so in his testimony in this interrogation; he was in San Antonio by September 1741, because he is named as a *padrino* (godfather) in that month in the baptismal records of Valero. Tello appeared frequently in the baptismal records in 1741 and 1742; see for example Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 20 n. 5.

discussion of what Tello did over the few years from 1740 to 1744 is derived from the description of the churches written in October 1745, by Fray Francisco Xavier Ortíz,[41] and close examination of the structures themselves. Because the descriptions, documents, and structural evidence indicate that no mason-directed construction occurred at any mission from 1744 to 1745, the state of construction in October 1745 is generally as it was left by Tello when he fled town in August 1744.

Before Tello arrived at San Antonio de Valero, the missionaries and their Indian workmen began the construction of second-story rooms on the convento of Valero in the 1730s. Three rooms had been built above the rooms at the south end of the building by 1745.[42] When Tello planned his new version of the mission of Valero about 1741, he decided to put the primary church back from the mission plaza, east of the row of convento rooms. Tello planned to connect his new church and sacristy to the already standing convento rooms by a section of new, arched and vaulted convento, much like the convento he was building at Concepción.

Tello designed the sacristy to fit in the angle between the north wall of the nave and the west side of the north transept of his new church, rather than on the end of the transept as at Concepción. The door from the sacristy to the church opened through the side wall of the transept. For the connecting space and doors between the sacristy and convento, it appears that Tello followed the same general layout at Valero that he did at Concepción, and somewhat like the plan at Espada: the sacristy door to the convento opened into a small patio behind the bell tower of the church, with a staircase to the choir loft planned to be against the bell tower base in this patio, and the convento corridor extending across the north side of the small patio to the west side of the sacristy.

In 1743 and early 1744, Tello apparently began the walls for the sacristy and the east half of the convento corridor across the north side of the little open-air sacristy patio, presently the room called the "Monk's Burial Chamber," and built the main central wall of the row of rooms, the wall that formed the south side of the vaulted corridor. Tello intended the vaulted convento corridor to have a row of arches opening north into his convento patio, and a single arch opening south into the small patio next to the sacristy. He probably began the foundations of the south row of rooms itself, and was able to complete the easternmost vaulted bay of the corridor. The U.S. Army plans of 1846–50 all show that this bay next to the north end of the sacristy still retained its

[41] Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1266-1272.

[42] Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1268.

vault like the other three rooms in the late 1840s.[43] The choir stairs, to be built against the north wall of the nave and the east wall of the bell tower, were not begun.

Tello laid out the foundation trenches for the church about the same time in 1743, and built the foundations of the new church through early 1744. The church Tello designed for Valero was 98.1 feet (thirty-five and three-quarter varas) long and 25.25 feet (nine and one-quarter varas) wide, with transepts and two bell towers.[44] On May 8, 1744, the missionaries participated in the ceremonies associated with the laying of the cornerstone for the new church of Valero, marking the date when Tello completed the foundation and began construction on the above-grade walls.[45] By the time of Tello's departure three months later in August, the above-grade walls had reached a height of four feet, and probably some carved stones of the facade had been set in place. Other finished carvings were probably stored in Tello's workshop, but very likely these included not much more than the major parts of the doorway and first level of the facade, as it was planned by Tello. Tello apparently did no other construction at Valero.

It appears that the foundations and thicker, lower portions of the walls of the present church, the top of which is marked by a molding set into the face of the church 4.26 feet above the top of the footing, is the surviving, leveled-off portion of Tello's work.[46] Inside the church, the ledges on the north and south end walls of the transepts are the same height, and also probably mark the point where Tello's work came to an end, and Gerónimo de Ibarra's work began. At the time the construction reached this height, more than three months after the cornerstone of Valero was laid, Maestro Antonio

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[43] Nelson, *Illustrated History,* pp. 61, 62, 68.

[44] W. Eugene George, "Mission San Antonio de Valero (The Alamo)," 1961, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas: Historic American Buildings Survey, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, sheet 2; Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, March 6, 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 Ortíz,"* in *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas O Nueva Philipinas, 1720–1779, vol. 12,* edited by José Porrua Turanzas, (*Madrid: Coleccion Chimalistic de Libros y Documentos Acerca de la Nueva Espana, 1961*), p. 249; a manuscript copy made in 1792 from the original is in *Archivo General de la Nación, Historia, Vol. 28*, exp. 7, folios 164–180, with the title *"Informe de los misioneros de Texas, acerca del estado de sus misiones, su decadencia, etc."*

[45] Note in baptismal records in *"Libros de Bautismos, Casamientos y Entierros,"* as cited in Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 20, and Habig, *Alamo Chain*, p. 49.

[46] Valero in 1745 Jack D. Eaton, Excavations at the Alamo Shrine (Mission San Antonio de Valero), Center for Archaeological Research, Special Report No. 10 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1980), pp 25–26, 56 fig. 8.

Tello was accused of murdering his lover's husband, Matias Treviño, and fled town after taking sanctuary for a few days in the temporary church in the granary of Valero.[47]

In 1745, twenty-one years after the establishment of Valero on its present site, and a year after the abrupt departure of the Maestro Antonio Tello, Fray Francisco Ortíz prepared the next available report on the structures of the mission. He described the pueblo for the Indians as formed by two streets, and divided by an acequia. At this point the pueblo extended perhaps 800 feet from north to south, from present Houston Street to about present Blum Street. One row of Indian houses formed the west side of the plaza, on roughly the same line it has today, and the other formed the east side of the plaza in line with the west row of convento rooms. The plaza was not very well laid out, and tapered somewhat toward the south. The acequia ran along the fronts of the west row of houses, and the two streets each ran along the sides of the plaza, just inside the fronts of the houses.

In the 1730s, the missionaries had begun to improve the jacal Indian quarters by rebuilding them in adobe. By 1745, some were still of jacal with thatched roofs, mostly those at the south end of the plaza, while many along the north part of the plaza were of adobe.[48] This pattern of reconstruction suggests that the missionaries were replacing individual houses one at a time as they had been doing at San Juan Bautista in 1727.[49]

Archaeology has found one of these adobe buildings. In 1979 and 1980, the CAR excavated within what was then the Radio Shack and the Alamo Theater, two adjacent businesses in the same building on the west side of Alamo Plaza, and found the foundations of the northern half of the southwestern corner building of the mission enclosure of Valero, and a few feet of the west wall north of it. The surviving portion of the foundation of the original mission structure was made of adobe bricks, and was 37.3 feet long, north to south, and averaged seventeen feet wide. The walls averaged 2.6 feet thick. The building had one partition wall at 23.6 feet south of the interior face of the north wall. East of the building was a limestone foundation for the arcade wall of the front porch. This foundation was 2.8 feet thick, and the space between the building and the arcade was eight and one-half feet. North to south, the building was 77.8 feet long, based on the location of the south wall of Alamo Plaza as surveyed by the surveyor François Giraud in 1849.[50] From the evidence of the excavations, we can conclude that

[47] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," pp. 17–71.

[48] Ortíz 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1266–1268

[49] Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, *"Visita,"* BTHC, f. 10.

[50] François Giraud, City Record Book, pp. 117–18, November 1849; James Ivey, "Combined Plans of Radio Shack and Alamo Theater Excavations," September 15, 1981, in the files of the CAR, UTSA.

the southwestern corner building probably began as a standard size and plan three-room adobe Indian quarters building around 1740, rebuilt from an earlier jacal structure somewhere in the area or on the same site.[51]

In the convento, Ortíz described the three rooms the Franciscans had built to form the second floor. These had become the residential rooms of the friars, as usual—Franciscan residential rooms were almost always on the second floor if one had been built. The rooms of the ground floor were described simply as *"varias piezas, que sirven de oficinas,"* various rooms that served as storerooms.[52] A beam-supported porch along the east side of the building, reached by the choir loft stairs had to have been added at the same time to provide access to the second-floor rooms. Adjoining the convento building was the weaving workshop and *"una troje para maiz,"* a granary for corn, and several other rooms used for storage.[53] The granary was probably a jacal structure, a temporary building to serve until the stone granary being used as the church was allowed to go back to that use. A blacksmith shop had been built, but the tools for the carpenter's shop and stonemason's shop were still in storage.[54]

Ortíz's description of the permanent Valero church on June 5, 1745, almost a year after Tello's departure, referred to it only as *"la iglesia empezada,"* the church that is begun.[55] Tello's foundations of the permanent church were of stone and lime mortar, Ortíz stated. In the meantime the building that had been constructed to be the permanent granary, at the north end of the convento, continued in use as the temporary church. This church had a choir loft and a sacristy. Inside the church, the main altar was a wooden table, and *"sobre cuya mesa ay unas gradas de madera pintadas, que forman un retablo,"* over that table were some painted *gradas* that formed a retablo.[56] Gradas were step-like wooden structures forming raised platforms on which the carved wooden sculptures of the saints of the altar were placed. For Valero's altar, two sets of gradas were set up with a space between them for a statue in the round of San Antonio, one vara (2.7 feet) tall, on a gilded pedestal. Above this was a carved crucifix two varas

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[51] James E. Ivey, "Radio Shack Excavations," in the files of the Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Texas at San Antonio.

[52] Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1268.

[53] In 1745, Ortíz called the weaving workshop the galera, and called the granary the *"troje,"* the standard Spanish word for granary; Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1268. In 1727 Sevillano de Paredes had used *"galera"* specifically to mean the granary. The word is translated as a "large room" in standard dictionaries, and a covered porch or walkway in architectural dictionaries (Voc Archit Ill, p. 238, for example).

[54] Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1268.

[55] Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1267.

[56] Ortiz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1267.

(five and one-half feet) tall, apparently attached to the apse wall. At the sides of the crucifix and the statue of San Antonio and resting on the tiered platforms of the gradas were two other statues, one of Santa Maria de los Dolores and the other of San Juan Evangelista, both with hinged arms and legs.[57] In the nave of the church were two benches and two confessionals.[58] The church had four middle-sized bells, and three small bells for Mass.[59]

In the sacristy was another altar with an "arrangement" altar decoration; that is, formed by arranging decorative elements on the altar table. At the center of the altar, resting on the table, was a niche of painted wood, where a statue of carved wood was placed, one vara (2.7 feet) tall, of the Purísima Concepción. Above this, hanging on the wall, was a painting of San Francisco Javier, two varas (five and one-half feet) square with a gilded frame. On one side of the statue of the Purísima Concepción was a statue of Jesus Nazareno, and on the other was a crucifix one vara (2.7 feet) tall. Both apparently rested on the altar table.[60]

After Tello's departure in 1744, the missionaries at Valero apparently attempted to continue the work of construction on the new church at Valero, probably on their own, in the same way they did granaries at several of the missions, and the sacristy at Espada. The missionaries, over the next six years, built up the walls to perhaps twenty-five feet and began covering the church with a flat, beam-supported roof. They continued construction on one of the bell towers. This work must have been started by the time the 1745 report was written.

San Antonio de Valero's principal church was blessed as a cemetery in 1749. Fray 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," November 16, 1749.[61] The Franciscans carried out such a blessing in order to allow sanctified burials in the unfinished church according to the regulations of the Church. Fray Garcia went on to state that the first person to be buried in the church was a Yerbipiam Indian, buried in

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[57] Ortiz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, fr. 1267.

[58] Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1267.

[59] Ortíz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, f. 1267-68.

[60] Ortiz, 1745, *"Visita,"* OSMHRL, fr. 1267-68.

[61] Fray Juan Joseph Saenz de Gumiel, Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero: 1772, Fray Benedict Leutenegger, trans., Special Report 23 (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1977) p. 23; Mardith Schuetz, "History and Archeology of Mission San Juan de Capistrano," manuscript in the files of the Texas Historical Commission, Austin, Texas, vol. 4, p. 139; John O. Leal, "Burials of Mission San Francisco de Solano (San Antonio de Valero—the Alamo, 1703–1782)," p. 37, entries 737–39, November 17, 1749, ms. in the library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas.

the center of the transepts. The second was a Spaniard, buried in the south transept. The statement that the church was not finished indicates that Franciscan construction continued on the building, perhaps on the bell tower.

The Chapel of Santa Cruz on the Second Site

Meanwhile, the Franciscans cleaned up the ruins at the old second site of Valero left by the tornado of 1724. Although it was on the east side of the river, the area had been included in the nondevelopment zone between the mission and San Fernando, but even when the villa and mission reached this agreement in 1745, the missionaries had the intention to build a chapel at or near this site. The agreement specified that the land would not be sold, nor would it be built on by any private person, "except only some sanctuary or other such house that may not be prejudicial to the said mission of San Antonio."[62]

This potential chapel did not become a reality until seven years later. In mid-1752, Fray Juan de los Angeles of Valero began the construction of a new church building at the second site of the mission, hiring Martin Flores as his supervisor of the work.[63] Fray Juan and Martin Flores finished the construction of the new Capilla de Santa Cruz in early 1754, and Fray Juan applied to Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura, the Bishop of Guadalajara, for a license to celebrate Mass at the new chapel. The bishop issued the license on May 13, 1754.[64]

In July 1754, Father Ignacio Martinez, curate of the parish church of San Fernando, inspected the chapel as part of the process of final approval of the license for Mass. In his certification, Father Martinez mentioned specifically that the chapel was located where it was as a result of "the agreement that exists between the said Mission and the said Presidio" and Villa de San Fernando. Father Martinez added that "from its beginning" the church here was for the use of both the mission and the presidiales. The bishop's license, too, stated that the chapel was for the celebration of Mass "to the spiritual benefit of the faithful of the citizens of the Villa …" The license specified that Mass was to be celebrated by a secular priest, not a Franciscan.[65] The end result of the original 1745 agreement and the subsequent construction of a joint mission/secular

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[62] Fernandez de Santa Anna and the Cabildo, *"Escritura,"* pp. 48–49v.

[63] Fray Juan de los Angeles v. Martin Flores, May 20, 1754, Bexar Archives microfilms, roll 9, frames 499–507.

[64] Don Fr[ay] Francisco de San Buenaventura Martinez de Texada Dies de Velasco, Obispo de Guadalajara, *"Licencia de decir missa en la Capilla dedicada a la Santissima Crus,"* May 13, 1754, in Fr[ay] Juan de los Angeles, *"Imbentario de la Capilla de la S[an]ta Cruz echa por el P[adre] Visitador Ortíz el ano de 1756,"* July 1, 1756, OSMHRL Celaya microfilms, 10:5095–96.

[65] Francisco de San Buenaventura Martinez, *"Licencia,"* 10:5095.

chapel on the site was to make the second location of Valero an area of secular land on the east side of the river, in what would have seemed to be entirely mission land. This decision undoubtedly had some influence on the later creation of the settlement of La Villita.

Fray Juan de los Angeles prepared an inventory and description of the Capilla de Santa Cruz two years later, on July 1, 1756, as part of the final approval of the place as a chapel by the visitador Fray Francisco Ortíz, and the building was described three other times, in the 1756 *visita* report, the 1759 report, and the 1762 report.[66] Putting these descriptions together gives us a fairly complete picture of the place. The building was eleven varas (30.1 feet) long, four varas (eleven feet) wide, and made of stone with adobe mortar.[67] Because none of the descriptions of the building mention vaults, and because it was built in only a year and a half, without the services of a master mason, we may assume that it had a *terrado* roof, a flat earthen roof, supported by vigas. The chapel had a small choir loft, with a railing of lathe-turned wood. The building faced west, and had a large entrance door with bronze nails, and a statue of San Francisco carved of stone above the doorway, probably set into a niche in the front wall. Next to the church was a well two varas (five and one-half feet) square, with an arch of stone and a pulley to raise water. Fray Juan and Martin Flores had built a pond or tank of stone three varas (8.2 feet) long next to the well. A statue of San Antonio one and one-half varas (four feet) tall, carved of stone, stood in a niche beside the well and tank. There was a garden beside the chapel, probably watered from a branch of the Valero acequia that passed nearby, although the inventory does not say so. Near the church, and perhaps attached to it, were several rooms with equipment for a carpentry and stonemason's shop.

In 1762 Fray Dolores y Viana described the chapel for the last time.[68] In the same year, the Villa de San Fernando began allowing settlement to begin again in the potrero.[69] The Chapel was not mentioned in the 1772 inventory, or in any later reports. It may be that the Capilla de Santa Cruz was closed in the 1760s—but more likely, because it was operated by the secular priest of San Fernando, the site may have been transferred to the secular church from the Franciscans about 1770 or 1771, as part of the departure

[66] Juan de los Angeles, 1756, *"Imbentario,"* f. 5091–5098; Ortíz 1756, *"Vissita,"* OSMHRL, p. 13; Dolores y Viana, 1759, *"Testimonio,"* f. 1499–1500; Dolores y Viana, 1762, *"Relacion,"* p. 252.

[67] This tells us that it was not the church of the second site, repaired to be the chapel, because that church was apparently built of jacal with an adobe tower.

[68] Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," p. 252.

[69] Teja, San Antonio de Bejar, p. 39.

of the Querétarans from San Antonio. It may have been this ownership that later led to the civil settlement of La Villita being developed in the area.

The Master Mason Gerónimo de Ibarra

Soon after the November 17, 1749, ceremony during which the church was blessed as a cemetery, the nearly-completed amateur version of Tello's church collapsed. The disaster occurred sometime between mid-November of 1749 and early 1750. The 1756 description says that while construction on the new church was still in progress, "*se derribó toda su fabrica por haver salido poco segura,*" all of the structure collapsed because of being built with insufficient stability.[70] Oddly, the 1759 report made no mention of a fallen church. The 1762 description told the story a little differently: the church, *"aunque se acabó perfectamente con su torre, y sacristia, vino á tierra, por la mala inteligencia del artifice,"* even though it had been completely finished with its tower and sacristy, fell to the ground because of the poor skill of its construction.[71] Perhaps the tower was being completed and collapsed onto the church, bringing down the roof and much of the walls of the nave.

Undaunted, the Franciscans began again, hiring a new master mason, Gerónimo de Ibarra. In 1748, the Villa de San Fernando de Béjar had hired Ibarra and the master sculptor Felipe Santiago in San Luis Potosí to come to San Antonio to take over the project of constructing the parish church, a project that had been under way since 1738 and in which Tello had probably been involved in the early 1740s. Although working on the parish church, Ibarra lived at Valero, and in 1750 the Franciscans paid for his wife's travel to San Fernando, as well. This makes it likely that Ibarra began working in his spare time on Valero in 1750.

Valero in 1756

Fray Ortíz's second report, made in 1756, tells us that the Franciscans had built a fourth cell on the second floor of the convento, and the first floor rooms were various storerooms and a guest room. Ortíz said that the door to the choir loft of the temporary church opened onto a landing on the stairs that went to the second floor of the convento. These were actually stairs built about 1740 against the east wall of the convento to reach the choir loft; they had been converted so that they would also serve as the stairs to the second story of the convento as well, once this was built. The weaving workshop and the blacksmith shop were mentioned in passing. The picture presented by this description is still of a convento with essentially only one side—there is no suggestion of the courtyard plan that came to dominate the building over the next few years, although at the time this report was prepared in 1756, Gerónimo de Ibarra had

[70] Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," p. 11.

[71] Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," p. 249

already begun work on developing this convento courtyard from Antonio Tello's plans and his original construction.

By 1756 the rebuilding of the Indian pueblo in adobe had progressed. Of the houses of the pueblo, thirty were of adobe and the rest were of jacal. Later information tells us that most of these adobe houses were grouped in sets of three, each set called a *sera*, or row, each about seventeen feet wide and seventy-four to seventy-eight feet long. This would indicate that in 1756 there were ten seras of three houses each. Ibarra's influence can be seen on the Indian houses, as well: twenty of the adobe houses had porches with stone arches.[72] The adobe building excavated in 1979–1980 by the CAR was one of those that had received such a stone-arcaded porch.

The old church in the granary continued in use, but there had been several changes. Ortíz made it clear that this was the same building that he had described in 1745; "*la antigua,*" the old one, he called it. The old church was a room of "sufficient capacity," said Ortíz, with a little choir loft and a sacristy.[73] Although the main altar was still arranged in the same way that it had been in 1745, a second altar had been placed in the choir loft, and some statues described in 1745 had been replaced by different ones. The main altar was "*un Altar, que consta de una Mesa de unas buenas Tablas, y sobre ella estan unas gradas de madera,*" an altar that consisted of a table of fine boards, on top of which were the gradas of several levels that had been on the main altar in 1745. In the center of this was a niche in which was the statue of San Antonio, about one vara (2.7 feet) tall. Above it was the large crucifix, *"para el descentim[ien]to,"* for portraying the descent from the cross, and to either side were the statues of Maria Regina Santissima de los Dolores and San Juan Evangelista.[74]

The new altar the Franciscans had built in the choir loft had a statue of Jesus Nazareno on its pedestal, one vara high, that had been on the sacristy altar in 1745, and above that a new painting of Nuestra Señora with its *bastidor*, or easel, and frame. This painting had just been purchased in 1756, and had cost twenty pesos.[75] In the sacristy was the altar table described in 1745, with the painting of San Francisco Xavier, two varas (5.5 feet) square, with a gilded frame; on the altar was a new statue of Señor San

[72] Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," pp. 7-21.

[73] Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," pp. 11-12.

[74] Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," 3:11-12.

[75] San Antonio de Valero, "Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la ymportancia de los avios, que a la Mission de San Antonio Valero, remiten los RR [everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . ." 1761, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilms, roll 15, f. 4911. Hereafter the account book will be cited in the form "Cuentas, Valero," the year, and the frame number for the citation.

José, 1/2 vara (1.4 feet) tall.[76] Missing from these descriptions were the statue of Concepción with its niche, and a 1-vara crucifix, both of which had been mentioned in 1745.

About the same time that Ortíz was preparing his report on the condition of Valero in 1756, the master mason Gerónimo de Ibarra was probably working out the new design for the convento around two patios that he would build over the next few years. Through 1756 the convento had remained a single row of structures along the west side of the plaza, but between 1756 and 1759 Ibarra built virtually an entire new enclosure.

Tello had begun the construction of the church and part of the convento during his work at Valero, but on the convento he did little more than build the eastern end of the south wall and the vaulting of one room next to the sacristy of the unfinished church. This was enough, however, to make it clear that he had prepared some design for a full convento at the site, making use of the already-standing portions of the convento on the west side of the compound. Tello probably followed the thirty-vara patio plan he seems to have applied at Concepción, Espada, and San Juan. After Tello's departure, however, work on his convento plan stopped. Although by 1745 the Franciscans had built three rooms on the second floor of the original west row, and by 1756 had added a fourth room to the second floor, when Ortíz described a stairway to the choir loft and the second floor of the convento, there is no mention of an arcaded porch along the side of the convento building during these years. Since the second floor rooms had to have access, it is certain that a porch existed, so it is likely that the structure was a simple flat, viga-supported second floor porch along the east side of the north-south row of convento rooms, resting on wooden posts or stone pillars with no arches at ground level, built by the Franciscans. In the period from 1756 to 1759, under Ibarra's supervision, this all changed.

With Ibarra directing, the convento underwent its greatest period of growth. After 1759 and Ibarra's departure, no further work of any significance was carried out on the convento. Ibarra's new convento was planned along traditional lines, following the same general layout as those established all across the Spanish New World since the middle of the sixteenth century, and across Europe before that, with the friary, or enclosed portion of the convento where the missionaries lived, built around a central courtyard called a patio on the northern frontier.[77] By the eighteenth century these convento patios had grown considerably larger than their earlier counterparts on the northern frontier. Ibarra redesigned the plan of the convento to fit his preferred twenty-three vara (sixty-two foot) patio, rather than Tello's even larger thirty vara

[76] Ortiz, 1756, "Vissita," 3:12.

[77] In Mexico in the sixteenth century, this space was called the plaza; see Samuel Y. Edgerton, Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), pp. 276-77.

(eighty-two foot) version, while the convento patios built the previous century in New Mexico averaged about forty-five feet square. Adjoining this was a second patio around which were built the workshops and stables; at Valero this second courtyard was on the north side of the residential patio.

Ibarra built a large portion of the new additions over the next four years. He directed the construction of the upper and lower arcaded corridors of the western row of convento rooms between 1756 and 1759, replacing the older beam-supported porch on this side. He started the construction of the arcades and rows of rooms on the other three sides of the convento patio. He began a redesigned version of the south row of convento rooms and its corridor, connecting the west row to the new church.[78] Ibarra's western half of the south wall of the convento enclosure is at a slight angle from the earlier eastern section of wall, built by Tello, and is several inches thinner. Ibarra added the west half to make a complete south row from the west row of the convento to the north side of the new church.[79] He changed the design so that the area Tello began as a vaulted corridor was instead at the end of a row of rooms.

Ibarra turned his attention to the ruined church of Valero about this time, and began to salvage what he could from the rubble of the collapsed building. The 1756 report said that the church *"se estan dando las providencias para su restablecim[ie]nto con toda brevedad,"* the provisions for its reconstruction were being made as quickly as possible.[80] This indicates that work had only just begun on the rebuilding, and Fray Ortíz, who prepared the report, didn't know what design Ibarra had settled on yet. It appears that Ibarra accepted Tello's old design for the building, and modernized the plan for the facade somewhat, bringing it up to a style popular in the seventeenth century, rather than keeping the sixteenth-century style designed by Tello. This was probably on the request of the Father President of the Querétaran missions in Texas, Fray Mariano Dolores y Viana, or Fray Joseph López, who was the guardian of the mission at the time.

Ibarra cleared away the rubble from the broken walls and determined that the foundations and lower walls originally built by Tello were in good condition. He removed the poorer construction from above Tello's original masonry, leveled the wall tops, and began raising the walls again, building on Tello's surviving lower wall

[78] In 1756 the report appears to describe only the west row of rooms of the convento (Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," pp. 17-18); in 1759, the report indicated that the principal patio was completely enclosed (Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," 1498).

[79] Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," p. 17; Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," 9:1498.

[80] Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," p. 11.

sections, about four and one-quarter feet high, and keeping the original plan of the building.

On the facade, most of the lower stones of the doorway were probably put in place by Tello and left in place by Ibarra. Because of the similarities with the other missions, it is likely that the stones of the central area of this doorway had been carved by Tello, although Ibarra would have assembled most of the pieces and Felipe Santiago would have added the year of the completion of the door arch to the keystone, 1758.[81] However, Ibarra instituted his own revised version of the decorative scheme of the building. Felipe Santiago carved more modern baroque columns and niches, and Ibarra added them to Tello's flat, archaic *plateresco* style,[82] producing the familiar fully round *salomónico* columns standing out from the facade and the elaborate carving of the multiple cornices and niches on the facade today.

The placement of the keystone over the doorway in 1758 tells us that Ibarra had assembled only the lowest level of the facade at that date. In fact, he may not yet have put Felipe Santiago's new salomonic columns in place on their pedestals, or placed the cornices above the doorway and first level niches. Santiago had undoubtedly completed the carving of the statues of San Francisco and Santo Domingo that were to go into the first-level niches, but Ibarra may not have yet put them in place. During this construction, perhaps as each level of the facade was completed, the stonework was plastered and painted, apparently to protect it against the weather. Traces of this plaster and paint can still be found on protected areas of the carvings of the facade.

The pattern of holes in the incomplete church of Valero, seen in several paintings and drawings of the mid-nineteenth century by Theodore Gentilz and Seth Eastman, were putlog holes, the points where the construction scaffolding was attached to the church.[83] Each hole is the socket where a horizontal log was set into the fabric of the wall as it was built. The vertical poles and horizontal planks or flattened logs parallel to the face of the wall were attached to these logs, which gave them support and kept the

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[81] Schuetz-Miller, "Professional Artisans," pp. 20, 26, indicates that the similarities between the Valero and Concepción facades are strong enough to make her believe both were done by the same artisan. I show here that this is true, although more complicated than Schuetz-Miller suggested: both were designed by the same two artisans, Tello and Ibarra. Tello designed the plans and facades of both churches, while Ibarra completed Concepción and redesigned Valero's facade around Tello's main doorway. This redesigned facade at Valero was mostly finished.

[82] Plateresco was a shallow style of ornamentation resembling that of the silver-workers of Spain, typical of Renaissance Spanish architecture, especially that of the sixteenth century.

[83] George Nelson, The Alamo: An Illustrated History (Dry Frio Canyon, Texas: Aldine Press, 1998), pp. 63-65. All agree on the locations of most of the holes, and some can be seen in the same locations in the 1849 photograph as well.

scaffolding from toppling away from the walls. Such holes are usually filled as the scaffolding is taken down upon completion of the building, and therefore are rarely available for examination. However, such putlog holes, with the beams still in them, survived on the exterior of San José de Tumacácori into the nineteenth century, and were recorded on several drawings and photographs. At Valero, the building was never finished, the scaffolding was scavenged, and the holes were left open until the rebuilding of the church by the U. S. Army in 1851, when they were filled.[84]

The Report of 1759

The 1759 report, by Fray Dolores y Viana, supplies the next look at Valero. The Indian pueblo formed a large plaza, and on *"varios lienzos,"* several sides of it were stone houses with porches, the arcaded stone portals built by Ibarra.[85] The permanent church, said Dolores y Viana, was being built of cut stone with lime mortar. Its design called for spacious vaults, and it was being built *"con no poco primor de el arte,"* with no little skill in the art of architecture. It had reached about half its planned final height.[86] By 1759 the master sculptor Felipe Santiago had carved the complex, finely finished stonework for the lower portion of the facade of the church, and Ibarra had assembled this stonework to make most of the facade still standing today. Santiago probably carved the two statues for the two new lower niches as well, and installed them in their niches. These were San Francisco and Santo Domingo. They were to survive in place until about 1840. Ibarra had carried the construction of the new church high enough that he was preparing the spring points at the tops of the pilasters for the ribs that would support the roof vaults, preparing the structure to receive the vaulting intended to cover the nave, sanctuary, and transepts. He was probably getting ready to start construction on the vaulted ceilings of the ground-level bell tower rooms, and the vault over the sacristy. Thereafter, work went slower, because vaulting was difficult and time-consuming. On the facade, he had probably placed the cornice of the first level and was beginning the carving and placing of the elements of the second level.

Serving as the church, said Fray Dolores y Viana, was *"la misma pieza . . . en las antecedentes Visitas,"* the same room, the granary, as in the previous visits.[87] In the church was a baptismal font with its lid, all of copper, a holy water font carved from stone, and the confessional and two benches mentioned in earlier reports. The main

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[84] See, for example, the reproduction of a Gentilz painting in Nelson, Illustrated History, p. 63; John L. Kessell, Friars, Soldiers and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier, 1767-1856 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), pp. 310, 322.

[85] Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," f. 1494-1501.

[86] Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," f. 1495.

[87] Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," f. 1495.

altar was the same wooden table, on which were *"unas gradas de lo mismo,"*[88] some tiers of the same material, the same stepped platforms as described in the earlier reports. As before, on it in the center was a niche in which was the statue of San Antonio about one vara (2.7 feet) tall. Above it was a canopy of Turkish cloth, mentioned for the first time. It was five varas (13.7 feet) wide, and below this canopy was a statue of Christ crucified one and three-quarter varas (4.8 feet) tall, probably the same as the crucifix mentioned in earlier reports, although then it was said to be two varas (5.5 feet) high. On either side of the San Antonio the statues of Maria Santissima de los Dolores and San Juan were still in place. A new addition to the altar was a second niche in which was a niño Jesús (a baby Jesus) carved of *marfil*, ivory.[89]

On another altar in the church, probably the one in the choir loft, was the statue of Jesus Nazareno one vara (2.7 feet) tall, a Santo Christo three-quarter vara (2.1 feet) tall—possibly the same as the one-vara crucifix of—and various paintings of different scenes.

In the sacristy was the second altar table. Above the altar table was a new canopy of painted canvas, and below this was a painting of San Francisco Javier three varas (8.2 feet) square with a gilded frame—this was probably an erroneous estimate, and the painting being described was the same Xavier two varas (five and one-half feet) square that had been described here for many years. This altar was missing the statue of San José that had been on it since 1756. In the sacristy was a new chest of drawers with three drawers with keys for silver items. This had probably been built by Felipe Santiago, who was a master carpenter as well as a master sculptor.[90]

The convento had neither been added to nor reduced, Fray Dolores y Viana stated, which of course was incorrect, since it had been tripled in size since 1756. Dolores y Viana could have been referring to another report prepared in 1757 or 1758, but if so, we do not yet know about it. The convento consisted of sixteen rooms which served as cells and storerooms. They formed two patios. The principal patio had *corredores* on the first and second floors. Although Dolores y Viana doesn't mention it, Ibarra was still at work on the convento, and one change he was in the process of making is mentioned in the next report in 1762. This was the conversion of two of the ground-floor rooms to a *portería*, a formal entranceway into a properly-enclosed mission. The walls of the second room to the north were cut through, and a large, arched gateway built through the west wall; two arch-topped windows were added, one symmetrically on each side of the main gateway on the west wall. The room on the north side of this new entranceway was converted into the porter's lodge, an office for the person who

[88] Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," f. 1495.

[89] Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," f. 1494.

[90] Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," f. 1494-96.

would control entry into the convento. This was a signature detail of Ibarra's retro planning style; he was building similar structures at Espada, San Juan and Concepcion during this same period, implementing what had been a typical design element of mission plans in the previous two centuries. At all three missions, the fad was short-lived; within ten years the formal entranceway at San Juan would be walled up; Valero's porter's office would revert to a storeroom or workshop; and the portería at Espada was built and then remodeled into a room associated with the kitchen all in a period of one year, 1755 to 1756.

The second patio was formed by the weaving workshop, the stables, and other storerooms of lesser importance. Dolores y Viana briefly described the workshops. The blacksmith shop was of adobe, and the weaving workshop had four looms. In addition to these shops "*se halla un Molino, para moler Caña (que se siembre) en un Xacal, para lo que ay los Peroles,*"[91] there was a mill for sugar cane (which is grown here) in a jacal, for which there are the kettles and other equipment for boiling the juice and molding sugar cones.

The carpenter's shop was described as a jacal: *"se halla un xacal que sirve de Carpintería."*[92] This is probably one of those cases where the word "jacal" meant a building of lower quality, rather than one made of vertical posts set in the ground and plastered with adobe, because the carpenter's shop was very likely in the same room it was later, in the southernmost room of the fifth row house to the south on the west wall—excavation has shown that this was an adobe building.[93]

The description by Dolores y Viana, brief though it was, tells us that by 1759 Ibarra had enclosed the patios and had brought the convento to the highest level of development it would see. In 1759, Querétaro ordered that no further vaulting of the convento at Concepción would be constructed, and this was undoubtedly interpreted to mean that Ibarra should stop all construction that included vaulting. Ibarra himself left the employ of the missions soon afterward, apparently in the same year of 1759. Construction continued episodically on the church for the next ten or eleven years under other masons, and the convento received some attention in the form of doors added to rooms or roofing finished or repaired, but the period from 1759 to 1762 saw the mission at the peak of its development. After 1762, the convento would begin to deteriorate, rather than to show any further improvement.

Between 1759 and 1762 the Franciscans of San Antonio de Valero decided that the conflict with the Apache Indians had become too threatening. For the protection of the

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[91] Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," f. 1497.

[92] Dolores y Viana, 1759, "Testimonio," f. 1498.

[93] Fray Francisco López, grant of land and houses to Pedro de los Angeles Charlí, May 25, 1785, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. G1, p. 1.

mission and the Indians living in it, they built a defensive wall around the mission plaza. The method used to do this was very simple and like that apparently used at San José about the same time. At Valero, the missionaries built short sections of limestone wall between the buildings along the sides of the plaza, and longer sections across the north and south sides. They did not, however, build the south wall at the south end of the plaza, but across about the mid-point, from the carpenter's shop on the south end of the fifth building from the north along the west wall, leaving the other houses around the south half of the plaza outside the enclosure. The north wall was given an odd angle in order to extend from the north end of the northernmost building on the east to the north end of the buildings on the west.

The enclosing of only the northern half of the plaza indicates that the Franciscans considered the entire plaza far too large to defend and too costly to enclose. They wanted a safe area to which everyone could come in times of trouble, large enough to hold the population of the mission comfortably but small enough to be defended. So Valero was divided in half, with some people living outside the walls and some inside. As was discovered in 1836, the area they enclosed was still too large to be effectively defended by less than perhaps 500 men against a modern, well-armed adversary, but was probably quite effective against Apache raiders.[94]

The new walls were about three feet thick and stood to a height of about 8.2 feet, except along the south wall, which was about eleven feet high. A small section of the southern part of the west wall has been seen by archeologists; although the wall was about three feet thick above ground, its foundation was about four feet thick.[95]

Ibarra stopped work on the church at Valero probably in 1759, apparently as a result of the Franciscan's disillusionment with him resulting from the collapse of a vaulted room he had just built at Concepción. The absence of any mention of the construction of any ribs or vaulting at Valero in the reports, and the 1762 statement that the church was "no more than half done," indicates that none of these elements had been built in the nave of the church by the time of his departure around the end of 1759, although it is likely that Ibarra had at least begun the vaulting of the ground floor rooms of the bell

[94] D. H. Mahan, A Complete Treatise on Field Fortification (New York: Wiley and Long, 1836), p. 26; J. B. Wheeler, The Elements of Field Fortification for the Use of the Cadets of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1882), p. 64.

[95] Fray José Francisco López, "Ymbentario de las existencias q[u]e hay hoy dia 23 de Abril de 1793, en la Mis[ion] de San Antonio Valero," April 23, 1793, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilms, roll 4, frame 5814; Anne A. Fox, "Excavations Beneath the Alamo Theater," 1984, manuscript in the files of the Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

towers and the sacristy. The Franciscans decided to find another master mason to continue the work on the church.

The Mission in 1762

Fray Francisco Ortíz had moved up in the hierarchy of the church, and by 1762 was the Father Guardian of the College at Querétaro. He requested that, instead of his sending a visitador to Texas, the Franciscans in charge of each mission should send him the equivalent of a visitation report. Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana and Fray Joseph López returned Valero's description, and gave us our next look at the appearance of the mission.

This report was made as a new architect, Joseph Palafox, and a new master sculptor, "don Ángel," began work on the church, sacristy, and convento. As usual with visita reports, López did not mention the ongoing construction. He described the church as "*de armoniosa arquitectura con piedra de canteria*," of harmonious architectural design, built of cut stone. This, added Fray López, "was to ensure the solidity and perfection required for its beauty and to support the vaults."[96]

As of 1762, Palafox had not yet completed the sacristy vault (although it must have been in the last stages of construction), and the church was still in the old granary. López said that the temporary church was thirty-five varas (95.9 feet) long and described it as a room "*que se fabrico con el destino de troxe,*" that was built for the purpose of a granary. The altar and the arrangements of the santos on the retablo were identical to the arrangements described in the earlier reports, and in fact Dolores y Viana used the same phrasing to describe it as he had in 1756. The altar decoration was the same tiered structure with the niche and statue of San Antonio one vara (2.7 feet) tall. Above the niche was the statue of Christ crucified, and on either side were the two statues, one of Maria Santisima de los Dolores and the other the San Juan, all as it had been since 1745.

Another altar had been set up in the church near the main altar. This was probably the altar that had been in the sacristy since 1745. On it was a statue of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, one vara tall, with its carrying frame, so that it could be carried through the pueblo on the feast day of the Rosary. This had been purchased in 1758, but had not been in place at the time of the 1759 report. The statue cost 116 pesos 5½ reales, plus another twelve pesos paid to the "Escultor," the one who carved the statue. This division suggests that most of the cost of the statue was in its finishing, probably in *estofado* and *encarnado,*[97] and clothing for it—these two tasks were sometimes carried

[96] Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," p. 249.

[97] Estofado is the process of covering a carved santo with gold leaf and then painting over it – cloth patterns are then scratched through the paint, showing the gold leaf as though it was gold threads embroidered onto or woven into the apparent cloth. Encarnado is the art of

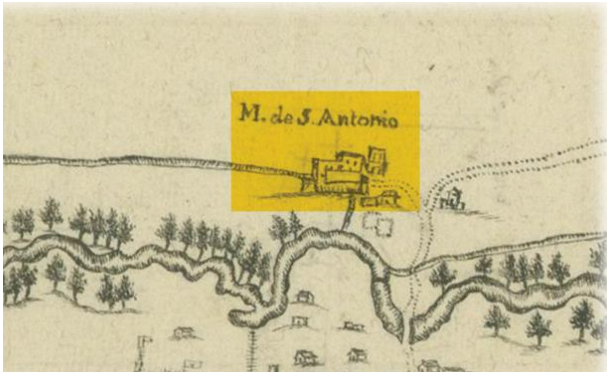


FIGURE 15: A portion of Captain don Luis Antonio Menchaca's 1764 map shows walls around Mission San Antonio de Valero. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

out by different artisans. The debit also included the necessary packing material to ensure that the *bulto* arrived in good condition. This was another four reales of raw wool padding, two reales of *petates*, or wraps of woven palm leaf matting, and four reales of *arpilleras*, or packing blankets, for a total cost of 129 pesos 7½ reales. The *andas*, or carrying frame for the statue, cost another 14 pesos.[98] The altar of Jesus Nazareno was still in the choir loft, with its canopy. In the sacristy was a chest of drawers, but the altar described here since 1745 had been removed, and was probably the altar in the nave of the church.[99] The church was supplied with two benches, two confessionals, a holy water font, a baptismal font of copper with a lid, and four large bells.[100]

López briefly described the convento. It was about fifty varas (137 feet) square, exterior measurement, and had an arcaded cloister on the first and second floors. In the convento were cells where the ministers lived, a refectory, or monastic dining hall, a kitchen, and storerooms. Ibarra's portería, or formal entranceway into the convento, was still in use and referred to by that name in the report. 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, materials, and location are not given. It was probably a jacal granary, still substituting for the building serving as the church.

The Indian pueblo consisted of seven seras, or rows, of stone houses, each with doors, windows, and an arcaded porch (built by Ibarra in the 1750s), although the Radio Shack excavations demonstrate that some of these houses were still adobe and only the porches were of stone. They formed a wide plaza enclosed with walls for the protection of the mission. This tells us that the enclosing of the plaza with walls had been

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producing a flesh-like color and texture on the areas of a carved santo that represent exposed skin, such as the face and hands.

[98] Cuentas, Valero, 1758, ff. 4922, 4923.

[99] Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," p. 249.

[100] Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," p. 249.

completed in the three years since 1759. 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 siege. The plaza was planted with trees, some of them fruit trees. "*Encima de la puerta un torreon con sus troneras, tres piezas de cañon,*" over an unidentified gateway was a *torreon*, a defensive position, with *embrasures*, or cannon ports, and three cannon.[101] This probably described a new defensive structure at the main south gate through the new wall around the mission plaza.

Work on the Church in the 1760s

Probably in Saltillo, the Franciscans hired the architect and master mason Joseph Palafox, and brought him to San Antonio in July 1761, principally to finish the church of Valero.[102] Palafox began the construction of the vaults of the bell tower rooms and the sacristy. Over the next three years, he built the ceilings of the ground floor rooms of the bell towers, and began the construction of the scaffolding for the high work on the four ribs over the crossing of the nave and transept of the church, and the two ribs in the nave itself.

To help Palafox with the construction, and to carry out more of the fine-carving of the church facade and to build retablos and furnishings for the church, the Franciscans hired a master sculptor whom they referred to only as "don Ángel." As discussed in Chapter 2, it is likely that "don Ángel"was don Mariano Ángel Galín y Anglino, who later worked as a master carpenter and sculptor on the parochial church and several other churches in and around Saltillo through the decade of the 1790s. He made large church doors, altar tables, wooden altar platforms, pulpits, cabinetry for the sacristies, and several major retablos during this period, as well as carving the decorative stonework of the facade of the Cathedral of Saltillo.[103] This suggests what he may have been doing in San Antonio during the early 1760s, when he was called both a maestro escultor and a maestro carpintero. These statements make it clear that Ángel was a sculptor in wood as well as in stone, and was probably making bultos, retablos, and fine-carved stonework for the missions of Valero, Espada, and San Juan, where he worked in 1762 and 1763.

In 1763, perhaps a year after the 1762 visita report was prepared in March, Palafox finished the vaulted sacristy in the final church, and the church was immediately moved to this room. As soon as the sacristy was completed, the Franciscans moved services from the old granary to this new space, and began the work of converting the temporary church back to a granary. As the sacristy was being finished to serve as as

[101] Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," pp. 250–251.

[102] Cuentas, Valero, 1756, f. 4942.

[103] Clara Bargellini, personal communication, April 2003. More on don Ángel's activities in Saltillo in her book, La Catedral de Saltillo y sus Imágenes.

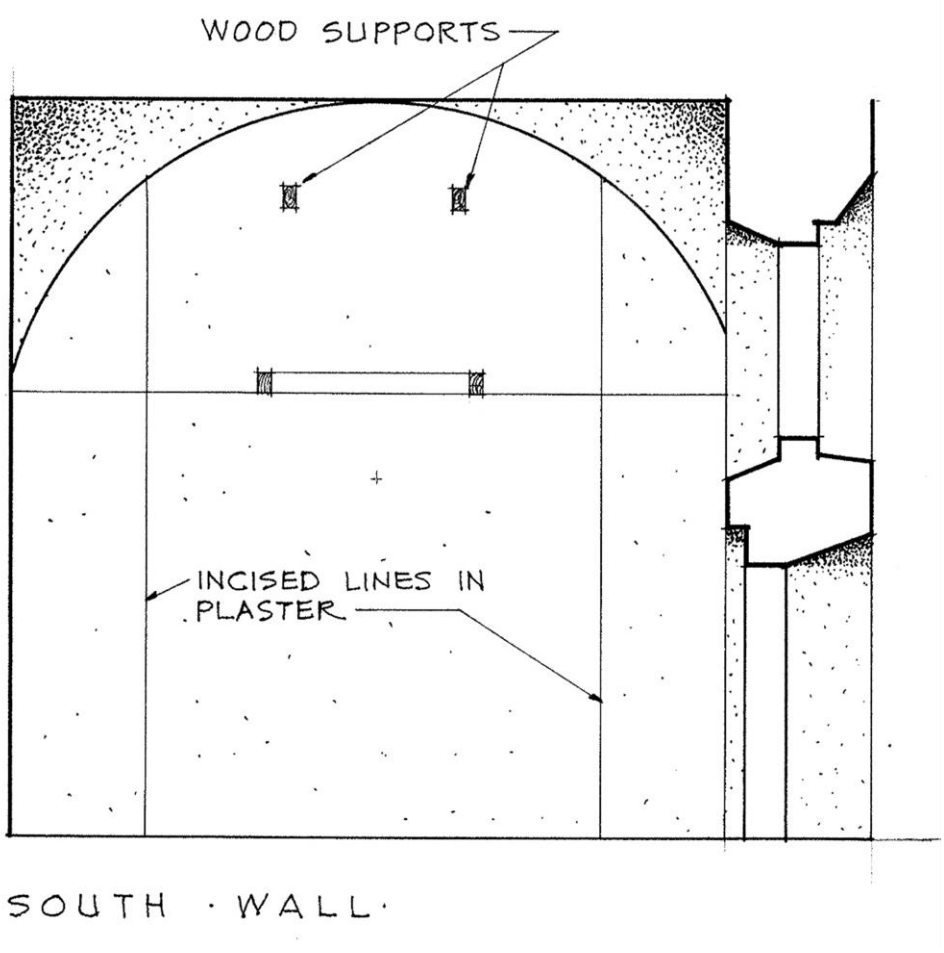


FIGURE 16: A Historic American Buildings Survey drawing of the Alamo sacristy. The series of scribed lines, one horizontal and two vertical, and four small wooden pegs set into the wall surface are evidence of the room's use as a temporary church around 1763.

the temporary church in 1762 and 1763, don Ángel built and installed a new platform and altar table, and carved, gilded and mounted a new retablo above the altar.

Entering the sacristy from the transept of the Alamo shrine today, on left can be seen a flat, plastered wall, where a close examination reveals a series of scribed lines, one horizontal and two vertical, that mark out a large rectangle. The new wooden altar platform covered the floor at the head of the sacristy. It was covered with a cotton rug (no size or design is mentioned in the 1772 inventory), and the altar table of wood stood against the head wall under these scribed lines. Above the horizontal line are four small wooden pegs set into the wall surface, forming a parallelogram.[104] These were the points where don Ángel mounted his new gilded retablo over the main altar of the

[104] George, "Mission San Antonio de Valero," HABS sheet 10.

temporary church of San Antonio de Valero.[105] Recent work by Cisi Jary and Pamela Rosser on the sacristy has uncovered more extensive information about the framing lines and decorations within the sacristy.[106] This indicates that the room received a careful program of decorative painting as part of its being put into service as the temporary church about 1763.

The retablo was carved of wood and covered with gold leaf, and had a large niche in its center. This niche had a glass door covering it, and inside was the statue of San Antonio one vara tall that had been in the center of the altar in the temporary church in the granary. In 1793 this bulto was described as "*una Ymagen de talla de S[eñor] S[an] Ant[oni]o con su diadema, Pluma, y Potencias de Plata, y un Niño q[u]e tiene en sus brazas,"* a carved image of Señor San Antonio with its diadem, pen, and halo of silver, and a Child Jesus held in its arms. Most of the other santos from the various altars in the old church were also worked into don Ángel's new retablo. These included the Santo Christo one andvaras tall "for desendimiento," the portrayal of Jesus' descent from the cross; a statue of the Virgin one vara tall, a statue of San Juan one vara tall, a Santo Christo one-third vara tall, a Jesus Nazareno oen vara tall, a Santo Christo three-quarter vara tall, a Dolores of more than a vara, a painting of San Francisco, a painting of Santa Clara, a statue of San José one-half vara tall (in 1793 it was described as three-quarter vara tall), a statue of Dolorosa one vara tall, a statue of San Antonio one-half vara tall (again, in 1793 it was described as three-quarter vara tall), and a statue of the Niño Jesus one-half vara tall.[107] The number of santos and paintings suggests that the retablo was fairly large; the space at the head of the sacristy would allow a retablo about fifteen feet wide and perhaps reaching thirteen feet high with the altar table and its platform. This is sufficiently large to suggest that Ángel's retablo may have been intended eventually to be placed on the main altar of the completed permanent church.

Next to the sacristy serving as the church was the room serving as the temporary sacristy. This is the room that today is called the Monk's Burial Chamber. In this temporary sacristy don Ángel had built a large cabinet five varas (13.7 feet) long, lined with leather, and with eight large drawers and two cupboards, one on each end, and a

[105] Although the 1772 inventory lists all the statues included here, it does not mention the carved and gilded retablo itself. This was an odd oversight, but several other obvious errors of omission in the various 1772 inventories make it likely that it was no more than an oversight. The retablo is briefly described by Fray Morfí, Viaje, January 9, 1778, p. 225.

[106] Cisi Jary and Pamela Rosser, Mission San Antonio de Valero—The Alamo Shrine, Sacristy Room: Investigation, Documentation, Conservation Treatments Report (San Antonio: Restoration Associates, Ltd., 2001), pp. 44–48.

[107] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 8; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5808.

front door of carved wood.[108] In this cabinet was stored the vestments and silver utensils to be used at the main altar, and finally the ivory statue of the Niño that had been on the altar in the granary in 1759. There was no altar in this sacristy. The gilded retablo and sacristy furniture for the Valero temporary church were among the last things Don Ángel made in San Antonio. He left around the end of 1763.

In 1762, Fray Dolores y Viana offered to the governors of Coahuila and Texas to give up all the property and worldly administration of the Querétaran missions of the San Antonio and San Juan Bautista areas to the secular government, and turn their attention only to preaching the Gospel to the Indians.[109] This offer was not accepted, but in 1772, the Querétarans turned their Texas missions over to Zacatecas. This reduced the number of missions administered by Querétaro so that they could more effectively take on the burden of the ex-Jesuit missions of Sonora and Arizona, left without priests when the Jesuits were banned from the Spanish Empire in 1767. The Querétaran missions in Texas were transferred to the Zacatecans in December 1772.[110]

Estevan Losoya, Dionicio Gonzales, and Work on the Church after 1765

Don Ángel left San Antonio around the end of 1763, and Joseph Palafox left about 1765. The Valero church remained unfinished, although now services were being held in the new sacristy serving as the temporary church. Never daunted, the Franciscans hired Maestro Estevan de Losoya, an Indian from Aguas Calientes, the same year to finish the primary construction of the church. In 1766 he was called maestro de la obra de la Yglesia, master of the church project, and in 1767 he was called maestro de albañil, master stonemason, but Losoya was apparently not an escultor, a fine-carver, and was unable to finish the carving and assembly of the facade.[111] Work on the facade was held up until a sculptor was found.

In 1765 Losoya continued the construction of the ribs and vaulting in the main body of the church begun by Joseph Palafox. Over the next two years, Losoya completed the four ribs over the crossing of the nave and transept of the church and two more ribs in the nave itself, and began the vaulting over the sanctuary of the church. The four ribs at the crossing of the transepts were of critical importance, and had to be of great strength, because they not only helped to support the weight of the vaulting of the nave, transepts, and sanctuary, but also held up the huge mass of the large dome that was to be built over the crossing of these spaces. Although the 1772 and 1793 inventories do

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[108] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 8; López, 1793, “Imbentario,” f. 5808.

[109] Dolores y Viana, 1762, “Relacion,” p. 272. See Chapter 9.

[110] Carlos E. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, volume 4, The Mission Era: The Passing of the Missions, 17621782 (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1939), pp. 259-63.

[111] Schuetz-Miller, "Professional Artisans," p. 21.

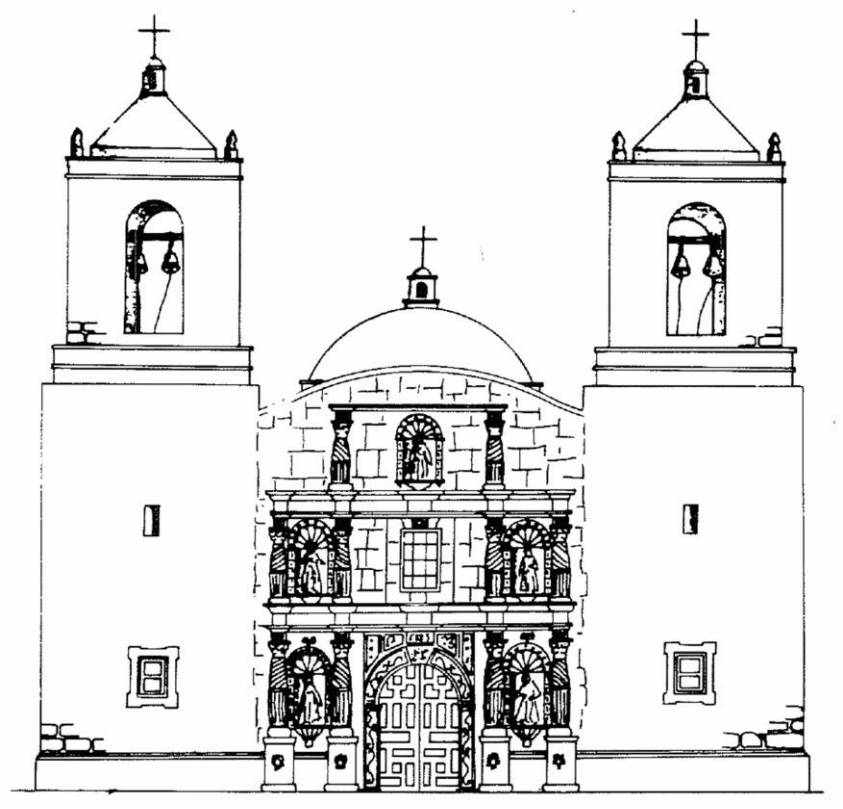


FIGURE 17: UTSA's Jack Eaton in 1980 speculated how eighteenth-century architects may have intended the facade of Mission San Antonio de Valero to look. This drawing appears in Eaton's *Excavations at the Alamo Shrine*, a report prepared for UTSA's Center for Archaeological Research.

not mention them, the pendentives that were to support the *cimborio*, the drum under the dome, were built in this period. The 1793 inventory does say that the arcos torales were "in condition to receive the cimborio," suggesting that the pendentives were in place. A drawing accompanying an estimate to finish the roof of the Valero church in 1810 gives further information on the details of this area.[112] The notations on the 1810 drawing made the presence of the pendentives clear, saying that here were "*pichinas que han de sentar las Gualdras*," pendentives that were to support the beams of the new roof, and that "*los altos van cubiertos de Piedra hasta recibir las Gualdras*," the high areas are (present tense) roof sections of stone up to where they would receive the gualdras. The pendentives filled the corners of the square area of the crossing of the

[112] Juan Ygnacio de Arrambide, Captain of the Compañía Volante, to Commandante General Second Brigade Bernardo Bonavia, April 25, 1810, Bexar Archives microfilm (BAM), roll 44, frames 953-955v; [Juan Diego Veloz, Juan de Dios Cortez, y José Cayetano del Valle to Juan Ygnacio de Arrambide, April 25, 1810], BAM, 168:802. See also Adán Benavides, "Sacred Space, Profane Reality: The Politics of Building a Church in Eighteenth-Century Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 107(2003)1:1-33; James E. Ivey, "The Completion of the Church Roof of San Antonio de Valero," Anales del Instituto de Investegaciones Estéticas.

transepts and nave, leaving an octagonal or cylindrical opening in the middle twenty-five feet across, indicating that the cimborio was to be octagonal in plan. Losoya completed the pendentives and leveled their tops about 7.5 feet higher than the walls of the nave, ready for the construction of the cimborio to begin, perhaps when the vaulting of the transepts and nave was completed.

Losoya probably had completed the pendentives and the groined vaulting over the sanctuary of the church and had the scaffolding in place to begin construction on the vaulting of the transepts when he died at Valero on March 15, 1767, and was buried there.[113]

The Franciscans once again searched for a new builder. Sometime during 1767 the Franciscans hired the maestro Dionicio Gonzales to complete the facade of Mission San Antonio de Valero. We do not yet know where Gonzales worked before he came to Valero. He arrived in San Antonio in late 1767, and became maestro de la obra at Valero on September 27, 1767, six months after the death of Estevan Losoya. The contract between the Franciscans and maestro Gonzales was recorded in the papers of the College of Querétaro, and is given in full in Chapter 2. In it, Gonzales agreed to "complete the facade of the church of San Antonio [de Valero] *precisely como esta en el mapa* [as it is shown on the plan]."

The "mapa" referred to in the Gonzales contract would have been the plan of the facade design prepared by Gerónimo de Ibarra, a revised version of the original Antonio Tello plan on file at the mission of Valero. This plan is no longer available, although it may be stored in archives somewhere in Mexico. However, architectural historians Mardith Schuetz and Jack Eaton each worked out suggestions for the probable appearance of the planned facade, based on the statements about its appearance in the 1772 inventory.[114]

Ibarra's plan called for the facade to be fourteen varas (39.3 feet) high. The first level of the facade, completed by Ibarra about 1759, had the stonework plastered and painted, and probably the statues of San Francisco and Santo Domingo in their niches. Because no master sculptor had been available, nothing had been accomplished on the facade during Ibarra's last year and Estevan Losoya's tenure at the site between 1759 and 1767. Don Ángel apparently did little work on the facade at Valero.

After Gonzales was hired, he began work on the second level, cutting the pieces on the mason's floor and then assembling them on the facade itself, filling in the space at the front of the church left by Losoya when he raised the side walls of the building. Gonzales put the niches and choir window in place, and prepared the pilaster bases and

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[113] Leal, "Burials of Mission San Francisco de Solano," p. 60: burial #1281, March 15, 1767.

[114] Schuetz, "Professional Artisans," p. 40, fig. 2; Eaton, *Excavations at the Alamo Shrine*, p. 53 fig. 6.

notches for the placement of the second level of salomonic columns. Santa Clara and Santa Margarita were to be the statues for the niches of the second level; by 1772 one of these was almost finished, but the other was not yet begun. The third level was to have a similar niche containing a statue of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, with probably the same flanking salomonic columns. When work came to a halt, the facade had reached nine varas (24.7 feet) in height.[115]

The Franciscans hired the master mason Antonio Salazar probably about 1768 to continue work on the mission churches of San Antonio, but it seems likely that he was hired by the Zacatecan friars, and that he never worked on Valero. He was probably being hired to build the church at San José designed and begun by Joseph Palafox in 1764. The Querétarans may have intended to contract for some of his time to finish the almost-complete church at Valero, but this apparently never happened, and by the early 1770s Querétaro's priorities were changing.

Just before the Zacatecans hired Antonio Salazar in 1768 to work on the church at San José, the Jesuits were expelled from the New World. As a result of this expulsion, the Querétarans took over the Jesuit missions of the Pimería Baja and Alta in Sonora and Arizona in 1768, stretching their resources beyond the limits.[116] They began an effort to secularize or transfer to others at least some part of their mission establishments in order to be able to manage their new California and Pimería missions. In 1772 the Querétarans were allowed to give up their Texas missions in order to accommodate the Pimería missions, and Zacatecas took over the administration of the Texas missions. The Zacatecans had a different set of priorities—they were more interested in the completion of the church at San José than the completion of Valero. The departure of the Querétarans in 1772 effectively ended any further effort to continue the construction of the Valero church and convento. It is likely that the Zacatecans terminated the contract with Dionicio Gonzales. In spite of his oath, Gonzales did not complete the church of Valero. He and his wife continued to live in San Fernando until their deaths in 1789.

The 1772 acceptance of the Querétaran missions of Texas by the college of Zacatecas was a full legal transfer, and included all the buildings, furnishings, tools, and equipment, the mission ejido and its fields, and the extended pastures beyond the original granted land. One item of expense listed in the final settling of the accounts of the Querétaran missions in 1772 is the cost of locating the titles of the missions to their

[115] Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero: 1772, translated by Benedict Leutenegger, Office of the Texas State Archeologist Special Report vol. 23 (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1977), p. 8.

[116] Kessell, Friars, Soldiers and Reformers, pp. 24, 43, 63, 76.

lands in 1771 and including these in the transfer.[117] This transfer required a complete inventory of each mission, its buildings, and their contents. The inventory of 1772 gives us a very detailed look at Valero. This and the secularization inventory of 1793 tell us a great deal about the physical layout and condition of the mission buildings, and show that virtually no additional construction occurred at the mission after the late 1770s—the only changes are the results of deterioration after 1772.

The information from the 1772 and 1793 inventories, other documents, and archaeology will be combined to create a detailed picture of the mission at its height of development in 1772. Then we will follow the slow decline of the buildings until the mission was secularized in 1793.

The Mission in 1772

The Church

Dionicio Gonzales was actively directing construction on the facade up to about 1772, and scaffolding would have shrouded most of the surfaces of the exterior and interior of the front of the building. The inventory remarked that it was being built using the "Tuscan," style, which in this case meant a very plain, simple style of construction.[118] The building was transepted, and was thirty-five varas (ninety-six feet) long and nine varas (24.7 feet) wide.[119] The interior of the church would have been a maze of scaffolding supports and massive centering for the ribs and vaults under construction, even though this work was stopped at the time, with small cranes, pulleys, and hanging cables everywhere to lift the stones and mortar up to the working areas several stories above.

The master masons before Gonzales had built the ribs at the crossing of the transept, those that would support the dome, as well as the pendentives on which the cimborio, or drum of the dome would rest. The vaulting had been completed over the sanctuary. The ribs to support the vaulting of the nave had been built above their pilasters, except for the rib over the choir loft that had not yet been started—in fact, the pilasters for this

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[117] For example, in the San Juan account book, "Cargo 31 p[eso]s 2 r[eale]s quarta parte de 125 p[eso]s que de or[de]n del P[adr]e Alegre, entrego d[ic]ho Quevado al Ag[en]te Zuviaur, costo de los titulos de tierras de las quatro Miss[ion]es de S[a]n Ant[oni]o segun quenta de Cargo echa al cond[ucto]r – 31p2r" (Cuentas, San Juan, 1771, f. 4838). A similar listing occurs in the other three Querétaran mission account books under 1771.

[118] Secretario del Patrimonio Naciónal, Vocabulario Arquitectónico Ilustrado (Mexico City: Secretario del Patrimonio Naciónal, 1975), p. 426. Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 7; Fray José Francisco López and Fray Joseph M ariano Garza, "Imbentario de las existencias q[u]e hay hoy dia 23 de Abril de 1793, en la Mis[ion] de San Antonio Valero," April 23, 1793, in Celaya microfilms, roll 4, frame 5808.

[119] The 1793 inventory says 34.25 varas, or 93.91 feet, long. The actual length is 98.12 feet, or 2.15 feet longer than the 1772 measurement, and the actual width is 25.25 feet.

rib and a section of the south wall of the nave above the choir loft were never put in place. The artist Edward Everett's drawing "Interior of the Alamo," made in 1847, showed the wall above the floor level of the second story room in the south bell tower to be absent—it appears that this section of nave wall, the doorway into this room, and the cornice along the spring-line of the wall near the choir pilaster all had not been built when construction stopped. The architectural details of the choir loft doorway on the north side indicate that this wall had been finished up to about the top of the doorway.[120]

The rib under the choir loft was under construction at the time of the 1772 inventory. The first stones of the rib "*puesto en capitel con sus 2 Salmeres, y de primera, y segunda*," had been placed "on capital" on top of the pilasters under the choir loft; these were the two salmeres, or springers, one on each side of the nave, and the first and second stones above them on each side.[121] These can be seen in Everett's drawing, and they remained in place until sometime in the early 1900s. In fact, Everett's drawing and physical evidence in the church today indicate that the construction of the supporting vault under the choir loft had also been started: a portion of the vault still extends from the wall of the church as a mass of stone in the northwest corner a little above the height of the cornice of the doorway into the "Confessional" in the north bell tower base, and Everett's drawing recorded the arched scar left by the vault on the west wall interior above the main entrance doorway, showing that the vaulting under the rib was to have been groined, with the main longitudinal section a segmental vault, and the transverse vaults semicircular, and in fact exactly replicating the transverse vaults in the two side chapels in the bases of the bell towers. In spite of this good beginning, the choir supporting vault and rib were never finished—the 1793 inventory describes the rib in the same condition that it was in 1772, indicating that the work on this had stopped before 1772 and had never resumed.

The Franciscans intended for the ceiling of the church to be a groined vault, the same sort of vaulting that can be seen in the sacristy and bell tower vaulted ceilings today. A good visual is with the lunette vaulting of the nave of mission San José. The vault of Valero, as it was built in concrete in the early 20th century, is a barrel vault, a series of

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[120] Edward Everett, "Interior of the Alamo," 1847, in Richard E. Alhborn, *The San Antonio Missions: Edward Everett and the American Occupation, 1847* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1985), pl. 2, p. 12.

[121] The 1772 and 1793 inventories are somewhat ambiguous as to which rib was being built, and unclear about the condition of the choir loft; the 1772 says "el de el coro alto," literally that [rib] of the choir above, p. 7, and the 1793 says "el de el coro abajo," that [rib] of the choir below, f. 5808. Drawings of the mission in the 1840s show that the pilasters of the choir ceiling rib were never installed in the nave walls, indicating that the rib for the vault above the choir loft was not begun, and therefore that both inventories referred to the rib that would have supported the choir loft.

single curved, cylindrical sections covering the nave and transepts. The concrete vault does have a groined section in the center of the intersection of the nave and transepts; in the original plan for Valero, this area would have been a circular opening up into the dome placed over this crossing. The lunette vault as it was used at San José and the groined vault planned for Valero each had a second cylindrical section running at right angles to the axis of the nave for each bay, from an arch on the face of each side wall. Since the bays were narrower in length than in width, the radius of curvature for these side-to-side cylindrical sections would have been smaller than the curvature of the section running lengthwise down the nave. There are two choices in how one builds this sort of vaulting. The first method is to make the spring point for the lateral cylinders at the same height as the spring point for the main vault. In which case, with a shorter radius of curvature, the lateral vault sections do not reach as high as the longitudinal vault sections, so that the intersections of the two do not reach the peak of the curvature of the main vault section; this is the lunette vault as built at San José. The other choice is to raise the spring points for the lateral vault sections so that the peak is the same height as the longitudinal vault section. This makes a groined vault, intersecting at the peak of the vaults, but pulls the lateral vaulting up the ribs so that the lower parts of the ribs are exposed near the walls. It appears, from the repeated use of the term "*arris*" in the 1772 inventory to describe the vault design, that this second choice is what the Franciscans had in mind for Valero, and the surviving rib segments as shown in early drawings suggest the same thing.[122]

At the front of the church, the baptistry was in the base of one of the bell towers with its vaulted ceiling. The room in the base of the other bell tower also had its vault, and "*encima de las quales se hallan ya los arranques de dos torres*," above these rooms were the lower parts of the two bell towers.[123] Although undescribed in the inventory, the second floor room in the north tower had a doorway opening toward the convento. This would have been the access for the choir loft, and was probably reached by a wooden walkway from the second story of the convento's south wing.[124] In Antonio Tello's original design, this doorway would have been in the east wall of this second-level room, opening onto a stone stairway running in two flights down the east side of the bell tower and the north side of the nave.

On the facade, most of the carving for the second level was finished and assembled, with two niches for statues on either side of the central window over the doorway, the

[122] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, pp. 7, 8; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5808. 124Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 7; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5808. 125George, "Mission San Antonio de Valero," HABS sheet 12.

[123] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 7; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5808.

[124] George, "Mission San Antonio de Valero," HABS sheet 12.

window that opened into where the choir loft was to be. However, the columns on either side of the niches had not yet been put in place, and one of the statues for this level was only partly carved. The *architraves* of the second level were finished, and lacked only their cornices; these pieces apparently did not survive to the present. For the third level, many of its pieces were also only partly carved. In order for the third level to be completed "*conforme al mapa, que tiene dado el maestro* [according to the plan supplied by the maestro]," it was still necessary to carve a statue of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción with its properly sized niche.[125]

The Sacristy

In 1772 the sacristy, in use as the church, was twelve varas (32.9 feet) long, five and one-half varas (15.1 feet) wide, and five varas (13.7 feet) high to the soffit, or underside, of the groined vault, most of which remains in place today.[126] It was serving as the church while construction continued on the church itself, and had been made into the temporary church when Joseph Palafox completed it probably around 1763. The walls had been plastered and whitewashed. There were two doorways, both of carved stone—one of them went into the next room, which had been Tello's sacristy patio, but had been roofed over and was serving as the sacristy, and the other opened into the transept of the church. The sacristy had three windows, one of them was large and closed with shutters and an iron grating, while the other two were smaller, closed with glass, and had wire gratings.[127] Going into this room today from the transept of the church, a large doorway with a window above it is straight ahead, opening into the next room—this is the doorway into the temporary sacristy. It is likely that the window above the doorway to the temporary sacristy was the large window with the iron grate described in 1772. One of the small glass covered windows with a wire grate was on the north part of the east wall. It is marked on the army plans of the church made in the late 1840s,[128] and is visible in Captain Arthur Lee's drawing of the church from the southwest in 1848.[129] The second small glassed window was probably opposite the east window, and opened through the north part of the west wall of the sacristy into the *lavatorio*, discussed below. The army apparently converted this window to a doorway by the late 1840s, as is shown on the army plans.

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[125] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 7-8; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5808.

[126] Today the sacristy is 15.5 feet wide, and the reconstructed north face is about 31 feet from the south face; the soffit of the vault is 16.2 feet above the floor.

[127] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, pp. 7-8; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5808-09.

[128] Nelson, Illustrated History, pp. 61, 62, 68.

[129] Nelson, Illustrated History, p. 65. It is not shown on Gentilz's painting of the church from the northeast, because the army filled it in the 1850s or 1860s, and Gentilz did not make this painting until about the 1870s.

In this temporary church were three confessionals, a holy water font of carved stone, a font for baptisms of copper, with a lid, a *banca*, or bench, for the justices, and "*dos sillas . . . la una está forrada y es la que sirbe al Ministro para predicar a los Yndios*," two chairs, one of which was upholstered, for the minister when preaching to the Indians, and the altar platform, altar, and gilded retablo that had been placed here by don Ángel in 1764.[130]

The adjoining room serving as the temporary sacristy was eight varas (22.8 feet) long, seven varas (20.1 feet) wide, and five and one-half varas (15.1 feet) high. This is the room that today is called the Monk's Burial Chamber (MBC), twenty-three feet long on its east side, and 20.5 feet wide. It was roofed with cedar timbers supported by an *arco rebajado*, or segmental arch, running east to west at about Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 8.

Today, the springers of this arch still curve out from the east and west wall faces six and three-quarter feet above the floor. In the temporary sacristy was don Ángel's large cabinet lined with leather, with eight large drawers and two cupboards, one on each end, and a front door of carved wood, that contained the vestments and vessels for the temporary church.[131]

The room had two doorways, one from the temporary church and the second going north from the temporary sacristy; both had bolt locks and iron gratings. It had two windows as well, one to the west, opening into the small space between the north bell tower and the south wall of the convento. The second looked "to the south."[132] Had this second opening actually been a window, it would have opened into the nave. This is presently the location of the doorway from the nave into the MBC, but examining the opening of this doorway shows that only the east side is a finished surface, from about the top of the doorway to about two-thirds of the way to the floor, and only from the MBC through about two-thirds of the thickness of the wall. These details tell us that in the 1700s this opening was probably a niche for storage of church items in the wall of the MBC, like that in the sacristy at Concepción, covered with wooden shutters so that it looked like a closed window to the inventorying Franciscan, who was not familiar with the building. The plans of the late 1840s do not show this opening, indicating that the present doorway opening was hacked through the back of the niche sometime in the late 1800s, after they were drawn.[133]

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[130] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 8.

[131] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 8; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5809.

[132] López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5809.

[133] Nelson, Illustrated History, pp. 61, 62, 68.

The north doorway from the temporary sacristy opened into a convento room to its north. This filled doorway still survives on the east end of the present north wall, where a small section of the original north wall survived Honore Grenet's removal of the church structures north of his property line about 1877.[134] The same filled doorway can be seen on the north exterior wall of the building, in a tangled sequence of structural traces on this surviving piece of wall. The HABS drawings show the earliest structure on this wall to be an arch of about the same size as those that had stood along the corridor around the patio.[135] This large arch was filled, leaving a double-arched doorway through the wall. Then the west half of the double arched doorway was filled, leaving the east arched doorway as the door in 1772. Eventually, this door, too, was filled. The original arch was placed here by Tello in the 1740s as part of the construction of the north wall of the area now called the Monk's Burial Chamber. It was the south wall of the vaulted, arcaded corridor he began, extending from his church under construction toward the original west row of the convento.

When Palafox finished this area about 1763, he chose to convert this small open patio to the temporary sacristy by constructing a supporting arch across it to hold up the rafters of a wooden roof. He then filled the arches of the little vaulted room north of the sacristy, the easternmost bay of the vaulted corridor begun by Tello and finished in its final form by Ibarra. This left a double arched doorway opening from the sacristy into the vaulted easternmost bay of the corridor.[136]

Palafox closed the arches of this bay on the north, west and south sides, leaving only a doorway through the filled south arch and a doorway to the west into the remainder of the corridor, now finished with a flat roof. He made this small room into the lavatorio. In 1772 it was described as "finished," suggesting that work on it had just been completed. The room was vaulted and was six varas (16.5 feet) long and four varas (eleven feet) wide.[137] The army maps of the late 1840s show it as about sixteen feet by ten feet, a close match to its description in 1772. It had a large carved stone font, probably for holy water for the priest to wash his hands before he went into the sacristy to robe for mass; similar arrangements were in the sacristies at San Juan and

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[134] James E. Ivey and Anne A. Fox, Archaeological and Historical Investigations at the Alamo North Wall, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas, Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report no. 224 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1997), p. 10.

[135] George, "Mission San Antonio de Valero," HABS sheets 4, 9.

[136] The army plans of 1846-50 (Nelson, Illustrated History, pp. 61, 62, 68) all show that the two bell tower ground level rooms, the sacristy, and the lavatorio were roofed; as of this date the lavatorio still retained its vault like the other three rooms.

[137] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 7.

Concepción. The room had "*mucha claridad*," much light, indicating it had one or more windows, unmentioned in the inventory. It had a door into the next convento room to the west, shown in Everett's drawing, "The Alamo at San Antonio, Texas," looking southeast toward the north side of the church.[138] The archaeology carried out apparently in the area of the now-destroyed north end of the sacristy by John Greer in the 1960s found a section of floor made of adobe bricks laid in a herring-bone pattern with a pink mortar between the bricks, and covered with a thick red clay slip. Apparently in the area of the lavatorio just west of the north end of the sacristy, Greer saw a packed caliche floor associated with a massive wall of limestone set in lime mortar and coated with a white wall plaster. The plaster had traces of red, yellow, and black painted designs. Greer found the base of a limestone buttress about three feet square associated with this wall.[139] However, because the plans of his excavations lack any detail, none of Greer's architectural observations can be given an actual location on the map. A more detailed examination of his field notes may produce some additional information to help give a location to the structural details he saw.

The Convento

The convento was built around a patio containing a well approximately at its center. The well had a *brocal*, or curb forming the mouth of the well, and an arch of stone over it, from which hung the *moton*, or pulley for the bucket rope. This patio was twenty-three and three-quarter varas (65.1 feet) north to south, and twenty-two and one-half varas (61.7 feet) east to west, very close to square. The ground level of the patio was encircled by an arcaded cloister, with four arches of equal size on each side. On the west and south sides were the upper cloister; no second story cloister was ever built on the north and east sides of the patio.[140]

The east side had only a row of four arches forming the front of the cloister corridor, and apparently a blank wall east of this that was to form the back or outside wall of the row of rooms. This wall line, running north from the northwest corner of the sacristy serving as the church, was still standing until the late 1800s, and is shown in this position on the Labastida map of the Alamo during the battle of 1836, the map shown by archaeology to have been the most accurate depiction of this battle.[141] The arcade west of this blank wall had been given its leveling mortar coat, but still lacked its roof, floor, and final coat of lime wash, as well as the intermediate wall between the arcade wall and the east wall, and the cross-walls to divide the east row into rooms—the

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[138] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 7; Nelson, Illustrated History, p. 91.

[139] Greer, Archeological Excavation at the Alamo, pp. 10–11, fig. 8.

[140] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 30; López, 1793, "Imbentario," ff. 5813–14.

[141] James E. Ivey, "Archeological Evidence for the Defenses of the Alamo," Alamo Journal, 117(June 2000):1–8.

intermediate wall would have had the doors through which one entered the rooms in this east row.[142]

On the north side of the patio, archaeology has found the south wall of the row of rooms, and the present wall was rebuilt on the foundations of the north wall of this row.[143] The inventories say that of the four arches forming the cloister corridor along this side, only the area behind one had been roofed, probably at the west end. Behind the cloister corridor were five rooms, each five varas (13.7 feet) long and four varas (eleven feet) high to the undersides of the ceilings. For some reason the inventory did not give the depths of the rooms, but they appear to have been five varas deep, the same as those on the west side. All were roofed with good cedar boards, probably supporting a lime concrete flat roof. The westernmost room was the kitchen; its door had a lock and a key. It had a cooking hearth with a chimney, a window to the south next to the door to the corridor, and a cupboard with a lock and key for storing cooking utensils and equipment, itemized in the 1772 inventory. East of the kitchen were four other rooms with no specified use; the westernmost two had doors with locks, while the other two did not. There were no second floor structures on this side.[144]

At ground level on the south side were four rooms in addition to the lavatorio at its east end. The rooms here had been built to some extent by Tello as part of his intended vaulted corridor for a row of larger rooms along its south side that were never built, and then converted by Ibarra from a corridor to a row of narrow rooms. They each probably had a filled arch forming their north side, with a doorway opening onto the new corridor built along their north side. Like the north-side rooms, each room was five varas long and four varas high, and were used as storerooms. The plan of the lavatorio shows that these rooms were four varas across.[145] Their ceilings were made of boards, probably of cedar like the rooms along the north side of the patio. One of them was probably the *quarto de lana*, or wool storage room, with a large quantity of wool, and a second one was probably the *oficina de sal y chile*, the storeroom for salt and chile, where about forty *fanegas* of salt were stored, along with random other large, useless tools and objects. Oddly, there were apparently no chiles stored in the room, suggesting that this was a traditional name for the room. On the second floor level was an arcaded corridor as on the first level, but there were no rooms behind the corridor.

Because it is fairly certain that the vertical, two-story wall that runs along the south side of this row in all the drawings and pictures of the nineteenth century was the colonial

[142] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 30; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5813.

[143] Greer, Archeological Excavation at the Alamo, p. 8 and fig. 6.

[144] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 34; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5813-14.

[145] Nelson, Illustrated History, pp. 61, 62, 68; Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 7.

outside wall of this row, the second-level corridor must have been over the ground floor rooms, apparently with a row of arches along its north face of the same size and shape as the lower cloister corridor. Above the ground floor corridor must have been a porch with no arcade. The floor of this entire second level was made of floor tiles of fired brick.[146]

On the west side of the patio was the original convento building, with two floors. On the ground level were four rooms. The southernmost three rooms were all of the same size, nine varas (24.7 feet) long, five varas (13.7 feet) wide, and probably four varas (11 feet) high. The second room to the north had been converted to the portería, or formal entranceway into the convento by Gerónimo de Ibarra in the 1750s, with a large arched doorway or gateway on the west opening into the plaza, and probably a large square-topped doorway on the east side, so that it could be closed with double doors to maintain the enclosure of the cloister. Both the arched west gateway and the square-topped east gateway were about nine feet wide. Just south of the main arched entrance was a smaller arched window through the west wall of the room, and another symmetrically on the north side of the main arched entrance; both were about 3.5 feet wide. The northernmost of the three same-sized rooms had been the porter's office for the portería, it had an arched window opening to the west and probably a doorway opening into the portería entranceway. By 1772 the porter's office had been converted to the *obraje*, or weaving workshop, moved here in the mid-1760s from its location in the second courtyard where it had been from at least the 1740s through 1762. It was probably entered through the old porter's door from the portería entranceway, as well as a door out to the west. The obraje contained a loom and two spinning wheels. The room on the south end of the building, the same size as the portería and with an arched window opening west, was a storeroom containing a large quantity of supplies and equipment, all carefully packed in boxes and chests, and all carefully itemized in the 1772 inventory.

A fourth room at ground level, at the north end of the southern convento building, was the *quarto de tareas*, with the tools and equipment needed to make yarn and thread for the weaving workshop. It was seventeen feet long and 13.7 feet wide, and probably had a doorway to the east onto the west corridor, and a window to the west.[147] Along the east side of this western row of rooms was another corridor of four arches. It was about twelve feet wide, and the arches were each about nine or ten feet wide.

The stairway up to the second floor at the north end of this western corridor had a landing large enough to be considered a small room. Through the wall of this room was the doorway into the choir loft of the granary church. From this landing, the

[146] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 34; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

[147] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, pp. 30, 34; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

stairway turned back to the south for a short flight up to the cloister corridor on the second level. The floor of the corridor on this side was of fired tile like the floor on the south side upper corridor and porch.[148] The west side upper corridor stood over the ground floor corridor, and had four arches of the same size and shape as the lower cloister.

Above the first floor rooms on the west row were four rooms on the second floor, of the same size. The two southernmost of these were cells for the missionaries, and the third was a guest room. The roof of the fourth room to the north had fallen in by 1772, and the room was not described. The guest room was above the third room to the north on the ground floor, the weaving workshop. It was almost uninhabitable because part of the roof was falling in and was propped up. It contained three bookshelves, four armchairs, and two chests with locks but no keys.[149]

The cell next to the guest room, over the portería, had a wooden partition forming a sleeping alcove with a flat ceiling; the alcove contained a bed. This alcove had probably been added to the room at some point after the completion of the second floor room in the 1730s. The area above the alcove ceiling and below the roof of the room was used as a storage loft for medicines and herbs to treat the sick. The main part of the room was used as a study area and refectory, and had two large tables, one at which the missionaries ate and the other for study, two chamber pots, two small sets of shelves for books and "*4 doz[ena]s de vidrios con varios medicam[ien]tos viejos,*" four dozen glass bottles with various old medicines, and four chairs and a bench with a back.[150]

The second cell, at the south end of the building, was divided into two rooms by a thin partition wall of wood with a door in the center. As in the previous room, this partition had probably been added sometime after the room had been finished in the 1730s. One room was a sleeping alcove and the other was an office. In the office were six chairs, a bench with a back, two bookshelves, an inkstand with pens and a sanding box, two large chests, and a small cabinet. The sleeping alcove, in the south end of the room, contained a bed, two chamber pots, and a number of odds and ends. Through the floor of the alcove was a hatchway, with a ladder leading down into the storeroom next to the portería—this was apparently the only entrance into this storeroom.[151]

The North Courtyard

Extending north from the north end of the west wing of the convento, and forming the west side of the north courtyard, was the granary that had been serving as the church

[148] López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

[149] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, pp. 30, 35; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

[150] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, pp. 30-31; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

[151] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, pp. 31-32; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

for most of the life of the mission. The 1772 inventory did not include the length of the structure, but the 1793 inventory gave the size of the building as thirty varas (82.3 feet) long, five varas (13.7 feet) wide, and seven varas (19.2 feet) high; oddly, the length was five varas, or 13.7 feet, shorter than it was in 1762. Presently the building is eighty-four feet nine inches long on the interior, and eighty-nine feet ten inches on the exterior; a vertical wall seam visible on the west front of the building indicates where it ends and the convento begins. This is 30.9 varas interior length, and 32.8 varas exterior length. It appears that the difference between the two colonial measurements are rounding errors and interior as compared to exterior measurements. The 1762 measurement was interior, rounded from 30.9 varas down to 30 varas, while the 1793 length was an exterior measurement, 32.8 varas rounded up to thirty-five varas. It would have been difficult to carry out a precise exterior measurement directly, because the building's visible end would have been well above the heads of the measuring crew (the wall seam would have been hidden by plaster), so this error is not surprising.

The use of this building as the temporary church had been discontinued in 1763, when Palafox finished the sacristy and services were moved into it, and the temporary church was converted back into a granary. Next to the granary the bells of the mission were still mounted on a wooden framework, probably on the plaza side of the building. Also apparently in the second patio area was the blacksmith shop.[152] In 1793 a "*pequeño valuarte con un canoncito de vronce*," a small bulwark or defensive position with a one-pounder brass cannon stood "*junto a la puerta de la entrada a la casa del P[adre] Ministro*," joined to the door of the entrance into the house of the missionary.[153] This was a misphrasing, and was actually another reference to the "little tower" that was part of the main south gateway of the plaza mentioned in 1762, soon after it was enclosed and this gateway was built. Anne Fox, in her report on the CAR excavations at the main south gateway, suggested that the gateway was built with this defensive structure, and that it was later incorporated into the south gate building constructed by the cavalry company at the Alamo, the *Compañía Volante del Alamo*, about 1810.[154] A third description of this was in 1778, when padre Juan Morfí said that the plaza had a main gateway with a little tower where two small cannon were mounted. [155]

[152] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, pp. 34-35; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

[153] López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

[154] Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," pp. 250-251.

[155] Fr. Juan Agustín Morfí, Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrua e Hijos, 1935), p. 225, January 9, 1778.

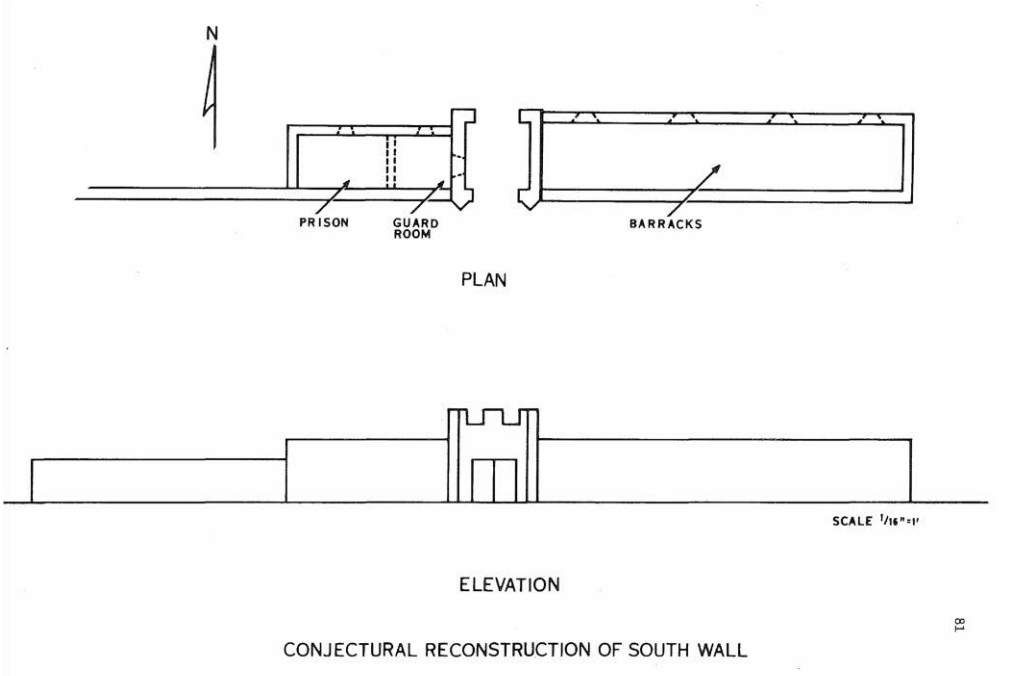


FIGURE 18: UTSA's Anne Fox in a 1976 Center for Archaeological Research report suggests the south gateway of Mission San Antonio de Valero was built with a small tower for defensive purposes.

At various times before 1772, the weaving workshop, the blacksmith shop, and the sacristy had all been located in one or another part of the north, or second, courtyard of the convento. Although their plan is not yet known, archaeology has seen some indication of those buildings. For example, Greer saw a late colonial floor of sandstone slabs and a wall from the same period in the southwestern quadrant of the second courtyard, although his report does not indicate where in this area these features were located.[156] An examination of his field notes and plans would probably allow a much better idea of the location of these structural features. Mardith Schuetz-Miller, in excavations here in the 1970s, saw other wall foundations along the eastern side of the courtyard.[157]

While conducting the excavations of the north wall of the courtyard in 1980, the CAR saw indications of three walls extending north to south. One was in the western area of the courtyard, and may have been the north end of the wall seen by Greer. A second was near the center of the north side of the courtyard, and a third was toward the eastern part of the yard. These were seen as cross sections in a backhoe trench cut by workmen along the south face of the north wall, and were marked on the long cross

[156] Greer, Archeological Excavation at the Alamo, pp. 7, 12.

[157] Mardith K.Schuetz,"ArchaeologicalInvestigations at Mission San Antonio de Valero: The Second Patio," manuscript, 1973, in the files of the Texas Historical Commission.

section drawing of that trench.[158] If follow-up excavations are ever conducted in this courtyard, these wall traces should be examined by archaeology and a determination made of what they were.

The Pueblo

Combining the various previous descriptions of the pueblo with the inventory description of 1772 and 1793, later deed records, and archaeology gives us a comprehensive picture of the Indian quarters forming the sides of the plaza. In 1793, the plaza walls were measured. The inventory says that the north wall was fifty-eight varas (159 feet) long and the west wall was 179 varas (491 feet) long; both were three-quarter vara (2.1 feet) thick and three varas (8.2 feet) high. The south wall was fifty varas (137.1 feet) long and four varas (eleven feet) high.[159] These measurements are not very accurate: the north wall was actually 198.6 feet long, or 37.8 feet longer than the 1793 measurement; the west wall was 526 feet long, or thirty-five feet longer; and the south wall was 164.1 feet long, or twenty-seven feet longer. The measurement fell short by an average of about .46 foot, or 5½ inches, per vara, a 17 percent error. The measurement was made in some rough manner, probably by pacing out the walls.

In 1772 the inventory said there were five seras, or rows, of houses. Each row contained three houses, for a total of fifteen houses. Each house was a single room, eight varas (21.9 feet) long. The five rows faced east, with arcaded stone porches along that side. Each had a door opening onto its porch and a window facing west. Two other houses, "*afuera*," outside, presumably meaning outside the enclosed part of the plaza, had no porches. Here the 1772 inventory probably meant sera even though it used casa—the two structures were probably two- or three-house seras, rather than single-house casas.

These two casas or seras, added to the five seras mentioned first, were probably the seven seras or rows counted in 1762, for 20 or 21 houses—the two "outside" buildings would have been one three-house sera and one sera with either two or three houses. The 1756 report says there were twenty houses of adobe and ten of jacal; all the adobe houses had stone arcaded porches. Most of the 10 jacal houses were probably along the southern part of the plaza, and when the plaza was enclosed, they were left outside around the open plaza. One or two jacales may have been at the north end of the east side of the plaza, against the east wall north of the granary. The two casas or seras "outside" were probably in the unenclosed parts of the plaza, along with the 10 jacal

[158] Lois Flynn and James E. Ivey, "Alamo North Wall, South Side Profile," February 12, 1980, in the files of the Center for Archaeological Research, UTSA.

[159] López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

buildings. Apparently the porches on these two seras had collapsed by 1772, or were never actually built.[160]

It is known from the Radio Shack excavations that some of the three-house seras inside the walls remained of adobe. The inventory makes it fairly clear that the five rows of houses, with stretches of single wall between them, formed the west side of the enclosed plaza, and the 1793 inventory stated that the 12 surviving houses formed the west side of the plaza (three of the fifteen listed in 1772, or one entire sera, probably the second sera from the south had fallen in by this time).[161]

Assuming a typical two-foot wall thickness, each of the five buildings forming the west wall of the plaza was about seventy-four feet long. This is confirmed by the description for one of these houses on the west wall given in a grant in 1829. The house contained three rooms, and the length of the building was 74.3 feet. Along the east face of the house was a section of arcaded wall that survived from the original three-arched portal of the building, 36.1 feet long and containing one arch. The portal front had broken at the top of the center arch, and half of it had fallen, taking one arch with it; the other half with its surviving arch still stood.[162]

None of the historical descriptions give a width for these seras inside the walls. However, the 1849 survey of the Charlí house just outside the southwest corner said that it was 11.1 feet wide on the interior, or about fifteen feet wide exterior if the usual thickness of two-foot walls is added. In another survey, Francois Giraud said the houses along the north half of the plaza, down to about the end of the Treviño sera, were about twenty-four feet wide at the north end and twenty-seven feet wide at the south, including the stone arcaded porches. The adobe building found by the Radio Shack excavations was another of these seras and had a width of seventeen feet; with the arcaded stone porch it was twenty-seven feet wide.

On the plotted wall lines of Giraud's reconstructed plat, from the northwest corner to the southwest was a distance of 526.64 feet. With five seras along the west wall, each sera was separated from its neighbor by a section of defensive wall about forty feet long. The Radio Shack/Alamo Theater excavation found the south end of the foundation of the southernmost single wall section—it was four feet thick. The 1793 inventory says the walls were two feet thick and eight feet high.[163]

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[160] Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," vol. 3, p. 17; Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," p. 250; Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 25; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

[161] Ortíz, 1756, "Vissita," vol. 3, p. 17; Dolores y Viana, 1762, "Relacion," p. 250; Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 25; López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

[162] Spanish Government to Alexandro Treviño, December 31, 1828-April 20, 1829, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. F2, pp. 206-208.

[163] López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

The process of rebuilding the seras in stone from 1756 to 1772 is difficult to follow because once the buildings had a stone arcade along the front, subsequent descriptions tended to call them all "stone." However, later deeds and archaeology indicate that by 1772, when improvements effectively ended, the northern three buildings on the west side had been rebuilt in stone with adobe cross-walls. The fourth and fifth buildings were still adobe, but with stone porches. The sixth building on the west side had also been rebuilt in stone, but may have been only two rooms long and appears to have had no porch late in the mission period. A seventh building, probably the next one south on the west wall, was also one or two rooms of stone with no porch. The rest of the houses along the south, unenclosed half of the plaza, were of adobe or jacal. The Franciscans had intended to build arcaded porches for all the Indian buildings, but apparently never completed the job.

Changes to the Mission, 1772–1793

Fray Juan *Morfí*, 1778

On his visit in early 1778, Fray Juan Morfí described Valero as being in a very deteriorated state, "because of the small number of Indians living there," he said. The plaza had a main gateway with a little tower where two small cannons were mounted, probably the same defensive position mentioned in 1762 and 1772. The convento was uncomfortable and badly kept up, showing its age and careless construction. Morfí summarized the construction history of the church: an older church had been demolished in order to construct another on the same site, but it was not finished, although it was in good condition and of a good plan. It was not as attractive a structure as that of San José, he added, apparently Morfí preferred the flamboyant late Baroque style of San José to the conservative early Baroque style of the Valero church. In the meantime, Mass was said in the sacristy, which was a small room, but very well set up, with a little new retablo, gilded, and on it the statue of San Antonio we have seen since 1745.[164]

The Charlí Grant of 1786

The French carpenter Pedro Charlí worked in the carpenter's shop in the southwestern corner room of the enclosed section of the plaza. He and his wife lived in the sixth building down on the west side, left outside the wall when the plaza was enclosed in c. 1760. Charlí was from Angiers, and was born with the name Pierre des Angeles Charlís. He had moved to the mission in 1778, and had become the carpenter, sacristan, and barber for the missionaries. His first wife, Maria Agreda, washed the clothes of the missionaries and the vestments used in the church services. Pedro and Maria also cared for the kitchen garden for the Franciscans, outside the mission walls at the southwest corner of the plaza.

[164] Morfí, Viaje, January 9, 1778, p. 225.

In 1786, seven years before the mission was secularized, Fray Francisco López, the Father President of the Missions of Texas and the resident missionary at Valero, granted Charlí the house where he lived outside the mission wall, just south of the southwestern corner of the pueblo, for good and faithful service for seven years.[165] The grant included the adobe southwestern corner room, described in the grant as a jacal used as a carpenter's shop, Charlí's house outside the walled enclosure to the south, a lot around the house, and the missionaries' garden next to the carpenter's jacal. The garden was an area outside the southwest corner of the wall. It was probably watered from the acequia that passed through the south wall, curved sharply west between Charlí's house and the carpenter's shop, then south and west again to the river.[166] So far as we know, this is the earliest granting of mission buildings to a private owner in the San Antonio missions. The history of construction at the missions of San Juan and Espada suggests that they may have granted houses and land to non-Indians as early as 1780, but no such grant has been found yet.

Valero in 1786

Fray José Francisco López gave us a brief look at the mission in 1786. It was "a sort of rectangle," enclosed with a wall of stone and adobe mortar. This defensive wall also formed one wall of "most of" the houses of the mission, numbering fifteen or sixteen in 1786. In the second version of this report, López said that the plaza wall was a "single wall in part, and in part serves as the wall of the houses . . ." "Almost all" were roofed with beams and a flat earthen roof, and had good doors with locks. The stone granary was still in use, and had a roof of wood, and the convento was of stone and lime with its storerooms. It was well-roofed, with good doors and windows. The sacristy still served as the church, and was vaulted. The principal church was still unfinished. Its walls went up to the cornices, and only the sanctuary had a vault. The facade was beautiful, but had not been worked on for many years because there were no Indians to perform the labor, and for "*otras razones*," other reasons, unstated.[167]

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[165] López to Charlí, May 25, 1785, BCDR Vol. G1:1.

[166] The Charlí carpenter's shop did not survive to any height after 1836. The 1849 survey plotted a rebuilt structure that stood approximately on the same foundations. Some parts of the lower two or three feet of wall of the post-1836 building may have been original mission construction.

[167] Fray José Francisco López, *"Razon e Ynforme que el Padre Presidente de las Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, o Nuevas Filipinas, remite al Yll[ustrissi]ma S[eño]or D[on] Fr. Rafael José Verger, del consejo de S[u] M[agestad] Obispo del Nuevo Reyno de Leon, May 5, 1786"* (manuscript copy made on November 28, 1789 by Fr. Joséf Sanchez de Luque from an original in the Archivo de Secretaria Episcopal in Monterrey, Mexico), photostat copy in the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Herbert Eugene Bolton Papers, carton 37, folder 635, ff. 1, 1v, 23; The San José Papers: Edited Primary Manuscript Sources for the History of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Part 1, 1719 to 1791, Fray Benedict

Valero in 1793

Valero was secularized in 1793. As part of the secularization process, the mission and its goods were completely inventoried. The 1793 inventory specifies the damage produced by time. In the incomplete church, the rib under the choir loft was still incomplete, resting on its centering, with the first and second stones on each side past the salmeres. The facade was unchanged since 1772. The sacristy continued to serve as the temporary church, and the room next door as the temporary sacristy. The vaulted rooms continued in good condition, but the temporary sacristy, with its wooden roof, was showing signs of age. Part of the cedar roof above the supporting arch was leaking badly, and was being held up by props.[168]

In the convento, the rooms along the north side all had leaking roofs. In the patio, in the northeastern corner against the arcade wall were a mound of sand and another of lime, apparently for making mortar for repairs. On the south side, the roofs needed to be repaired because they were leaking and the ceiling boards were in poor condition. On the west side, all three second-floor rooms had bad roofs because the boards were rotted. The granary roof had been removed for repair; as of 1793 it consisted only of the roof beams. Next to it was a pile of 150 cedar beams for the repair of the roofs of the granary and perhaps other convento rooms. Stored in the weaving workshop were 5,500 boards of mesquite already cut, and eighteen *canales*, or roof drains, carved from mesquite, also for roof repair. In the meantime, a jacal by the main entrance to the convento was serving as the granary. It held 125 fanegas (3,138 pounds) of corn *sin desgrañar*, apparently stored on the cob, and five fanegas (126 pounds) of beans.[169]

In the plaza, the five row houses making up the west wall of the fortified mission stood as recognizable structures through at least 1786, but by 1793 only twelve individual houses were still livable; the rest were ruined. This indicates that one of the seras of three houses had collapsed. López said that the south half of the west wall was partly fallen as well, suggesting that it was one of the houses along this part of the west wall that was in ruins. Later evidence indicates that it was the second sera from the south that had fallen.[170]

In the sacristy serving as the church, the 1793 inventory described the altar table with its retablo carved of wood and covered with gold leaf, with a large niche in its center. This niche had a glass door covering it, and inside was the statue of San Antonio, 1 vara

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Leutenegger, trans., Fray Marion Habig, ed. (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1978), p. 247.

[168] López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5808.

[169] López, 1793, "Imbentario," ff. 5813–14.

[170] López, 1793, "Imbentario," f. 5814.

tall, that had been in the center of the altar in the temporary church in the granary. Most of the other santos from the various altars in the old church were also on this retablo.

The room next to the sacristy serving as the church was itself serving as the temporary sacristy. In the temporary sacristy was the large cabinet with eight large drawers and two cupboards, one on each end, and a front door of carved wood, all of which contained the vestments and vessels for the temporary church.[171] There was no altar in this sacristy.

With the secularization, the mission passed out of the hands of a single managing authority and became the property of a number of landowners, each of whom managed their portion of the structures according to their own needs. The unified history of the mission ended, and the story of the buildings becomes one of tracking individual lots.

[171] Saenz de Gumiel, 1772, Inventory, p. 8; López, 1793, *"Imbentario,"* fr. 5809.

Chapter 5
The Structural History of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, 1720–1900

Introduction

San José was founded on February 23, 1720.[1] The location of the original site is not certain, but archaeology suggests that it was 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, and San José set the pattern for the location of the other missions of the San Antonio Missions National Park. We will briefly consider the history of San José's movements before beginning the analysis of its structural history on its present site.

The Founding of San José

The question of the locations and even the number of locations of Mission San José is a difficult one. The long-accepted story of the movements of San José is told succinctly by Fray Marion Habig in *The Alamo Chain of Missions*.[2] Habig says that San José was first established on the east bank of the river and a little to the north of its present location. Between 1724 and 1727 it was supposedly moved to the west bank and south, and established on a lower terrace of the river. Between 1739 and 1749, Habig says, it was moved to its present location, perhaps because of unhealthful conditions and flooding at the lower site.[3]

Evidence, both historical and archaeological, has become available which permits a reevaluation of Habig's narrative. This indicates 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

[1] Captain Juan Valdéz, *"Oposición a la fundación de la Mission de San Joseph del rio de San Antonio,"* February 23, 1720; Captain Juan Valdéz, "Report of Juan Valdéz," March 13, 1720, in *The San José Papers: Edited Primary Manuscript Sources for the History of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Part 1, 1719 to 1791*, Fray Benedict Leutenegger, trans., Fray Marion Habig, ed. (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1978), pp. 28–42.

[2] Fray Marion Habig, OFM, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), pp. 83–117.

[3] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, pp. 85–88.

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 arriving on the west side of the river in the mid-1720s and to its present site in the 1740s, as Habig suggests.

Determining San José's first location, on the east bank of the San Antonio River, is complicated by the lack of documentary evidence. Few of the available documents contain any spatial information at all, and we cannot entirely trust what little there is.

"That the first site of Mission San José 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 Habig.[4] 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.[5]

Espinosa's statement 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 phrasing suggests that it was moved downriver, but this is not made explicit. Assuming that it was moved down the river would require that its original site had been northeast or north of the present location of San José. A location anywhere in these directions and south of the south boundary of Valero's *ejido* (established east of the river in 1719, before San José was founded) would have placed the first site somewhere in the area of present mission Concepción, a short distance south of Valero's land and north of the present site of San José.

Some information about the location of the site is available in the foundation document itself. Lieutenant-General Juan Valdéz, 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.[6] From this point,

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[4] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 85.

[5] Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, *Crónica De Los Colegios De Propoganda Fide De La Nueva España* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964), p. 758.

[6] Valdéz, *"Oposición"* and "Report," OSMHRL, pp. 27–42.

Valdéz and the other founding officials followed the general alignment of the proposed acequia down the river valley for three-quarter league, or about two miles, where they came to a level, spacious elevated area. They agreed on this as the best location for the new mission. Valdéz and all others present decided that the site was a little more than three leagues, or about eight miles, from Mission San Antonio de Valero's location in 1720. Valero was on its second site from 1719 to 1724, at the northeast corner of the present area called La Villita. That the distance was measured from Valero shows that the site for San José was on the east side of the river, as Espinosa's description indicates.

Following the general lines of the river, a distance of three 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 four and five and one-half miles, (about one and one-half to two leagues) downstream, depending on how precisely the line of the river is followed. If Valdéz's estimate of the distance to the first site of San José is correct, then it would have been located near San Juan, not Concepción. The Espinosa account, probably a better description of San José's first location because it was not having to deal with the political difficulties between Querétaro and Zacatecas in the1720s, suggests that Valdéz's estimate was much too long, and examination of the foundation documents for the Querétaran missions in 1731 reveals that the first estimates of distances from the Presido de Béjar 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 Valdéz.

Fray Juan Antonio de la Peña briefly discussed the relative locations of the missions to the presidio soon after he arrived in the area in early April, 1721. When he first arrived in San Antonio, Peña stated that San José was one league from the presidio, which was at its original location just south of San Pedro Springs at this time.[7] A month later, in late April or early May 1721, when Peña was a little more familiar with the layout of the area, he said that Valero was "next to the Presidio," while San José was one and one-half leagues downiver from the presidio.[8] The Concepción site is about 1.4 league in a straight line from the apparent first location of the presidio, or a little over a league and a half by road.

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 Marqués 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.[9] The map

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[7] Bachillor don Juan Antonio de la Peña, *Derrotero de la Expedicion en la Provincia de los Texas, Nuevo Reyno de Philipnas* (Mexico: Juan Francisco de Ortega Bonilla, 1722), April 4, 1721, p. 1r.

[8] Peña, *Derrotero*, p. 6r.

[9] Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mission Era: The Winning of Texas, 1693–1731*, vol. 2, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1936), pp. 280–81.

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 located on the east bank, opposite the point where San Pedro Creek flowed into the San Antonio River.

According to Valdéz'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 approximately where Concepción's dam was located later. This suggests that the Concepción acequia system may have begun as the acequia for San José's first site. If so, the first San José dam and acequia were built on the land of Valero's southern fields.[10]

All this evidence indicates that San José's original site was on the east side of the river in the approximate area of present mission Concepción. A possible location for the first site was found during archaeological investigations at Mission Concepción in 1981. This excavation 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, mostly household debris of various sorts, 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 in the same general area, or for Mission San Xavier de Nájera, established on the site of Concepción in March 1722. The evidence suggests that both San José y San Miguel de Aguayo and San Xavier de Nájera were placed on the same site, before Concepción was founded here in 1731.

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 Valdéz, the Captain-General of Texas, that when San José was established it would be at least three leagues from Valero, as required by the laws of the Indies, so as to prevent possible conflicts between the two groups.[11] On the same day he received this petition, Valdéz 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 a full eight miles of river bank stood between the two missions, but he was not present for the actual selection of the site to be sure that was the actual distance.

[10] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, pp. 280–81.

[11] Valdéz, *"Oposición,"* OSMHRL, pp. 20–26.

As a result, even though it was only half the distance required by law, it appears that the Concepción site was selected for San José. Soon afterward, in an undocumented and unclear sequence of events, San José was moved to the west side of the river. Until documentation is found, we can only speculate as to what happened: Perhaps Valero, realizing that the new mission was much too close, and affronted by the Zacatecans building dams and ditches across Valero land, presented a formal complaint to the Marqués de Aguayo. However it happened, after due consideration the mission was moved to a less intrusive location across the river south of the presidio. Here, even though the linear distance was still only about two leagues, the river separated the two missions of Valero and San José. 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.

San José Moves to the West Bank

We can be fairly sure that the move from the east to the west bank occurred soon after the founding of San José on February 23, 1720. In 1727, the inspector Pedro Rivera visited San Fernando, and in 1730 he critiqued the map drawn by Aguayo showing San José on the east side of the river, pointing out that it was now on the west side.[12] This makes it clear that the mission had been moved across the river sometime before his visit in 1727, on which this critique was based.

In fact, if the first location of San José was at Concepción's site, as the available hints in the records suggest, then the move had to occur between April, 1721, when Aguayo visited the mission at the location he later remembered and recorded on his map in 1730, and March, 1722, when the same site was selected for Nájera.[13] At its founding, the Nájera mission was described as being located between the site of Valero and the location of San José.[14] Since we know from the founding documents of Concepción in 1731 that Nájera was established on the site later given to Concepción[15] (see below), San José had to have been moved off the Concepción site to some location farther south by 1722, in order for the San Xavier/Concepción site to be between Valero and San José in that year.

The situation, involving some 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

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[12] Pedro de Rivera, "Pedro de Rivera to the Viceroy," September 30, 1730, OSMHRL, *San José Papers*, pp. 47–48.

[13] Valdéz, "*Oposición,*" OSMHRL, pp. 47–48.

[14] *"El dia diez de dicho mes* [March, 1722], *teniendo elegido ya muy buen parage entre las dos Missiones de San Antonio, y San Joseph, passó el Señor Governador á dar Possession de la Mission...,"* Peña, *Derrotero*, f. 25.

[15] Captain Juan Antonio Peres de Almazán, *Testimonio de Asiento de Missiones*, March 5, 1731, Spanish Archives of the Texas General Land Office, box 122, folder 2, pp. 19v–21.

fact, the problem with the location and conflict between Valero and San José may have been brought to Aguayo's attention during this visit, and he may have made the decision to move the mission at that time. The best approximation for the date of the move is therefore probably the summer of 1721.

A curious addition to this discussion is the final note on the report of the founding of San José by Captain Juan Valdéz. The secretary of Government and War, Pedro de Yzla y Palacio, who was accompanying the Marqués de Aguayo on the trip to Texas, made a note at the end of the document indicating that the version used by Leutenegger and Habig for their transcription and translation in the *San José Papers* was a copy ordered made by Yzla y Palacio on April 20, 1722, while the visitation was still in San Fernando. Yzla y Palacio states that the copy "agrees with the dispatch and the rest that is attached to it,"[16] and that he had "corrected and arranged it" by order of the Marqués. The copy as we have it has several additions to Valdéz's original report on the founding of San José, including a confirmation by the Marqués added by him to the original document in March, 1720, at Monclova, before he made the trip to Texas, bringing the original document with him. San José was probably moved to the west bank of the San Antonio River soon after this copy was made—and we might suspect that the copy was made in order to attach the orders by the Marqués for the move. However, we have no document that actually records this event.

The Second Site of Mission San José:

The mission was at its present location by March 1722, when it was fairly explicitly described as being there by Fray Juan Antonio de la Peña.[17] On March 16, 1722, six days after the establishment of Mission Nájera on the Concepción site, Fray Peña described the departure of the expedition from the new location of the Presidio de San Antonio (at the present location of Military Plaza), marching toward the future site of the Presidio of Loreto and mission of La Bahia: the column moved south out of San Antonio to the mission of San José, "a distance of about two leagues," without mentioning that they crossed the river, passed Valero, or went by the new site of Nájera.[18] The terms of the description of the route make it likely that the expedition marched to San José at its new site on the west side of the river, more or less at its present location about 1 3/4 leagues south-southeast of the presidio, and then crossed the river at the Nogal Crossing, the present location of the San Juan Dam.

There are no founding documents for San José on its second site. It is likely that the original document was accepted as the legal deed to the second site as well.

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[16] "*Concuerda con el despacho y lo demas a el anexo...*"

[17] Peña, *Derrotero*, pp. 25, 25v.

[18] Peña, *Derrotero*, p. 25v.

The site San José occupied on the west bank was probably the present one. There is no real evidence for the possibility of a site intermediate between the original location on the east bank and the present location on the west. Habig used two references to support his hypothesis of an intermediate site. In 1750, Fr. Francisco Vallejo said that San José had been placed "*en varias situasiones*,"[19] a phrase that means approximately "in several locations." 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 remark 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.[20]

This passage can be taken as no more than a recitation of local tradition, if it can be treated seriously at all, since it is background information given as part of the fictional narrative. The context indicates that, assuming Hoermann was trying to be accurate, he considered the previous site of the mission to have been on a lower terrace than the present site, but does not indicate which side of the river it was on. This is described as the "original" site. In other words, if this was not a fictional background, Hoermann knew that the mission had been moved, but knew of only one, not two, previous sites. He made no reference to an intermediate site on the west bank between ca. 1721 and 1744, but it is certainly possible that Hoermann misunderstood the references to a previous site and its location. Certainly his 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 the floodplain.

Because of the vagueness of the documents used to support the idea, the absence of clear supporting evidence, and the sum of the other historical statements about this

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[19] Fray Francisco Vallejo to the Fray Commissary General in Spain, January 1, 1750, OSMHRL, *San José Papers*, p. 105.

[20] Father Alto S. Hoermann, *The Daughter of Tehuan, or Texas of the Past Century*, translated by Alois Braun (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1932), p. 27.

sequence of events, there is no particular reason to accept Habig's opinion, based on only the knowledge available in the 1960s, that Hoermann's statement implies an intermediate site between the original and the present one. Therefore, this study will assume that in ca. 1721 San José was moved to its present location.

San José Before 1755

San José, run by the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Zacatecas, was administratively separate from the Querétaran-run missions. However, it is presumed that as much cooperation occurred between the two colleges in hiring architects as occurred between Querétaro and the town of San Fernando de Béjar. That is, if one group had brought an architect to town, the other groups could contract for part of his time. Therefore, the presence of a given architect at the Querétaran missions will be considered to make his skills available to Zacatecan San José as well. This means that Antonio Tello and his successors probably worked on projects at San José during their periods of activity, beginning in the early 1740s. Finding the Zacatecan account books for these years, probably in the collection at Celaya, would clear up much of this uncertainty.

The description in the original grant of how the new mission was to be laid out probably gives a rough idea of how the second site looked after its establishment, and 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 therefore marked out at the new site in the same general plan that had been used at the old one. Temporary 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.[21] The acequia had apparently been completed by June of 1724.[22]

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 Franciscans at San José built the first versions of the present church, convento, workshops, granary, Indian village, fields, and acequia system. The pattern discussed in Chapter 3 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. Work on a stone church, convento, and granary probably began in the mid-1720s. If the Zacatecans had made use of Antonio Tello's expertise, they may have

[21] Valdéz, "Report," OSMHRL, p. 35.

[22] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 86. Habig cites Nuñez de Haro, a 1724 statement by whom is included in the San José papers, but as printed there it does not include any mention of the completion of the acequia. It is unclear where Habig got this date.

gotten the vaulted granary begun in the early 1740s, probably to be finished by Gerónimo Ibarra in the first half of the 1750s. It was complete and in use by 1755.

In 1740, Fray Mariano Dolores y Viana described the conditions at San José: "*en la mission antigua de S[a]n Joseph se esta fabricando total[men]te de nuevo* ..." in the old mission of San José a totally new [church] is being built.[23] By the time of Espinosa's brief description in 1744, the interim flat-roofed stone church and convento had been finished by the Franciscans and was in use: "*tiene su iglesia de terrado*…" [the mission] has its church with a flat earthen roof.[24]

San José in 1755: the Terrado Church

The *iglesia de terrado* (church with a flat earthen roof) was first mentioned by Espinosa in 1744.[25] 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, and examination of the present structure of the church and convento of San José indicates that a portion of this church survives today, incorporated into the west wall at the northwest corner of the convento during the renovations of the 1760s and 1770s. The wall section tells us that the first stone church was located on the site of the present church and apparently faced south. The material from which the church was made was never stated, but the survival of the section of the end wall of its east transept in the present convento buildings demonstrates that it was of stone.[26]

The terrado church is fairly well described. Mariano de los Dolores y Viana in 1755 said: "*Tiene una Yglesia como de 35 baras de largo, siete de ancho, con su cruzero y alto correspond[amen]te en la que estan quatro Altares*," [the mission] has a church about thirty-five varas [about ninety-seven feet] long, seven varas [about nineteen feet] wide with transepts [giving a classical 1:5 ratio],[27] and of "proportional" height. The last phrase means that the church had the standard 1:1 ratio of width to height for a flat-

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[23] Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana, *Letters and Memorials of Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana, 1737–1763: Documents on the Missions of Texas from the Archives of the College of Querétaro*, transcript and translation by Fray Benedict Leutenegger, introduction and notes by Fray Marion A. Habig (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, 1985), pp. 24–25.

[24] Espinosa, *Chronica*, p. 758.

[25] Espinosa, *Chronica*, p. 758.

[26] 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."

[27] George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), vol. 2, p. 242.

roofed church, giving nineteen feet high on the interior. There were four altars in the church, and Dolores y Viana added that the church had a bell tower with four bells, two large and two small.[28] A reference in 1757 to the replacement of roofing vigas confirms that the church had a flat earthen roof supported by vigas as described by Espinosa, not a vaulted roof.[29] No mention was made of a dome over the transept crossing, but only a vaulted roof could support a dome. The building may have had a clerestory window like the flat-roofed seventeenth and eighteenth-century churches of New Mexico.

The locations of the four altars were not given, but undoubtedly the largest and most complex was in the sanctuary at the head of the church, and a simpler one would have been at the head of each transept. The fourth was probably against one wall of the nave.[30] In the sacristy was a cabinet for vestments, with four drawers, two small chests, and one large chest with a key in which were kept a number of vestments. On one wall was a gilded niche, although no statue was mentioned as within it.[31]

A number of the altar furnishings, images, and other items inventoried in 1755 continued in use even as the first church was torn down in the 1760s, in one or perhaps two temporary churches during the construction of a new church, and finally put back into the present church, after its completion in the early 1780s. They were included in the inventory of 1785 and the final inventory of 1824.

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[28] Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana, inventory of October 4, 1755, in "*Ymbentario y aumentos que hizo en la Mission de S[eℤo]r S[a]n J[ose]ph, siendo en ella M[i]n[is]tro, el R[everendo] P[adre] ex Guardian Fr[ay] Yldephonso Marmolejo*," August, 1757, Celaya Archives microfilm, roll 8, frames 5245–5258. The description of the church is on ff. 5245–46. A typescript and translation of this document is in Leutenegger and Habig, *San José Papers I*, pp. 107–128, and the description of the church is on pp. 108–112. 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, they say, was written by Marmolejo soon after that date. A careful reading of the headings of each inventory, however, shows that Fray Marian de los 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 the first inventory was made. One year and ten months later, in August 1757, Marmolejo carried out a supplemental inventory. During that period 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 intended to report the extent of the damage and repairs. See Appendix.

[29] Fray Marmolejo, "*Ymbentario*," OSMHRL, f. 5251 (*San José Papers I*, p. 119).

[30] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, f. 5245 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 108–110).

[31] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, ff. 5246–47 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 110–112).

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.[32] Since 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 portería*, a convento with an enclosed cloister with its formal entranceway.[33] This reference to an enclosed cloister implies that the present ground-level arcaded corridor had been built by 1749. This could have been the work of the master mason Antonio Tello in 1740–44. The lack of any references to a second story in these statements probably indicates that none had been built before 1749.

It is likely that San José's convento was constructed as a series of units, beginning next to the terrado church and growing eastward. Some information about the appearance of the convento in these early years is available in the descriptions and from archaeology. There is reason to suspect that the San José convento was originally planned to be like that built at Valero, with a continuous series of rooms, fronted by an arcaded cloister, forming a square around a central patio. Of this plan, the northern row was constructed above grade. However, Smith located foundations that may have been intended to form the southeast corner of such a plan.[34] If the missionaries intended such a convento, they abandoned the idea by the early 1740s, when only the north row of rooms had been built. The arcaded corridor added about that time was designed and built with the corridor thirteen and one-half feet across and the arches just about ten feet wide. The two short side porches added afterward had to fit the arch openings, and therefore were only ten feet across. Had the arcade been designed for a symmetrically-planned convento, the two end arches would have been about thirteen and one-half feet across so as to permit a corridor of the same width down each of the side rows of the convento. In other words, by the time the corridor arcade was built in the early 1740s, the idea of a square enclosed cloister had been given up.

The San José convento probably had an enclosing wall, creating a convento compound. Evidence for such a wall can be seen in Fr. Ciprian's statement that the convento was a *claustro serrado*, an enclosed cloister, and in Fr. Dolores y Viana's statement that the convento *tendia como 150 baras en circuito, con su claustro bajo*, had a circumference

[32] Espinosa, *Chronica*, p. 758.

[33] Fray Ignacio Ciprián, "Report of Fr. Ignacio Antonio Ciprián concerning Mission San José . . . ," October 27, 1749, in OSMHRL, *San José Papers I*, p. 98.

[34] A similar sequence of construction events happened at Concepción, where the foundations for an entire enclosed convento were laid out around a central patio, but apparently only the north row of the building was actually constructed above-ground. At Valero, the east wing of the convento had its arcade wall built, and its back wall, but no main wall, partition walls, or roofs.

of about 150 varas (411 feet) with a cloister on the ground floor.[35] 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 about 416 feet. This close agreement within two varas with Dolores y Viana's estimate prompts us to accept that the present convento and garden with an enclosing wall along the south side of the convento was built in the 1740s and 1750s.

Espada's convento took about thirty 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 and probably were at the west end of the north row, next to the church. The Franciscans themselves apparently directed most of the construction of the convento spaces at San José. A master mason, probably Antonio Tello, would have been involved only for the construction of the arched cloister walk along the south side of the first floor rooms of the convento in the period from 1740–1744. By the 1750s, 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 and the two short side corridors at the east and west ends of the main corridor were added later in the history of the convento during the reconstruction of l770–1775.

The 1755 inventory of the convento began with the introductory statement that it consisted of a ground-floor cloister corridor and thirteen rooms. A second story room had added between 1749 and 1755.[36] The inventory described the contents of the two *oficinas* (storerooms), a cell, and a kitchen on the lower floor, and the cell on the second floor. The remaining eight rooms mentioned by Dolores y Viana as being in the convento may refer to such rooms as the *portería*, the stairwell, probably a latrine, and five other rooms. The second story contained only one cell, and had no corridor.

The inventory was not as clear on furnishings and spatial orientation in the rooms as was the 1772 inventory of the Querétaran missions, and none of the room dimensions were given. The first *oficina* inventoried, for example, contained a number of items such as hatchets, wax, sandals and nails that were typically found in the missionary's storeroom rather than the community storeroom, but no mention was made of any chests, cabinets, tables or shelves where these items were stored. The second storeroom contained community goods, for use in the field or to be distributed to the Indians, again without furniture or containers. One item of interest was a pile of fify *costales*, or burlap sacks, "between good and bad," or somewhat worn out. These were

[35] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, f. 5247 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 112–115).

[36] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, ff. 5247–49 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 112–115).

undoubtedly spare sacks waiting to be used to store corn, beans, or wheat in the granary.[37]

The cell on the ground floor had only a table and chair and several musical instruments. It apparently had no bed. The kitchen, inventoried next, had a good selection of pots, kettles and skillets, but the inventory mentioned no stove or cooking arrangements of any sort.[38]

The main cell on the second floor contained two tables, one with a drawer, four chairs, two stools, a bench, two beds "*con su bancas*," indicating that they were beds made up of boards and benches like the canopied bed in *celda* 3 at Espada in 1772, and a bookshelf holding twenty-five books, the titles and authors of which were listed. A quantity of typical office supplies were in this room, including paper, razors and their sharpening stones, a number of cups and plates, chocolate and its preparatory equipment such as chocolate beaters and pots, chamber pots, and the like. Again, there was little reference to boxes or other containers for most of these items.[39]

The Pueblo

Few details about the other components of San José 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 year or so later. The mission would have been 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 at the present site of San José about 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.

The first clear descriptions of the appearance of the pueblo appear in the reports of the 1750s. The reconstructed pueblo of Mission San José as seen today is completely different from the picture presented by these descriptions. From its establishment on the west bank about 1721 through about 1760, the pueblo of San José was an open village arranged in blocks or rows along streets.[40] It had no enclosing wall or defenses

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[37] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, f. 5247 (*San José Papers I*, p. 112).

[38] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, f. 5248 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 112–113).

[39] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, ff. 5248–5249 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 113–115).

[40] For plans of typical Franciscan mission villages which have remained open villages, in the Sierra Gorda area of the state of Querétaro, constructed beginning in 1750–1751, see *Las*

other than the houses themselves. 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."[41] 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 eighty-four houses of stone forming streets . . ."[42]

San José in 1757

The Church

Marmolejo carried out a full refurbishing of the terrado church about 1756. He briefly described the work in the 1757 addendum to the 1755 inventory (see Appendix for a discussion of the dating of the 1755 and 1757 inventories). Here Marmolejo said that the church had been whitewashed and painted since 1755, and some changes made to the altars:

> *Yglesia. Se blanqueo y pinto todo y se pusieron tres altares o retablos pintados en la misma pared de pintura fina que fueron el maior, el de Jesus, y el de mi s[eñor]a de los Dolores...*
>
> Church. It was entirely whitewashed and painted and three altars or painted retablos were placed on the wall itself, of fine painting, that were the main one, that of Jesus, and that of my Lady de los Dolores ...[43]

The sacristy had been whitewashed and painted, the pulpit painted, and new window frames built into the sacristy window and the window of the choir loft. Marmolejo also remarked that two new vigas and a new floor had been put in the church.

The Convento

The 1757 addendum stated that the convento was whitewashed and painted, and a flagstone floor put into the corredor and portería, the cloister walk and formal entranceway, on the ground floor. There was still no corredor mentioned on the second level. A previously unusable room had been renovated since 1755 by rebuilding its roof

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Misiones Franciscanas de la Sierra Gorda como Patrimonial Cultural de la Humanidad, UNESCO, file no. 1079 (Querétaro: 2001).

[41] Ciprián, "Report . . . San José," 1749, OSMHRL, pp. 97–98.

[42] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, OSMHRL, f. 5249 (*San José Papers I*, p. 115).

[43] Marmolejo, "*Ymbentario*," 1757, OSMHRL, f. 5251 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 118–119).

with five new vigas, putting in new wooden window gratings, and laying a new floor. The room was then whitewashed and in 1757 was serving as an oficina and refectory. New doors and frames were added to the two oficinas inventoried in 1755, as well as to a third *oficina* unmentioned then.[44]

In the cell on the second floor the carpenter built a new balcony, bookcase, and cupboard.[45] The balcony was five varas (13.7 feet) long and one and one-quarter vara (3.4 feet) wide, supported on corbels, with a railing of three small lathe-turned pillars and wooden grilles, all of walnut. The balcony had a roof, floor and double doors made of cedar, with a bolt of iron. The *estante de libros*, or bookcase, had been carved with skillful moldings, and with lathe-turned feet, with four shelves, ranging from large to small, three and one-half varas (9.6 feet) high and two varas (5.5 feet) wide. The cupboard was the same size as the bookshelves, 9.6 feet by 5.5 feet. It had three shelves on which were kept plates, cups, pitchers and *tinajas*, water-jugs. Also in the room were two benches of cedar, each a little more than three varas (8.2 feet) long, and a large table, two and one-half varas (6.9 feet) long and one and one-quarter vara (3.4 feet) wide, with a drawer, two chairs of cedar, and three beds. These are of interest because the balcony, bookcase and cupboard are easily identifiable in the 1785 inventory, and at least the balcony continued in existence through the middle 1800s, probably until the Benedictine reconstruction of the convento in the 1860s.

The 1757, 1785, and 1823 inventories of the second story cell and the associated balcony built between 1755 and 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 position during the same period, since its walls were part of the second story cell. The partitioning and room sizes of the remainder of the first floor prior to the reconstruction of 1770–1775 cannot be determined from the inventory, but can be assumed to have been the same as the post-1775 partition locations. The possibility of different wall locations before 1770–1775 should be checked by archaeology.

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.

The 1755 and 1757 inventories give no indication of the locations of these structures, but over the years other references make it clear that the granary was in the northwest

[44] Marmolejo, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, OSMHRL, ff. 5252–5253 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 120–121).

[45] Marmolejo, "*Ymbentario*," 1757, OSMHRL, f. 5252 (*San José Papers I*, pp. 121–122).

corner of the mission, flanked on its east side by the carpenter's shop and on the other by the blacksmith shop.

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[a]s de maiz . . . Yt[em] Una medida de media fanega y un almud,*" Granary: It is about thirty varas long [about eighty-three feet] and seven wide [about nineteen and one-half feet] with two *corrientes* and its *granero*, in which they have about 150 *fanegas* [about seven and one-half tons] of corn . . . Item: a measuring scoop of one-half *fanega* and one *almud* scoop]."[46] 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. *Puertas corrientes*, or common doors, are referred to frequently in the 1823 appraisal.

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[a]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 seventy-six tons] of corn, fifty of beans [about two and one-half tons] a little combed cotton, and more than 100 calabashes]."[47] It is unlikely that seventy-six tons of corn and two and one-half 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 extra sacks are mentioned stored in the storeroom, and it is likely that such sacks were used as part of the storage system. It is likely that a jacal granary was built in the 1720s at the new site of the mission, and a more permanent flat-roofed adobe or stone building soon afterwards. The massive vaulted building, however, would have required the skills of a master mason to construct, and therefore would not have been built until after the arrival of Antonio Tello at San Antonio about 1740, or Gerónimo de Ibarra in 1750.

The granary was a vaulted stone building by 1755. This was an early version of the granary of 1785, the same structure that stands at San José today. The width of nineteen and one-half feet given by Dolores y Viana is somewhat narrower than the present width of about twenty-two feet, interior measurement, but probably not significantly so. In colonial terms, the difference was only one vara of measurement error. The

[46] Dolores y Viana "*Ymbentario*," 1755, OSMHRL, f. 5249 (*San José Papers I*, p. 115).

[47] Marmolejo "*Ymbentario*," 1757, OSMHRL, f. 5254 (*San José Papers I*, p. 123).

length of thirty varas, or eighty-three feet, is the correct length of the exterior measurement of three of the four bays of the present granary. The granary of 1755–57 was only three of the present four bays long, as described by Fr. Solís in 1768: "*troxe de bobeda de piedra y cal de tres caZones*," a vaulted granary of stone and lime of three bays.[48] The fourth bay was later added to the granary, perhaps in the 1770s.

The three bays of the 1755 granary were 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, shows that the fabric of the south bay is of a somewhat different pattern and combination of mineral composition, and abuts the northern three bays—therefore it was added after the original construction.

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. The ongoing construction was 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 were in response to this same storm).

Of the two, the building for the *carpentería* 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 twelve varas in length [about thirty-three feet], and have a *portal* (an arcaded porch or corredor) with its roof, all of stone]."[49] Both this item and the one for the blacksmith's shop had a marginal note stating *se caio y reedifico*, it fell during the storm of ca. 1756, and was rebuilt.[50]

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[o]r dentro y fuera* [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]."[51] The carpenter's shop itself was built against the east side of the granary at its north end. The portal was apparently a corredor-like extension with four arches, projecting eastward from the shop a short distance. It was probably a covered work

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[48] Fray Gaspar Solís, "Report on Mission San José in the Diary of Fr. Gaspar José Solís," March-August, 1768, OSMHRL, in *San José Papers I*, p. 144.

[49] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, OSMHRL, f. 5250 (*San José Papers I*, p. 116).

[50] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, f. 5250 (*San José Papers I*, p. 116).

[51] Marmolejo, "*Ymbentario*," 1757, f. 5255 (*San José Papers I*, p. 124).

area for the carpenter, with the shop room intended to store items needing protection, such as tools, materials, and finished furniture, from the weather and from petty theft.

The Blacksmith's Shop

As was the case with the carpenter's shop, the blacksmith's shop was started about 1755, damaged in the storm of ca. 1756, and rebuilt by 1757: "*Fragua. Esta sera de ocho b[ara]s . . .*" Forge: This is to be of eight varas [in length; about twenty-two feet] . . .[52] "*Fragua. Se hizo nuevo de 12 b[ara]s de largo, con casa para el Herrero y su familia, techada de Zacate . . .*" Forge: It was made anew, twelve varas [about thirty-three feet] in length, with a house for the smith and his family, with a thatched roof . . ."[53] It is possible that the length given in the 1757 addendum confused the 1755 length of twelve varas for the carpenter's shop and the eight vara length listed for the blacksmith shop, since the two are listed together. The blacksmith shop could, therefore, have been eight varas or twenty-two feet long, which is the size it was in later listings.

The Weaving Workshop

The *obraje*, or weaving workshop, is first described in detail by Dolores y Viana in 1755: "*Esta pieza tendra como Quarenta b[ara]s es de piedra, con su portal dos piezas en los extremos con sus puertas . . .*" This building is about forty varas long [109.6 feet]; it is of stone, with a portal; two rooms at the ends with their doors . . ."[54] 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 1757 inventory does not mention any change to this structure. The inventory of 1785 indicates that the weaving workshop was a total of sixty varas (164.4 feet) long, consisted of three rooms and a corridor, with the "*salon*," or large room, with three looms "*a un lado*," at one side of the portal, and "*contigua*," contiguous, with this room was a second where wool and cotton were stored, while the third was "*en frente*," in front of or opposite, the second. The entire structure was "*al lado de la casa*," at the side of the house. The phrase *la casa* usually meant the convento (see for example the description of the tribune above the sanctuary, which *cae al corredor de la casa*, opens onto the corridor of the "house," the convento). The obraje, then, was on one side of the convento.

The two descriptions, 1755 and 1785, indicate that a twenty-vara (54.8 foot) section had been added to the building in the thirty years between them. This was added to one end, so that the original structure consisted of a room, a *portal*, or porch, and another room, while the 1785 structure consisted of a room, portal, room and large room. The large room, the salon, was twenty varas long (probably interior length),

[52] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, f. 5249.

[53] Marmolejo, "*Ymbentario*," 1757, f. 5256.

[54] Dolores y Viana, "*Ymbentario*," 1755, f. 5250.

while the other two rooms with the portal between them totaled forty varas (109.6 feet) in length (probably an exterior measurement).

The location of at least a portion of this workshop was specified in the documentation of sales from the Mexican Government to Juan Martín Veramendi in 1824. 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 thirteen and one-half varas (thirty-seven feet) long apparently extending south from the northeast corner of the compound, and then a roofless building twenty-five varas (68.5 feet) long, interior measurements.[55] Additional information from other deed records indicates that there was a gap of unstated size between the section of single wall and the 68.5-foot building.

In the addendum to the 1823 appraisal, which lists property sales, Juan Martín Veramendi was named as the buyer of most of the convento as well as the 68.5-foot roofless building on the east wall of the compound.[56] In the deed transferring the property, the building was referred to as "the ruined walls of the structure which served as the obraje," twenty-five varas (68.5 feet) long.[57] It was bounded on the north by the *callezuela q[u]e corre por tras de la Iglesia* (the little street that runs behind the church), and on the south by the plaza, which apparently meant that the east gate was gone, leaving a gap on the south side of the obraje. The heirs of Veramendi sold the property to the Church in 1854–59.[58]

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, sixty varas (164.4 feet) in 1785, had to be the distance from the northeast corner of the compound to the north side of the road. This would place the east gate about twenty-eight feet farther south than the location given it by Smith's reconstruction. In the period after 1794, some portion of the building had been demolished to make the opening for the "little street" behind the church, leaving a structure about twenty-five varas (68.5 feet) long at the south side of the street to be sold later. This probably was the exterior length of the salon mentioned in the 1785 inventory. The northern forty varas (109.6 feet) of the workshop had fallen, and part of it had been demolished to make the opening through the east wall for the "little street." The section of standing wall at the north end of the east wall was thirteen and one-half varas (thirty-seven feet) long, which is almost exactly one-third of the forty-vara length of the original building described in 1755. This suggests that the other two

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[55] Ramon Musquíz, ". . . *abaluo de las fabricas y murallas que hay existente en la Mission de Señor S[an] José* . . . ," December 18, 1823, GLOSA, box 122, folder 10, p. 115.

[56] Musquíz, "*Abaluo (appraisal)*," 1823, p. 116v.

[57] Mexican Government to Juan Martín Veramendi, March 17, 1824, BCA, MR no. 89.

[58] 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.

parts of this original forty-vara length were each an additional third—that is, that the portal was also thirteen and one-half varas, or thirty-seven feet, long, and the room at the south end of the original building was the final thirteen and one-half varas or thirty-seven feet of the total length of forty varas (109.6 feet). Of this, the walls of the northernmost room inside the main east wall had fallen, and the portal and south room had been demolished.

The documents indicate, then, that in 1755 the weaving workshop was just east of the convento, on the alignment where the east wall would be built a few years later. In 1755 the workshop was about 110 feet long, consisting of three rooms: the portal, about thirty-seven feet long, a room about thirty-seven feet long at the north end of the portal, and a second room of the same size at the south end. Its walls were about a vara thick. The two rooms were used for storing the raw material and processing it; the spinning was probably done in the corridor when the weather permitted. The weaving operation itself would take place in one of the rooms—the looms were too large to move around easily.

Sugar-making

The missionaries had been planting sugar cane for several years, and by 1757 had a sugar-making workshop set up. This included a thatched jacal fifteen varas long and six and one-half varas wide in which was a cane *molino*, or press, "of good wood, well-made and strong," to press the juice from the cane. These were usually turned by a donkey, but Marmolejo did not mention its power source. Next to the jacal were three ovens for the boiling kettles, a large trough, and a number of molds to make sugar cones.[59]

Lime-making

Three lime kilns were found outside the north wall of the mission during the WPA excavation of the later mill. The kilns resemble the somewhat larger kilns at Espada, and probably are of the same date as the probable lime-slaking tank just to the east. This tank has side channels running from the acequia to it, one of which was cut by the construction of the funnel for the gristmill, built about 1790. The slaking pit was a small-capacity structure, about the right size for a few small kilns like those along the mill run-off channel. It is reasonable to assume that the kilns and slaking pit date from a time when only a small amount of lime was needed for any given project: therefore, before the construction of the present church, beginning in 1767. Based on these considerations, the kilns and slaking tank were probably in use from the early 1720s to the late 1760s, when they would have been superseded by much larger kilns and slaking tanks elsewhere in the area (so far unlocated). It is likely that there were several more kilns, all along the side of a large semicircular cut in the terrace bank that supplied the limestone or caliche to be burned; subsequently the gristmill was built into this quarry

[59] Marmolejo, "*Ymbentario*," 1757, f. 5257.

pit left after the lime kilns were discontinued. Fray Gaspar Solís wrote the only description of these structures, in 1768. He mentioned an "oven for burning lime and bricks."[60] This probably referred to the larger, unlocated lime kiln rather than the small ovens next to the site of the later mill, since construction on the foundations of the big church, with its consequent need for large quantities of lime, had begun the year before Solís' 1768 visit.

The Pueblo

In 1757 Marmolejo described the pueblo: "*Se hizieron 12 casas de piedra y techo fuerte de madera encalabas p[o]r dentro y enfarradas p[o]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 . . .* [twelve houses were completed 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 . . .]."[61] As of 1757 these twelve houses were the only Indian quarters at San José which had arcaded corredors along the front; these arches were probably built by Gerónimo Ibarra about 1756.

Marmolejo's statement is usually taken to mean that twelve additional structures were added to the eighty-four already existing in 1755, for a total of ninety-six houses. In the translation given above I assume that Marmolejo used the verb *hacer* in the sense of "to make up a number, to complete," or "to bring into any new state or condition;"[62] that is, he was speaking of rebuilding or completing twelve of the previously existing eighty-four structures mentioned by Dolores y Viana—to be expected after the major storm of ca. 1756. Such an interpretation means that we will have no difficulty with the report of Governor Barrios written nine months later in 1758, which described the mission as an open village with eighty-four houses, not ninety-six.[63]

Barrios' description is hard to interpret because it is poorly punctuated and written in a military jargon. He reported that the mission had eighty-four stone houses with flat roofs and embrasured parapets. Each house consisted of a room and a kitchen, and all were built on the same plan. They were laid out in four cuadras, or blocks, made up of eighteen houses each, which accounts for seventy-two houses. Another twelve houses were somewhere in the area, but it is not clear how they fit into the plan. Although Barrios seems to indicate that each block enclosed its own patio, the description could just as easily mean that all four blocks enclosed a central patio area, with a branch of the acequia through it and ovens for the women. The casas reales, or government

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[60] Solís, "Report on Mission San José," *San José Papers*, p. 144.

[61] Marmolejo, "*Ymbentario*," 1757, f. 5253.

[62] Velásquez, et al., *The New Velázquez Spanish and English Dictionary*, 1999, p. 500.

[63] Jacinto Barrios y Jauregui, "*Informe del governador sobre la mission de San José*," May 28, 1758, in *San José Papers*, p. 131.

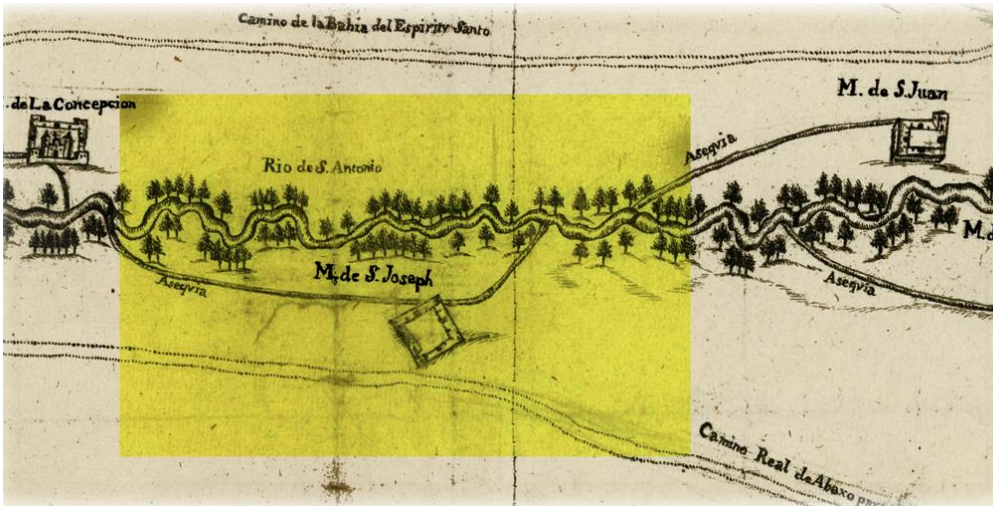


FIGURE 19: The Menchaca map of 1764 depicts Mission San José as an enclosed compound without a church. Image courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

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 twelve houses, along with the carpenter's shop, the granary, and the weaving workshop, formed four other plazas in addition to the main one. The twelve houses might have been the twelve finished with an arcaded corredor or portal, mentioned by Marmolejo a few months before. No military quarters are described by Barrios: he uses the word *quarteles*, barracks, 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.

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 farther north in the present plaza. Each block would have had eighteen houses, and each house had an enclosed area serving as its patio. The twelve houses remaining may have been along the wall line of the north side of the present compound, north of the convento.[64]

Such a hypothetical plan permits a logical line of development into the later enclosed mission, and does not conflict with the known archaeology of the mission. Fragments of wall foundations found by Schuetz in the plaza would then be

[64] Fray Marion A. Habig, *San Antonio's Mission San José: State and National Historic Site 1720–1968* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), p. 51.

interpreted as the remains of the extra row of houses inside the wall outline,[65] and the rectangular structure discovered by Smith in the present plaza becomes the most likely candidate for the casas reales.[66] 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 eighteen each, or a total of fifty-four houses, as described by Mariano in 1785. Such an assumption implies that the twelve houses, which may have been on the north side of the mission, were also removed at this time, only to be replaced later, in the l800s.

Habig's suggested layout of the pueblo is very speculative. More archaeological investigation will be necessary before an accurate plan of the mission compound in the 1750s can be drawn. Regardless of the details of the mission plan in the 1750s, it is clear that it underwent major changes between late 1758 and early 1764, resulting in a fortified mission (the mission is shown as an enclosed compound without a church on the Menchaca map of March 1764).[67] During this same period, 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 until the early 1760s.[68] 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 Concepción prompted the Franciscans to decide to replace the old church in the 1760s.

Joseph Palafox, working for the Querétarans on the effort to finish the Valero church in the early 1760s, was probably hired by the Zacatecans to design and build the new church at San José. Palafox tore down the terrado church in late 1763 or early 1764;

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[65] Mardith K. Schuetz, "Archeological Investigations at Mission San José in April, 1968," in Mardith K. Schuetz, *Excavation of a Section of the Acequia Madre in Bexar County, Texas, and Archeological Investigations at Mission San José in April 1968*, Archeological Report No. 19 (Austin: Texas Historical Survey Committee, 1970), fig. 1 (between pp. 1 and 2), p. 3.

[66] John W. Clark, Jr., *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo: Archeological Investigations, December 1974*, Texas State Historical Commission, Report 29 (Austin: Office of the State Archeologist, 1978), fig. 1.

[67] Captain don Luis Antonio Menchaca, "*Mapa del Presidio de San Antonio de Bexar, i sus Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, F[ec]ho en 24 del Mes de Marzo de 1764, Por el Capitan Don Luis Anttonio Menchaca que lo es de d[ic]ho Presidio*," in Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar*, pp. 56–57.

[68] The *terrado* church was last described in 1758; Barrios, "*Informe*," 1758, p. 133.

according to the Menchaca map the church was gone by March 1764. When the site was cleared, new foundation trenches were excavated, and foundations laid in them.

Palafox left San Antonio about 1765, bringing the effort to build the new church at San José to a halt. Estevan Losoya, also hired by the Querétarans, probably accepted a contract with the Zacatecans as well, and began constructing the foundations in 1765 or 1766. He died in 1767, about the time he had completed the foundations of the new church. The Zacatecans hired Antonio Salazar to take his place about 1768. The fine-carver Dionicio Gonzales, working at the same time for the Querétarans, was probably contracted to carry out the needed sculpture-work on the new church as it went up.

The Master Mason Antonio Salazar

Antonio Salazar was an Indian or mestizo from Zacatecas, born about 1733. He apparently trained in Zacatecas, and may have taken part in the work on the side portal of the parochial church of San Agustín in that city, although he is not mentioned in the records of that work.[69] He arrived in San Antonio about 1768, hired by the Zacatecans to take up where Estevan Losoya had left off in the construction of the present church of San José.[70] Salazar first appears in the surviving records in 1779, and lived at San José 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 (and probably from about 1768), through its completion about 1782, and was certainly responsible for the final changes that deleted the second bell tower and substituted the false parapet in its place. About 1770, the Zacatecans hired the master carpenter Pedro Huizar, apparently also a master sculptor like Dionicio Gonzales had been (see the discussion of this in Chapter 2), to carry out the fine-carving of the facade of the church, and to build all the carved woodwork of the doors and main retablo, as well as the centering and scaffolding for the construction of the vaults and domes of the church.

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. He was undoubtedly the redesigner of the incomplete church at San Juan, supervised the conversion of the granary at San Juan to the present church, designed the chapel and the bastions of the fortifications at Mission Espada's ranch headquarters building at Las Cabras (so like the unfinished church at San Juan), and designed and directed the construction of the renovations to the parish church of La Candelaria in San Fernando.

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[69] Clara Bargellini, *La Arquitectura de la Plata: Iglesias Monumentales del Centro-Norte de Mexico, 1640-1750* (Ciudad de Mexico: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas, 1991), p. 66.

[70] Mardith Schuetz, "Professional Artisans in the Hispanic Southwest." *The Americas* 40(1983)1:31.

Building the New Church

At the time of the laying of the cornerstone of the present church in 1768, Fray Solís stated that there was no actual church building in the mission. Instead, some of the arches of the portería of the convento had been closed and were serving as a temporary church.[71] The removal of the terrado church was necessitated by the need to construct the 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 1750s. Instead, all but the east wall of the old church was removed and services were shifted to the portería 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 1770s 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 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, where a portion of the original church was retained in a new, enlarged church. 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.[72] 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 the present church began with the end of the freezing weather of the winter of 1767–1768. On March 19, 1768, Fray Gaspar Solís participated in a ceremony blessing the first stones. He described the event 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 . . .* [I blessed the foundations and

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[71] Solís, "Report on Mission San José," 1768, p. 145. The term "*portería*" 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, *Vocabulario Arquitectonico Ilustrado* (Mexico City: Secretario del Patrimonio Nacional, 1975), p. 352.

[72] James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions. Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument, Historic Structure Report*, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers No. 15 (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1988), pp. 66–91.

first stones of the church on which construction has started in this mission; Don Hugo Oconor placed one stone, and I the other . . .]."[73]

Fray Solís stated that the intended dimensions of the original Palafox design for the church were fifty varas (137 feet) by ten varas (27.4 feet), and that the building was intended to have transepts.[74] This would give a transepted church with a classical width to length ratio of 1:5, where each unit was 10v by 10v, the same ratio as the original flat-roofed church. Three units would make up the nave, one the transept crossing, and one the apse. The transepts would also probably have been 10v by 10v units, or perhaps a little shallower. 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.[75]

Compare this with Concepción, slightly over eighty-six feet long and 21.5 feet wide (1:4, a ratio that the architectural historian George Kubler disapproved of for a transepted church), also with transepts and two bell towers. No dimensions of the church of San José are given in the 1785 inventory, but in the 1824 inventory it is said to be twenty-seven varas (about seventy-five feet) long, nine varas (about twenty-five feet) wide and fourteen varas (about thirty-nine feet) high. The actual present dimensions of the San José church are 100.5 feet by 25.75 feet interior dimensions (the distance from pilaster face to pilaster face cross the nave is almost precisely twenty-five feet), or a ratio of very close to 1:4, and approximately thirty-six feet from the present floor surface to the soffit of the vault of the nave. The error of about twenty-five feet in the length of San José as given in 1824 is unexplained, but may have been a copyist's error, where twenty-seven varas was written instead of thirty-seven varas, which would have given a length of about 102 feet. Curiously, Habig states that the present interior length of the church is eighty-six feet, actually the length of Concepción.[76] As it stands the building has three nave bays, a main bay where the transept would have crossed, and a sanctuary bay; 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.

These varying measurements make it apparent 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 thirty-nine feet (fourteen varas, so that it was thirty-six varas long instead of the original fifty), and

[73] Solís, "Report on Mission San José," 1768, p. 140.

[74] Solís, "Report on Mission San José," 1768, p. 140.

[75] Fray José Maria de Salas and Fray José Agustín Mariano Falcon, *"Inventario de la Mision de S[eo]r S[a]n Josef,"* 1785, f. 5268.

[76] Fray Juan Agustín Morfí, "Fr. Juan Agustín Morfí's Report on Mission San José," December, 1777, in *San José Papers*, p. 209.

finally, the stopping of work on the north bell tower when it reached the height of the nave vault. Kubler indicates that for a non-transepted church, a 1:5 ratio was too long and tunnel-like, and a 1:4 ratio gave a much better spatial arrangement. It appears that the architect Antonio Salazar agreed with him, and made the appropriate change to the length when he removed the transepts.[77] The plan and location of the present sacristy was designed at the time the transepts were eliminated from the plan before their construction above the foundations started—the sacristy is located in the area where the south transept would have been.

When Salazar shortened the planned length of the building, he left the width the same, so that the building still had five bays, but in units of about 6.75 (18.5 feet) long by ten varas wide for each bay except the one where the transepts would have crossed, which was about nine varas (24.7 feet) long. This change had to have been incorporated into the design before the church got above its foundations because there is no trace of the earlier version of the bay spacing in the above-grade walls of the building. Supporting evidence for this was seen in archaeological work inside the present sacristy by Anne Fox of the Center for Archaeological 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 foundation trenches of the proposed transepts, backfilled after the removal of their stone foundations. 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. No evidence of this was seen by Fox, but future excavations in this area should keep watch for such indications.[78]

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 apparently originally designed, probably about 1766, to completely overshadow the church of Concepción. After 1768 the impending departure of the Querétarans and the combining of the missions were influencing missionary policy.[79] At that point the desire for a church more magnificent than the rather old-fashioned Concepción

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[77] Kubler, *Mexican Architecture*, 2:242.

[78] David L. Nickels and Anne A. Fox, *Archaeological Investigations within the Church Sacristy at Mission San José (41BX3), San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas* Archaeological Survey Report No. 242 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, 1999), p. 26.

[79] Fray Benedict Leutenegger and Fray Marion A. Habig, *The Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas, 1716–1834; Excerpts from the Libros de los Decretos of the Missionary College of Zacatecas, 1701–1828*, with a biographical dictionary by Habig, Office of the State Archeologist, Report 23 (Austin: Texas Historical Survey Committee, 1973), pp. 9–10.

church 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 soon after the beginning of above-grade construction in 1768. The pattern of abutting and tied construction seen in the foundations of the sacristy agree that the new sacristy plan was added about the time the above-grade construction began, about mid-1768. In other words, the shortening of the new church, elimination of the transepts, and the redesign of the sacristy probably occurred about mid-1768, while Antonio Salazar was the master mason in charge of most construction in San Antonio, making him the most likely person to have carried out the changes.

The Convento in 1768

The portería mentioned in 1755 and 1757 became the temporary church in ca. 1767 with the demolition of the old iglesia de terrado; in 1768 "*lo que sirve de iglecia son unos arcos cerrados de la portería de la vivienda de los Ministros*," that which serves as the church is some closed arches of the portería of the residence of the Ministers. At San José, the term portería was used somewhat like it was at Concepción, where the arcaded cloister walk was considered in some sense part of the portería. A formal entranceway with a porter's lodge was built into the convento complex at Valero in the 1750s, but was soon changed to storage space, and at San Juan a formal entranceway with a porter's lodge was built about the same time, but the porter's lodge was almost immediately converted to a *hospedería*, a guest room. At Concepción the word "portería" was associated with both the corredor and the main entrance room of the convento; what was intended to be the porter's lodge in the 1750s instead was finished as either the main cell on the south side of the portería, or the storeroom on the north side.

The portería 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 portería were given a new flagstone flooring between 1755 and 1757.[80] The flagstone flooring of the corredor was still present in 1823.[81] "The portería 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 arched doorway through the west wall of this room may be seen south of the sacristy doorway. This may have been the doorway from the earlier sacristy of the first stone church into the same portería.

[80] Marmolejo, *"Ymbentario,"* 1757, f. 5252

[81] Musquíz, *"Abaluo* (appraisal)," 1823, p. 114 rev.

Of the remainder of the convento, Solís says only that *la vivienda suficientisima en todas las oficinas necesarias*, the convento is most sufficient in all of the necessary storerooms.

The Church in 1778–1782

The church was nearing completion in 1778 when Fray Juan Morfí 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.

The granary was apparently converted to be the church for a while, from about 1770 to 1775 or so: at some point in its history, the granary had a loft built into its northern end, reached by a flight of stairs on the east wall, and the interior walls were painted. These changes may have been associated with making the granary into a temporary church.[82] The painting was carried out after the granary was extended to its present length, which happened during the thirty-year period between 1755 and 1785. It is possible, therefore, that the granary was enlarged from thirty varas to its present length of forty varas about 1770, and made into the temporary church with the addition of a choir loft and interior painting.

When the present sacristy building was completed in the mid-1770s, services were moved to the new sacristy while construction continued on the church. The sacristy was still in use as the church when Morfí visited in 1778. The church and sacristy, said Morfí, could be the parochial church of a large city; they "have no equal in all of New Spain."[83]

The church was completed after 1778 and before 1785. Father Alto Hoermann stated that the church was finished in 1782.[84] When he arrived in San Antonio in the late 1850s, he said, a few people who had helped build the mission church were still living, as well as a number of persons whose parents had been involved in the work. He indicated that this date of completion was based on the testimony of such people. Again, however, Hoermann's novel was a work of fiction, and Hoermann's statement alone cannot be considered as proof of anything.

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[82] Jake Barrow, Robert Hartzler, and Pietro Mangarella, *Conservation of Interior finishes at the Granary, Mission San José* (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 2003), title page photograph and p. 1.

[83] Fray Juan Agustin Morfí, *Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico*, second edition, annotated by Vito Alessio Robles (Mexico: Antigua Libreria Robledo de José Porrua e Hijos, 1935), pp. 227- 28.

[84] Hoermann, *The Daughter of Tehuan*, p. 28.

In this case, however, we have supporting evidence. D. R. Woods, who visited San Antonio in 1846, reported that the church bore the date of 1782,[85] and an anonymous observer in the same year reported that the bells surviving in the church tower were inscribed "Seville, 1782."[86] A completion date of ca. 1782 is therefore probably correct.

The Convento: the Reconstruction of 1770–1780[87]

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, discussed below. The alterations and additions to the convento began during the final stages of construction of the present stone church, about the time it rose above the height of the first floor of the convento.

A close examination of the convento supplies some details of this reconstruction. As discussed above, the 1755 and 1757 inventories show that by the time they were written, 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. Measurements show that the abutment point of the old church was 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 two feet eleven and one-half 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 three feet six inches thick, still somewhat thinner than the general thickness of the remainder of the church walls, which average four feet everywhere except the facade. At present, this increased thickness continues to the southeastern corner of the sacristy, where the wall narrows to two feet nine inches—a little thinner than 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 (a doorway that 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;

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[85] D. R. Woods, 1982 "A Journal of Travels Out West [1846]," edited by Joseph W. McKnight, *El Campanario* 13(1982)3:13.

[86] Anonymous, "Notes from My Knapsack," *Putnam's Monthly* 3(1854)14:177.

[87] The following discussion is based on a series of detailed examinations of the fabric of the convento structure in 1975 to 1995.

a portion of this early sacristy wall would therefore survive as the section of convento wall two feet nine inches thick extending south from the present sacristy doorway. The southwestern section of corridor would have served as the formal connection between the convento and the sacristy, a standard arrangement of mission complexes.

The westernmost room of the second story was not there when the present church was built. The east wall of the church shelves out four and one-half 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 four feet above the surviving section of church wall and the roof of the convento. The original south wall of this room along the corridor, later removed by the Benedictines, was of continuous fabric with the west end wall of the corridor (originally part of the terrado church), 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 terrado church stood to approximately the height of the top of the arcade wall, a height of perhaps thirty feet. North of this abutting joint, the wall was added during construction of the present church.

All of this indicates that the corridor 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 indicates that no second floor corridor existed prior to the construction of the present church, and only one celda at this level, east of the stairs.

The second-level addition was made during the construction of the new church. The addition probably occurred in about 1770, 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 corridor of the second level) was butted against the remains of the old east wall of the east transept of the first stone church.

The surviving 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 corridor 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.



FIGURE 20 (left): Shown in this Historic Americancan Buildings Survey photo is the tenth ground-level arch at the east end of the *corredor* of the convento at 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, visible in pre-1860 drawings of the mission and still present within the wall structure; the Benedictines covered the buttress with masonry and made it a wall of the second story room above the kitchen. The oven is presently within the kitchen at the east end of the convento. Modern repairs have concealed the arch, but the edge of it can occasionally be seen when the protecting plaster weathers off at the top of the oven doors.



FIGURE 21 (right): An 1857 image of San José made by Louderback and Hoffman shows a flying buttress at the east end of the *corridor* 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. The drawing was published in William H. Emory's Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, accessed through the Internet Archive.

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 (the balcony-like structure built inside the sanctuary of the new church at the level of the second floor of the convento) was built into this opening. The doorway from the new second story corredor to the tribune within the new church was cut through this higher section of wall, and built out to the proper outline with brick. At the same time, another opening was cut through the old church wall at ground level 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 of the convento, and of notes by Ernst Schuchard in 1935 concerning wall painting at the missions, indicate that the traces of painted plaster which survive date from the ca. 1770 work; in fact, some of the traces of decorative paint on the interior surfaces of the west corridor may date from the period when its arches were closed and it served as the temporary church.[88] 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, added to take the strain the new, extended second story arcade added to the second floor 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.[89]

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 on the wall of the landing. 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

[88] Ernst F. Schuchard, *Fresco Paintings of the Missions*, Office of the State Archeologist (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1935), p. 25.

[89] Morfí, *Viaje de Indios*, 1778, p. 227.

crosswalls, then the crosswalls were built, and the red-painted dado, as well as the other painted decorations in the other rooms, applied afterward. 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 east and west ends of the second story cell were probably 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 evidence suggests that 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 was 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 these rooms, 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. 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 portería and part of the original sacristy wall also continued in use. No second story was added above the portería.

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 Fray Juan Morfí visited San Antonio, and inspected the missions of the area. At San José, he found the convento finished.[90] It had a first and second story, with two corridors. According to Morfí, the upper corridor 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 [corridor] 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

[90] Morfí, *Viaje de Indios*, 1778, p. 227.

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.[91] Whether the last was a usual activity of the missionaries or a passion peculiar to Morfí we cannot say. The area described was the roof over the one-story rooms added to the east end of the convento; the area did not become two stories high until the Benedictine work of the 1860s. The corridor opened onto the roof next to the flying buttresses. 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.[92]

The remainder of the convento received brief attention. There were sufficient cells for the missionaries and for guests, said Morfí, 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 a little 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.[93]

The Pueblo After ca. 1760

The rebuilding and enclosure of the mission in the early 1760s completely changed the plan, appearance, and spatial use of the pueblo. Fr. Solís' diary of 1768 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…*," 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 the 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 [13.7 to 16.4 feet] and four wide [eleven 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.[94] The house consisted of two rooms, as they had been described as early as 1757. One room was about fifteen by eleven feet, and the other eleven by eleven feet, used as a kitchen and entered from the first. Allowing for the usual two feet of wall thickness, and for the fact that the rooms were in contact and shared one wall, this arrangement would give a total length of about thirty feet to each house. The similarity to the descriptions from before the enclosing of the mission within its walls suggests

[91] Morfí, *Viaje de Indios*, 1778, p. 227.

[92] Morfí, *Viaje de Indios*, 1778, p. 227.

[93] Morfí, *Viaje de Indios*, 1778, p. 227.

[94] Solís, "Report on Mission San José," 1768, *San José Papers*, p. 144.

that some, at least, of the houses of the earlier layout had been incorporated into the new plan, as happened at Valero.

Additional information about the pueblo was recorded by Morfí in his diary ten years later: "*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 . . .[95] In the published version of this diary, Morfí expanded somewhat on this description, presumably from memory:

> *es una plaza muy hermosa 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 castillas 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 ordinariamente . . .*

> 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 (literally, "lateral castles,") from which muskets may be fired from cover, in case the enemy had torn down the gates. In addition to these, in front of the church there is a fifth gate that can be raised, which is the one usually used . . .[96]

The adjective *levadiza* means "that can be lifted or raised,"[97] and indicates that this gateway was closed by a gate which was raised and lowered like a portcullis, rather than hinged doors opening laterally.

Solís referred to *torreones* "in the opposing corners, each one guarding its two sides." Since no one else described corner bastions at San José, it appears that this was actually a poorly-worded and overly brief description of the same *torreones o baluartes* spoken of by Morfí in some detail. If this were the case, the corners on which Solís's bastions were located were the exterior corners of the gateways, opposite each other across the

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[95] Fray Juan Agustin Morfí, *Diario y Derrotero 1777–1781*, edited by Eugenio del Hoyo and Malcolm D. McLean (Monterrey: Edicion de Eugenio del Hoyo y Malcolm D. McLean y Escuela de Verano, 1967) p. 103.

[96] Morfí, *Viaje de Indios*, p. 226.

[97] Velasquez, et al., *The New Velázquez Spanish and English Dictionary*, p. 572.

mouth of the gate, rather than the diagonally opposite bastions on the exterior corners of the mission plan as a whole, and the *dos lienzos* were the faces of the exterior wall and the face of the gateway entrance adjacent to each gate bastion. The two bastions, one at each side of the gateway, were then described by Solís as *en las esquinas contradictorias*, a rather odd phrasing in Spanish, where *contradictoria* meant something like "opposite each other" or "face to face" in this context.

The bastion presently at San José was a creation by Harvey P. Smith, derived from the ca. 1825 bastion at Espada. Smith apparently built it as the result of a literal interpretation of Solís' statements, an interpretation that has been accepted by most historians and architects since, until John Clark's excavations in 1974–1975, when he and I found that there were no foundations or other archaeological evidence for this structure.[98] In fact, in Smith's collected drawings is a plan showing bastions of several different sizes superimposed on this corner. Smith simply designed and built the bastion he liked on the corner, based on a misinterpretation of Solís' statement rather than on any physical evidence.[99]

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 218 and 224 varas respectively. Morfí gave a measurement of 216 varas, Solís of 220 varas, suggesting that Morfí measured the east side and Solís the west side. Both took the compound for a perfect square and assumed therefore (incorrectly) that any one side would be equal in length to the other three. The north and south sides are each about 490 feet long, or about 178.8 varas.

The Mission in 1785–1794

San José as we know it today had been completed by the time of the inventory of 1785. In that year Fray Josef Agustín Falcón Mariano made a detailed inspection 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 physical layout of the convento, church and pueblo can be achieved.

The Church in 1785

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 misma piedra*, a very well-done carved entranceway with six statues carved from the same stone.[100]

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[98] John W. Clark, Jr., *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo: Archeological Investigations, December 1974*, Office of the State Archaeologist, Report no. 29, (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, Office of the State Archaeologist, 1978), pp. 40, 53, 63, 69, and fig. 18.

[99] Clark, *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo*, p. 7, fig. 5.

[100] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5264.

The western entrance into the church had carved doors without keys, but only two drop handles of different sizes, and the bell tower had four arched openings at the top, each with a railing of wood "like a balcony." It had five small bells of various sizes. In order to climb to the bell tower, there was a vaulted stairway with large steps of oak forming a spiral staircase up to the choir; from this point up were stairs of logs with step notches cut into them. Although the south half of the bell tower and the entire stair tower collapsed in the early twentieth century, both were rebuilt and the spiral stairs and log stairs were retrieved from the rubble and put back in place; they are still in use today. The tower had an iron cross with a weathervane. Where the other bell tower was to have been, the tower had "*tres cañones fingidos de palo*," three imitation cannon of wood, creating a *faux* gun emplacement on the top of the tower.[101]

Within the church to either side of the main entrance were the doors into the rooms in the bases of the towers. Each room was described as being in *uno de los cuvos* of the towers. 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.[102]

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 nave 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 inventory says that all these vaults were painted, suggesting some sort of decorative design or figural painting. The first bay at the western end contained the choir loft, which had a railing of lathe-turned wood. Each bay had shallow side vaults intersecting the main barrel 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 were called *lunetos.*[103] The vaulting of the nave was described as *vobedas pintadas* (painted vaults), indicating decorative painting on the intrado surfaces.[104] 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 was 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.[105]

The church had a wooden floor except in the sanctuary. Such a wooden floor is not particularly unusual; Concepción had a similar floor in 1772. Across two of the bays of

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[101] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5267.

[102] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5264.

[103] Secretario Patrimonio Nacional, *Vocabulario Arquitectonico*, pp. 72-73.

[104] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5263.

[105] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5268.

the vaulting, the floor boards had gone bad, and were covered with a shag carpet in poor condition, worked with an undescribed pattern.

The area of the sanctuary was separated from the nave by two steps of stone,[106] still in place today across the mouth of the apse, and a *comulgatorio de reja de fierro* (communion railing of iron grillwork), which is gone. The communion railing probably ran from pilaster to pilaster across the mouth of the sanctuary, at the top of the two stone steps. Just outside the communion railing was an unusable confessional. Within the sanctuary was the principal altar consisting of a table on a platform, both of wood. 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 twentieth century photographs (see Figure 22).

These indicate that the baldachin filled most of the upper half of the wall. It was outlined by four large sockets placed symmetrically along a horizontal line about the midpoint of the wall, and a quadrilateral scar running up at an angle from the northernmost socket, across the upper part of the wall, and back down to the southernmost socket. The retablo itself was centered on the wall above the altar, supported by two large socket points, one on either side of the vertical centerline of the wall, and three other smaller sockets forming a triangle above these two sockets. Two other sockets can be seen in the wall below these, asymmetrically off to the left of the vertical center line. The inventories do not suggest what was mounted here.

A second altar had also been set up in the church, probably against one of the nave walls. Associated with the second 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.

Along the walls of the nave were fourteen stations of the cross. They were oval frames, carved and gilded, in which were painted the scenes of each station. These were probably the same paintings that were along the walls of the nave of the first stone church in 1755; if so, each was about one-half vara (1.4 feet) high. In the nave were two tables, and on each was a statue with its carrying frame.

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

[106] Bachillor Francisco Maynes and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon. "*Inventario general y particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la Ciudad de Bexar de la Provincia de Texas, llamadas San Jose de Aguayo; la Purisima Concepcion de Acuna; San Juan de Capistrano; y San Francisco de Asis (vulg[aremente] de la Espada),*" February 29, 1824, Celaya microfilm, roll 4, frames 5569–81.



FIGURE 22: 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 1934. Image courtesy UTSA Special Collections.

railing of wood, and a locking door which opened into the *corredor* on the second story of the convento.[107] This tribune was undoubtedly smashed when the dome and vault fell in 1873. A *tribuna* is defined by Adams and Chavez as "a gallery in a church for the

[107] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5277; Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "*Inventario General*," 1824, f. 114v.

musicians, or for persons of high rank."[108] 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.[109]

Under the tribune in the south wall of the church, just west of the communion railing, was the sculptured doorway into the sacristy, with a carved wooden door. Today this carved stone doorway is badly damaged, most of its carvings having been broken off by the collapse of the dome onto it. The sacristy was 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, now known as 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 inventory is very badly organized, frequently returning to the main church to mention items the inventorying scribe forgot to include in the appropriate section, and sometimes repeating a description again. In some cases it is difficult to tell what is in the sacristy and what in the main body of the church, but eventually it becomes clear that there is an altar arranged in the sacristy, composed of a cabinet with drawers, probably the one with four drawers listed in the 1755 inventory of the earlier sacristy standing on a platform beneath a baldachin.[110]

The Convento in 1785

The 1785 inventory 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[111] downstairs and five upstairs, and *lugares comunes* (latrines). 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. This added up to six doors. There were ten windows in the building; of which eight had iron gratings. Four of these windows were large, four small. Two other windows had not yet had their gratings installed; one of these was middle-sized and the other large. The grating for the large

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[108] Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with Other Contemporary Documents*, translated by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), p. 363.

[109] See for example Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, pp. 234-256, 272–273.

[110] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[e□o]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, ff. 5265–5268.

[111] The word used in these inventories is "*piezas*," which means something like "spaces" or "floor areas" rather than specifically rooms. As a result, the open porches or portals were counted as among the "spaces" of the building.

window was missing three of its iron rods. The 1785 inventory listed the contents of the various rooms, but not their dimensions. Only eight rooms were described, four downstairs and four upstairs.[112]

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. The other five spaces were the main corridor, the stairwell, the latrine, and two other rooms with no assigned use, probably unmentioned storerooms.

On the second floor were: 1) the main cell with its balcony, containing among other things the library and records of the Father 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* (guest room). The fifth space was the upstairs corridor; the stairwell was counted only for the first floor.

Using the final inventory of 1823, several of these rooms can be located.[113] On the second floor, the guest room 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 because the crosswalls in place in 1785 were replaced in the 1860s, we don't know which room opened into the main cell, so it is uncertain which of the other two was the alcove and which was the second cell.

The main cell had its large balcony; two tables, one of them of medium size, with two drawers, and the other small; an old writing desk; a bench; six chairs; a small cabinet in which were stored the books of administration of the "missions of the interior which were abandoned," the San Xavier missions; a larger cabinet where plates, cups, pitchers and the like were stored, probably the cabinet built in 1757; and two bookshelves, one built in 1757 and the other probably the older one that was listed in 1755. One hundred forty eight books were on these shelves, twelve of them from the abandoned Rosario mission—all were listed by author and title. Another twelve record books of the accounts and business records of San José were here as well. Two other writing desks stored the mission archives and inventories. A number of items such as writing paper, ink-pots, shaving equipment, and other typical office items were kept here.

The alcove (the *trascelda*, the room behind the cell) was used as a spare bedroom and a storeroom. It had a bed of boards with a headboard, four chests for storage, and a number of other items. The celda on the other side of the main cell had a bed of boards and a small bookshelf, while the guest room beyond the stairwell, next to the doorway

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[112] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5270–5272.

[113] 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.

that opened onto the tribune inside the church, had a bed of boards with a mattress and sheets, a small table and two chairs.

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. The 1823 inventory does indicate that the room south of the kitchen was the refectory, and therefore possibly the fourth of the ground floor 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.[114] The flagstone-covered drain from the well was probably 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.

The Convento in 1786

The description by Fr. López 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

[114] Refugia de Tejada and José Tejada to John M. Odin, October 18, 1859, BCDR vol. H2, p. 258.



FIGURE 23: The granary of San José, ca. 1867. 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.

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 that is in the sanctuary of the said church].[115]

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 [109.6 feet] and about eight in width [21.9 feet] with two doorways and one window, a half [fanega measure; about eight-tenths of a bushel] for measuring corn,

[115] Fray José Francisco López, "*Razon e Ynforme que el Padre Presidente de las Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, o Nuevas Filipinas, remite al Yll[ustrissi]ma S[eñ]or D[on] Fr[ay] Rafael José Verger, del consejo de S. M. Obispo del Nuevo Reyno de Leon*," May 5, 1786, Archivo de Secretaria Episcopal, Monterrey, Mexico, pp. 3v, 4.

and an almud measure].[116] 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.[117] In 1823 further details appear: *"Una pieza de boveda con el nombre de Troxe de 40 varas de largo, 10½ varas de ancho, 7 d[ic]has de alto, con 7 albortantes a los costados de afuera, que la sostienen, construida a piedra y mescla, y en*

[116] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5262.

[117] Manuel Muñoz and Fray Jose Manuel Pedrajo. "*Ynventario de los bienes de temporalidad de la mision de S[eñor] S[an] José, Provincia de Texas*," July 30, 1794, GLOSA, box 122, folder 8, p. 107.

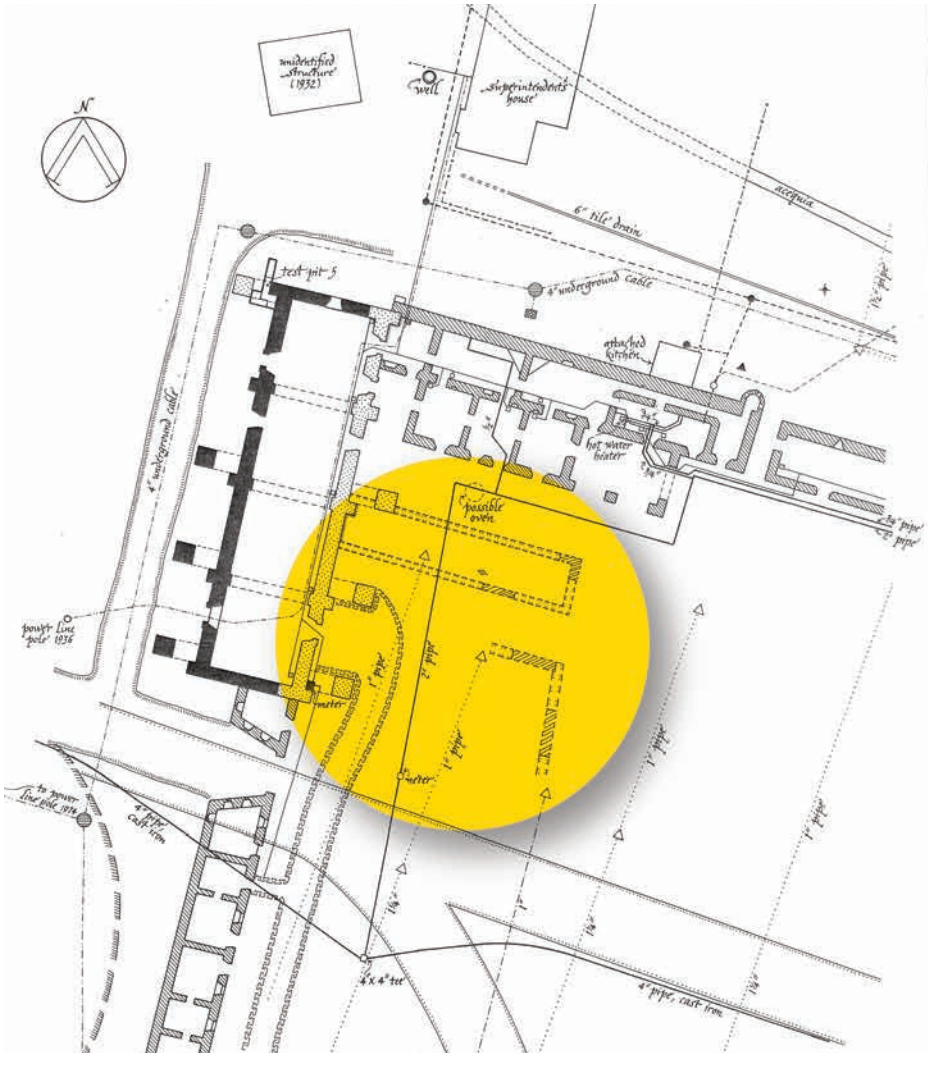


FIGURE 24: A section of John W. Clark's Figure 4 in Clark, *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo*, p. 6, showing the structural details found by Harvey Smith during the excavations of San José in the 1930s. The foundations of two structures can be seen east of the granary. The southern of the two was probably left after the demolition of the thatched building visible to the west of the church in Figure 21. Based on the later history of use and subdivision of the granary, it is probable that these structures were built after 1824. Image courtesy Texas Historical Commission.

concideracion al mal estado en que se halla se abaluo en . . . 1.000 [pesos]…" a vaulted room called the Granary, forty varas long, ten and one-half varas wide [28.8 feet], seven varas high [19.2 feet], supported by seven 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].[118]

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 was 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.[119] This seems to have been the same building as that described in 1755 and 1757, 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).[120]

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.[121] 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, 5¼ varas de ancho, techo de morillos, inutil, una puerta a la plaza, inaltralada, una ventana con rejas de madera . . . 2. Un quarto de 6¼ 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 . . .*," 1. A sala contiguous with the granary, thirteen varas long [35.6 feet], five and one-quarter varas wide [14.4 feet], a roof of beams, unusable, a door to the plaza, immovable [?], a window with a grating of wood . . . 2. A room of six and one-quarter varas in length [17.1 feet], five in width

[118] Musquíz, "*Abaluo* (appraisal)," 1823, p. 116.

[119] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5262.

[120] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5262.

[121] Muñoz and Pedrajo, "*Ynventario de los bienes*," 1794, p. 107.

[13.7 feet], a door, a window, an unusable roof of beams . . . a wall intermediate between the sala and room recorded at fourteen and one-half varas in length [39.7 feet].[122]

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,[123] and is frequently referred to as the "Spanish Residence" in Park literature today. Smith's use of the name "prefecture" apparently derives from Fr. Alto Hoermann's *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 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."[124] The building adjacent to the granary has generally been considered the casas reales of the mission, because of 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.[125] Barrios' description, however, referred to *las Cassas Reales haciendo fronte ala Iglesia*, the casas reales facing the church,[126] and added that a cemetery of more than eighty varas on a side (about 222 feet) lay 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 toward the granary and associated structures. By this logic, the structures associated with the granary would be the casas reales.

There are three difficulties with this interpretation. One is that the church referred to by Barrios is not the present church, but the terrado church. The first stone church probably faced toward the south. 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

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[122] Musquíz, "*Abaluo*," 1823, p. 115.

[123] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 101.

[124] Dominguez, *Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, pp. 352–53.

[125] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, pp. 92, 101; Fray Marion A. Habig, *San Antonio's Mission San José: State and National Historic Site 1720-1968* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), pp. 51–52.

[126] Jauregui, "*Informe del governador sobre la mission de San José*," 1758, *San José Papers*, p. 132.

no evidence which of itself would require the location of a structure called the casas reales near the granary. The third difficulty is that all available 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 carpenters shop. The "*casas reales*" must therefore 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, thirty feet wide and eighty 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, as was described by Barrios in 1758.

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.[127] 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 1794 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, or the building may have been gone by 1794.

Nor does any 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, 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. Early images of San José show a building or buildings with thatched roofs in this area. Since no such building or buildings were listed in the 1823 or earlier appraisals, they must have been built after 1823. By the same logic, 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, but certainly it had none of the expected characteristics of a

[127] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5262.

blacksmith shop: no ash or cinders, no rusted bits of iron and broken nails.[128] Perhaps the best candidate for this shop is the building just south of the principal gateway, listed in the 1823 appraisal at eight varas (about twenty-two 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 south of the gate 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 archaeological 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 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…"* to the side of the convento is the weaving shop, sixty varas long [164.4 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 opposite it [the salon] is a room with a door and key where work is done,[129] and the entire weaving shop has ten windows, of which five have iron gratings and five have gratings of wood]."[130] Between 1757 and 1785, a room about twenty varas or 54.8 feet long had been added to the south end of the obraje. The northernmost room was the cleaning and spinning room; the second section was the open corredor; the third room was a storeroom for wool and cotton; and finally on the south end of the building was the weaving room itself.

Between 1785 and 1823 the northern two rooms fell into ruin. The northernmost collapsed and the corridor and third section were cleared out to make room for the little road along the north side of the church, leaving only a section of standing wall thirty-seven feet long extending south from the north corner of the compound. The

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[128] John W. Clark, Jr. and Elton Prewitt, *Archeological Test Excavations in an Area to Be Affected by a Proposed French Drain West of the Granary, Mission San José State Historic Site (41 Bx 3), Bexar County, Texas*, Report of Investigations, no. 3 (Austin: Prewitt and Associates, Inc., 1979), p. 11.

[129] The phrase *dar las tareas* is used in connection with the weaving workshop to mean the quotas of piecework assigned to the Indians for cleaning and spinning specific weights of cotton and wool in preparation for it to go to the looms.

[130] Salas and Mariano Falcon, *"Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef,"* 1785, f. 5263.

southernmost room, the *salon*, remained standing, although in ruins, totaling about sixty-eight and one-half feet in length on the outside.

The Flour Mill

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,[131] but construction was apparently delayed until after 1785. It was built into the area where the lime-making furnaces and a small slaking pit had been during the early years of the mission. 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,[132] and the original appearance of the building that housed the mill is not known.

The Pueblo in 1785–1794

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 2,148 feet] within the four corners. And it has within it fifty-four houses, with their roofs, doors and windows, and many of them with keys, and in one corner a vaulted granary.[133] The present exterior perimeter of the compound of Mission San José is about 2,180 feet, or 796 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 López, written in 1786: *"Fabrica 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 es tan contiguas unas a otras, y bastantemente resguardadas*

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[131] Morfí, *Viaje de Indios*, 1778, pp. 229–230; Morfí, *Diario y Derrotero*, 1778, p. 105.

[132] A plan of the remains of the gristmill as found by Harvey Smith is in Clark, *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo*, p. 5, fig. 3; Harvey Smith, "Alterations and Additions to the Mission San Jose de Aguayo," November 27, 1937, in Mark Chavez and Rosalind Rock, *Grist Mill: Historic Structure Report, Mission San José* (San Antonio: National Park Service, 1997), p. 3–11, fig. 3–4.

[133] Salas and Mariano Falcon, "*Inventario de la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Josef*," 1785, f. 5262.

contra los temporales de Lluvias, vientos, y qualesquiera adversos…" it is built enclosed with housing of stone and mud, which forms a good protective 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 [actually about 220 varas]. 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.[134]

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.[135] The house built in the plaza, "without disfiguring it," was for the Borrados Indians if they came to the mission.

This composite picture gives us at least a general idea of the appearance of San José between 1768 and 1794. 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 enhanced version of the structure that he planned.

The Walls, Gates and Bastions

No references to gates or bastions occurred before 1768. In that year Solís stated that there were four gates, one in each wall. Morfí 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 López said that there were four gates, one in each wall; and two other small gates in addition. No gates were referred to in the 1794 inventory, and only one was mentioned directly in the 1823 appraisal. Solís said that each gate had two bastions, facing each other—this statement has usually been misinterpreted and assumed to say that the mission had two corner bastions at opposite corners of the compound wall. Morfí stated that the four principal gates each had a bulwark or defensive position built over it. The fifth gate mentioned in his

[134] López, "*Razon e Ynforme*," 1786, pp. 3v, 4.

[135] Muñoz and Pedrajo, "*Ynventario de los bienes*," 1794, p. 107.

published journal apparently did not have a bastion. Morfí did not refer to corner bastions, even in his *Historia,* which drew heavily on Solís. López did not mention bastions of any sort. No bastions were mentioned in the 1794 inventory or in the 1823 appraisal. Finally, for whatever it may be worth, in 1866 in his novel *The Daughter of Tehuan*, Father Alto Hoermann gave a fictional description of San José wherein he stated that there were three main gates, one each on the west, south, and east; and a postern gate to the north. He did not refer to any bastions, over gates or in corners, in the novel.

The bastion reconstructed by Smith on the southeast corner apparently has no structural basis. He recorded no foundations in this area, and archaeological investigations of his reconstruction by Clark found no colonial foundations beneath his. [136] In addition, examination of Smith's planning sketches shows that he experimented with several different outlines and sets of dimensions for the intended reconstruction.[137] We must conclude from this that Smith built his bastion as an approximation of the popular interpretation of the description in Solís' diary. This description was made available to the general public in a translation by P. P. Forrestal in March 1931, and echoed in the translation by Margaret Kenney Kress in July 1931. Habig accepted it in his definitive description of San José in *The Alamo Chain of Missions*, first published in 1968.[138] Smith apparently used the bastion at Espada as his model, the only extant bastion in the area. Unknown to Smith, 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 Solís. By 1778, when Morfí 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.

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[136] Clark, *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo*, p. 63, fig. 18.

[137] Clark, *Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo*, p. 63, fig. 5.

[138] P. P. Forrestal, "The Solís Diary of 1767," *Preparing the Way: Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, I*, revised edtion (Austin: Texas Catholic Historical Society, 1997), p. 121; Margaret Kenney Kress, "Diary of a Visit of Inspection of the Texas Missions Made by Fray Gaspar José de Solís in the Year 1767–68," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 35(July, 1931)1:50; Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, pp. 95, 101.

This was the situation when López described the gates in 1786. 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 fictionalized 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 located about the center of the south wall), 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 Surrender of the Temporalities in 1794

Unlike the complete secularization of Valero in 1793, in 1794 the Franciscans surrendered the temporalities of the San Antonio missions, making them doctrinas. This step has been called "partial secularization" in Texas and California. The management of the fields, households, and daily affairs were placed in the hands of the Indians themselves, under the direction of a civil servant who acted as their *mayordomo*, or supervisor.

The distribution of the temporalities of the missions in 1794 produced a series of documents, one for each of the four southern missions, that recorded the transfer of the worldly goods, lands, livestock, and secular buildings of the missions from the Franciscans to the Indians of each mission.

Although these lands and properties were listed in the 1794 inventory as available for distribution, the document acted only as a legal record of the passing of control of the holdings from the Franciscan Order to private individuals. The Franciscan document was not the legal record of the granting of the properties to the Indians. Presumably the record of their acquisition of ownership of the houses and fields would be in the Bexar County Archives or deed records. Such records would show which house and tract of farmland was granted to each family or individual, details which are not included in the partial secularization inventories. Because the inventory did not include the church, sacristy, and convento, we have no description of these in 1794. Other than a few brief mentions over the next thirty years, we have no detailed assessment of the buildings until the final secularization of 1824.

At San José, the Indians received the vaulted granary, forty varas long and eight varas wide, with ninety *cargas* of unthreshed wheat in the granary, expected to produce 270 fanegas when threshed; a carpenter's shop, with its corridor of three arches, a larger room and a smaller room; the room that served as the weaving workshop, sixty varas long; a mill to grind the wheat; a press for sugar cane; and a blacksmith's shop and its tools and equipment.[139] They were also given the fifty-four houses assigned to the

[139] Muñoz and Pedrajo, *"Ynventario de los bienes,"* 1794, ff. 105, 107.

Indians, and the league of land "that was the *egido* of the Mission," which meant the one-league measurement to each wind, giving the mission four square leagues of ejido, or community land.[140]

[140] Muñoz and Pedrajo, *"Ynventario de los bienes,"* 1794, f. 106v.

Chapter 6
The Structural History of Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Acuña, 1731–1794

Introduction

The site on which Concepción was placed had been occupied by one, and possibly two earlier missions. These were perhaps San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, established in the area of Concepción in 1720, and certainly San Xavier de Nájera, established on the site in March 1722. During the Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) excavations of 1980–1981, two sections of very early acequia trenches were found by the test units. One of these, at the west side of the mission, had also been seen, but not recognized, by the Texas Historical Commission (THC) excavations of 1971–1972.[1] The locations, stratigraphy and contents of these two ditches suggest that they predated 1730, and therefore probably were part of the acequia system built for Mission San José.

We know that in 1722 Mission Nájera was established on the site later given to Concepción.[2] If San José had originally been placed here in 1720, it had to have been moved off the Concepción site to some location farther south by 1722, probably to its present site, soon after the visit of Aguayo in April 1721.

San Francisco Xavier de Nájera

On March 12, 1722, the present site of mission Concepción, perhaps originally the first site of San José, was selected for Mission San Francisco Xavier de Nájera. In fact, this site may have been selected because the temporary buildings of San José still stood there. It is possible that Nájera was established on the site because the temporary buildings constructed by San José were still usable, and an acequia had been begun toward or across the site. This would explain such odd details as the anomalous wall around the mission as of 1745, a wall that may have been found during the CAR excavations of 1980–1981, with very early ceramics associated with it.[3] The history of

[1] James E. Ivey, "Excavations at Mission Concepción," in Archeological Investigations at Mission Concepción and Mission Parkway, Archeological Survey Report no. 118 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas, 1999), pp. 19, 25, 27–28, 45–46; Dan Scurlock and Daniel E. Fox, An Archeological Investigation of Mission Concepción, San Antonio, Texas, Office of the State Archeologist, no. 28, (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1977), pp. 1, 56.

[2] Captain Juan Antonio Peres de Almazán, "Testimonio de Asiento de Missiones," Texas General Land Office, Spanish Archives (GLOSA), box 122, folder 2, pp. 19v–21.

[3] Ivey, "Excavations at Mission Concepción," pp. 19–20.

the establishment and subsequent movements of San José and its possible association with the Concepción site have been discussed in detail in Chapter 5. In the founding documents for Nájera, the site was stated to be one league, or 2.6 miles, south of the second site of Valero, which places it on or near the present site of Concepción. As summarized by Castañeda, the Nájera founding documents made no mention of any previous ownership of the site by San José.[4]

The estimated distance from Valero to the site can be shown to have been correct: nine years later in 1731, when Concepción received title to this land, the Concepción deed stated explicitly that the site granted had belonged to the Mission of Nájera, but was now abandoned. The land

> *. . . tenia de su principio por abvocacion San Francisco Xabier de Nagera, aplicado a los Yndios Yerbipiamos, agregados oy a la mission de San Antonio, y estan despoblado, y exempto de contradicion por perzona alguna . . .*

> . . . was first held by the advocation of San Francisco Xavier de Nájera, given to the Yerbipiamos Indians gathered now at the mission of San Antonio, and it is abandoned, and exempt from prior claim by any person . . .[5]

In actuality, it was the Sana tribe making this request. The Sana lived on the site of San Xavier de Nájera for a few years, and their baptisms, marriages and deaths were recorded separately at Valero. It is possible that they moved into the houses left from the brief San José occupation the year before. Eventually, about 1726, the effort to establish Nájera was abandoned because the few remaining Indians still interested had moved to Valero. [6]

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[4] Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mission Era: The Winning of Texas, 1693–1731, vol. 2, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1936), p. 161.

[5] Almazán, *"Testimonio,"* ff. 19v–21.

[6] Mardith K. Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions 1718–1821" (Dissertation, University of Texas, 1980), p. 339; Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*, pp. 161–67; Habig, *Alamo Chain*, pp. 78–81.

Concepción

Five years later Mission Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Acuña was founded on the abandoned site of San Xavier de Nájera, on March 5, 1731, the same day the other two East Texas missions of San Juan Capistrano and San Francisco de la Espada were established.[7] The officials present followed the usual ceremony for formal land grants, with the provincial governor reading the grant in a loud voice, and Fray Gabriel de Vergara, guardian of the new mission and Father President of the Querétaran missions of Texas, signifying the receipt of the land by pulling up grass and throwing clods of dirt. However, some parts of the traditional ceremony were left out. At earlier mission dedications on the northern frontier, the next step was the marking out of the town plaza and the locations for the principal buildings such as the church, convento, Indian quarters, and the casas reales. Because the three missions had originally been founded in East Texas, and were being moved to a new location, this is another example of the very abbreviated ceremony used for refoundings.[8]

Archaeological and architectural investigations at Mission Concepción have slowly pieced together the layout and construction history of the permanent buildings on the site after its selection in March 1731.[9] The plans of the core mission buildings, and the

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[7] Almazán, *"Testimonio;"* Fray Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), pp. 119–125.

[8] Almazán, *"Testimonio,"* f. 19v; Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions,* pp. 124–27.

[9] Harvey P. Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, Texas Civil Works Administration and Texas Relief Company, Harvey P. Smith, AIA," in Harvey P. Smith, Jr. Collection (San Antonio Missions National Historical Park: San Antonio, Texas, ca. 1934); Welton Cook and Zeb Rike, "Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas," in Survey No. TEX-319, Works Progress Administration, Official Project No. 269-6907 (Historic American Buildings Survey: Washington, D.C., ca. 1934), (taken from Harvey Smith measured drawings); Scurlock and Fox, An Archeological Investigation of Mission Concepción, San Antonio, Texas; Anne A. Fox, Archaeological Investigations at Mission Concepción, Fall of 1986, Archaeological Survey Report no. 172 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, 1988); Joseph H. Labadie, Archaeological and Historical Investigations for the Mission Road Realignment Project, San Antonio, Texas, Archaeological Survey Report no. 173 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, 1989); Anne A. Fox, Monitoring of Utility Trenches at Mission Concepcion, San Antonio, Texas, 1988, Archaeological Survey Report no. 180 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, 1989); Maureen J. Brown, Anne A. Fox, and Barbara A. Meissner, Archaeological Testing for the Mission Road Realignment Project, Phase II, at Mission Concepción, San Antonio, Texas, Archaeological Survey Report no. 222 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, 1994); Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 6–59

changes to those plans, reveal a great deal about the Franciscan planning process on the eighteenth-century northern frontier of New Spain.

First Construction at Concepción

For the first two months after its founding, the Franciscans and an Indian work crew built simple jacal structures to house the missionaries, supplies, and Indian families, and to act as a temporary church. This work may have been little more than the repair of partly ruined structures originally built for the new mission of San José in 1720, eleven years earlier, abandoned about mid-1721 when San José was moved to the west bank of the river, and then perhaps put back into use and upkeep from early 1722 to about 1726 or so, when San Xavier de Nájera was established on the same site.[10]

Habig says that by May 4, 1731, the fields were plowed, the acequia flowing, and the temporary buildings complete, although it is not clear on what authority he makes this statement.[11] However, in a statement by Governor Antonio Perez de Almazán on July 27, 1731, the condition of the acequias were specifically described:

> *. . . s[a]n Antonio de Balero, la que tiene Corriente su saca de agua y labor, a esta se sigue la de la adbocazion, de la purisima conzepzion de Acuña, esta, esta mui en los prinzipios su saca[12] y zangeo[13] de Agua, en que auctualmentte se esta trabajando, a esta se sigue la de la adbocazion de s[a]n Joseph la Que ttiene en corriente su saca de agua y labor, a esta tres siguen (el expresado Rio abajo) la mision de san fran[cis]co de la espada, y la de s[a]n Juan Capisttrano, Que son las ultimas; Y en estas dos ultimas, asi mismo se esta auctualmentte entendiendo Y trabajando en el Zangueo y saca de agua de el Expresado Rio de s[a]n Anttonio* [14]

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[10] Castañeda, *Winning of Texas*. pp. 161–67.

[11] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 124; Habig gives no reference for the statements about the condition of Concepción at this date; see "Petition of the cabildo of the Villa de San Fernando," July 27, 1731, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 29, frame 236.

[12] *"Saca,"* in this context, means *"toma de agua para los riegos en las acequias,"* the taking of water for irrigation in acequias (see Francisco J. Santamaria, Diccionario de Mejicanismos, first edition (Mexico: Editorial Porrua, 1959), p. 952). A *saca de agua* is an acequia, or irrigation ditch.

[13] *"Zangeo"* or *"zangueo"* is a form of *zanjeo*, the labor of digging *zanjas*, ditches for the draining of a piece of land; Santamaria, Mejicanismos, p. 1145.

[14] Vergara to Almazán, *"Escrito . . . para las tierras y aguas, 1731,"* May 31, 1731, 3:3560-3565. A second copy of this review is in OSMHRL 9:1299-1310, and a third begins on 29:244.

> . . . San Antonio de Valero, which has its acequia running and its farm; next from this is that with the advocation of Purísima Concepción de Acuña, this is very much at the beginning of its taking out and ditching of water, and is actually carrying out this work; next from this is that with the advocation of San José, which has its water channel and its farm field in operation; from these three, next on the lower river is the mission of San Francisco de la Espada, and that of San Juan Capistrano, which are the last; and in these two last, they are also actually intending and working on the ditch and water channeling from the said river of San Antonio.

This statement indicates that in July, four months after the establishment of the mission, work was only just begun on getting an acequia into operation at Concepción, and the ditch systems for San Juan and Espada were portrayed as in the same general state. If the Concepción acequia had been begun about 1720 as the original ditch for San José at its first site, clearly it had not been finished, and whatever beginnings of a ditch system existed required a considerable amount of work before it could be usable.

Waynne Cox, an expert on the San Antonio acequias, has pointed out that the date of construction of the Concepción acequia "has never been reliably established." Local tradition in the San Antonio area says that it is the oldest of the mission irrigation systems, and was called the "*Pajalache Acequia*."

William Corner in 1890 summarized the local and legal tradition: "This is the oldest of all the Acquias . . . In evidence in a lawsuit—Rhodes v. Whitehead—this date is given as 1729."[15] Corner, however, did not accept this date, and suggested that the acequia had actually been built a few years later.[16] Frank de la Teja cites a statement by Edwin

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A summary of the main points is in the *"Quaderno de algunas utiles advertencias p[ar]a los Ministros de S[a]n Antonio en orden a sus Yndios, tierreas y Ganados sacadas de unos originales un y otros trasumptos q[u]e se guardan en el Archivos de la Miss[io]n de S[eño]r S[a]n J[ose]ph,"* no date, OSMHRL 2:2794, a collection of dispatches, agreements, and other documents pertaining to Indians, lands, and cattle of the missions, made for the library of Mission San José about 1772.

[15] In fact, as Cox points out in Cox, *Spanish Acequias,* Rhodes vs. Whitehead et al. does not actually give the date of 1729 for the construction of the acequia, or any other specific date; it only says that permission for the ditch was granted "previous to the foundation of the Alamo Church."

[16] William Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar: A Guide and History* (San Antonio: Bainbridge and Corner, 1890), p. 43.

P. Arneson to the same effect: Arneson said that the Pajalache ditch was constructed in 1729.[17] Arneson's article, published in 1921, probably drew this information from Corner without acknowledgment.

Cox examined the original court case from which Corner drew this statement,[18] and found that, according to the testimony, "the privilege to establish the acequia was granted 'previous to the foundation of the Alamo Church.'"[19] This may be assumed to mean prior to the establishment of Valero on its present location; i. e., before 1724.

Like the early pueblos of other Texas missions, the Indian quarters at Concepción were probably laid out in house blocks along streets around a central plaza. This plaza was apparently in the area between the present convento and the quarry. Fragments of lime plaster over clay with the imprint of sticks and logs on the back have been found in early trash pits near the southwest corner of the later fortified compound.[20] This was debris from the demolition of jacal buildings, and was probably dumped in the trash pits during the removal of the Indian jacales and their replacement with adobe or stone Indian quarters, during the fortification of the mission in 1755–65. Since the debris would not have been hauled any farther than necessary, and since the jacales were near the first convento, it is likely that these first Indian quarters once stood between the trash pit and the first convento. They would therefore have been located in the area east and northeast of the quarry, south of the later fortified

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[17] Anne A. Fox and I. Waynne Cox, Testing of the San José Mission Acequia, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, Bexar County, Texas, Center for Archeological Research, Archeological Survey Report no. 207 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1991), p. 2; Jesús F. de la Teja, "Land and Society in 18th Century San Antonio de Bexar, A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier," dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1988, p. 175 n. 6; Edwin P. Arneson, "Early Irrigation in Texas," SWHQ 25(October 1921)2:123.

[18] Rhodes vs. Whitehead et al., in *Report of Cases Argued and Decided in the Supreme Court of the State of Texas during the latter part of Tyler Session 1863, Austin 1863, Galveston, Tyler and Austin 1864, and Galveston Session 1865, no. 27* (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1903), p. 304.

[19] I. Waynne Cox, "The Pajalache or Concepción Acequia," in Labadie, "Mission Road Realignment," p. 3; I. Waynne Cox, *The Spanish Acequias of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2005), p. 27. Pajalaches were several groups of associated Indians who were the principal occupants of Mission Concepción; Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions 1718–1821," p. 55; T. N. Campbell, "Indians of the San Antonio Missions," in T. N. Campbell, *The Indians of Southern Texas and Northeastern Mexico: Selected Writings of Thomas Nolan Campbell* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), pp. 90–92.

[20] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 25–26; James E. Ivey, "Architectural Excavations at the San Antonio Missions," in the files of the National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1982.

compound. This area has been severely disturbed by the construction of Mission Road and the landscaping of the grounds of St. Joseph's Orphanage, but could still retain traces of the footing trenches for the jacales.

Once the Franciscans had reasonable shelter, they began construction of more durable buildings. These were of adobe brick with thatched roofs, or flat roofs supported on horizontal wooden beams. The adobe buildings had to be substantial enough to last for several years while permanent stone buildings were being built. Work crews probably began on the adobe structures in mid-1731, soon after the completion of the jacales in early May. Of first importance would have been the construction of a more permanent and proper church than the jacal building in use. From this second phase of construction, archaeology has located the foundations and lower walls of the adobe church of Concepción. Built about 1731 and torn down about 1755, this is the oldest identified mission church in San Antonio, and the oldest known adobe church in Texas.

The Adobe Church

Fray Francisco Ortíz wrote the first description of Concepción in 1745. Ortíz's description alone is somewhat brief, but because the plan of these structures is now available it is considerably more meaningful: "*Sirve aora de Yglesia una pieza de adoves con techo de terrado, y con su sacristia* [Serving now as the church is a room of adobes with a flat earthen roof, and with its sacristy.]"[21] The church and portions of the early convento were identified in excavations by the CAR in 1980–1981. Parts of the church had been seen in excavations by the THC in 1971–72, but not recognized. The full outline of the church and its later stone sacristy were defined by the National Park Service (NPS) through excavations conducted in 1982. Most of the outline of the adobe church was uncovered—the excavations only went deep enough to show the tops of the surviving portions of the walls, revealing the pattern of the adobe bricks and showing the interior plaster as a white line of lime along the inner edge of the wall tops. Only three units penetrated below the surviving wall tops. These were the single unit excavated by the THC in 1972 along the inner face of the wall in the southeast corner down to the top of the altar platform in a somewhat disturbed area, and two units by the CAR inside the north end of the church that stopped at the surface of the floor except for the examination of one burial. None of these examined the inner face of the wall, leaving the question of the presence of decorative painting unanswered.[22]

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[21] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortíz, *"Visita de las Missiones hecha de orden de H. M. P[adre] Comm[isari]o G[ene]ral Fr[ay] Juan Fogueras, por el P[adre] Fr[ay] Fran[cis]co Xavier Ortiz, en el año de 1745,"* in the OSMHRL, Celaya microfilms, roll 9, f. 1272.

[22] Scurlock and Fox, "An Archeological Investigation of Mission Concepción," pp. 47, 49 fig. 221; Ivey, "Architectural Excavations;" Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 28 fig. 14, 29 fig. 15, 30.

The excavations revealed a small, simple rectangular church about fifteen feet wide and 60.5 feet long, with walls thirty inches thick. It was oriented with its long axis north to south with the entrance doorway probably in the west wall near the north end, opening toward the Indian village. The surviving lower walls of the adobe church run beneath the west end of the standing portion of the broken vault extending west from the present convento. The interior of the church was simple, with a floor of puddled adobe and walls covered with white lime plaster on the inside and adobe plaster on the outside. The walls and altar may have had painted decorations in the form of *dados*, or horizontal bands of color with geometric patterns in between, covering the lower three or four feet of wall. Such decoration is likely, but none of the plastered wall surface was uncovered in the limited examination of the interior of the adobe church.

A small altar stood at the south end of the building, on a raised platform of adobe brick. In 1745 this altar was described as having an arrangement altar decoration, consisting of a statue of La Purísima in the round, one vara (2.74 feet) high; and with various little pictures, vellums, and prints, probably arranged on the wall above the altar like a retablo. The 1745 report described a confessional in the nave of the church; a holy water font of copper; a bench; three little bells for sounding the mass, and three others for summoning to it; and two chests of cedar to protect the vessels and sacred vestments.[23]

The church had a stone sacristy at its south end, about sixteen feet wide and about twenty and one-half feet long. In 1745, the sacristy had another altar, adorned with a jointed statue of Dolores, devotedly dressed; with a *crucifix de pulpito*, and several prints and vellums. This space was apparently being used for little more than a friar's chapel—the 1745 inventory says that all the vestments and equipment for services were kept in cedar chests in the church.[24]

This sacristy was recognized by NPS excavations in the early 1980s. The east side of the stone sacristy had been traced earlier by the excavations of Harvey P. Smith in 1934.[25] It is possible that an adobe phase for the sacristy was bypassed, and the room built of stone from the first. The church was combining sacristy functions in the altar area at this early period of its use, as did the temporary churches at San Juan (Chapter 7) and Espada (Chapter 8). In 1745, the sacristy had another altar, and was being used for little more than a friar's chapel. The 1745 inventory says that all the vestments and

[23] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 28 fig. 14, 29 fig. 15, 30; Ivey, "Architectural Excavations;" Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1272. f. 1272.

[24] Harvey P. Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, Texas Civil Works Administration and Texas Relief Company, Harvey P. Smith, AIA," sheet 1; Ivey, "Architectural Excavations;" Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745.

[25] Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña," sheet 1.

equipment for services were kept in the cedar chests in the church, indicating that the sacristy was not being used for storage.[26]

The missionaries built adobe convento buildings extending east from the sacristy, but their plan is unknown. So far, archaeology has seen only a few feet of wall and a small area of floor in one of these probable adobe convento buildings, uncovered in the 1980s excavations. This was enough to demonstrate their presence, but not sufficient to work out the plan of this first convento building. It extended east from the church for at least 115 feet. There is no way to be sure that the small section of adobe building seen so far was actually a convento building, but the nearness of this building to the church makes such a usage likely.[27] The adobe church, convento buildings, and other structures would have been completed about the end of 1732 or early 1733. As before, the missionaries probably began immediately on the next phase of construction.

The First Stone Convento

In the late 1730s, with the fields in operation and semi-permanent buildings completed, Concepción was ready to begin construction on the permanent structures of the mission. The adobe convento was razed and leveled and stone buildings constructed across the area. The foundations for the new stone convento were laid out with the friary along the north side, adjoining the east wall of the stone sacristy attached to the adobe church. Using a measuring cord, a simple device for turning right angles, and string and stakes to mark out the wall outlines, the Franciscans carefully plotted out the intended convento. They aligned it so that it was almost exactly oriented to the cardinal directions and very close to rectilinear. The foundations of the exterior walls were built a full vara (thirty-three inches) wide, indicating that the missionaries planned for the final building to be two stories high. They intended that the floors and ceilings would be supported by vigas set into the outside walls. Partition walls were only three-quarter vara (twenty-four inches) thick, the standard thickness for nonloadbearing walls.

A little less than half of the convento plan of Concepción has so far been located by archaeology. Virtually all of the north side of the convento compound has been uncovered, and about one third of the west side. The remainder of the west side and part of the south has been obliterated by street and parking-lot construction. Much of the east side probably still remains in the ground, although some sections have been destroyed by the construction of one building of the convent of the Sisters of Charity of The Blessed Sacrament and Incarnate Word in the 1950s, which would later become

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[26] Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña," sheet 1; Ivey, "Architectural Excavations;" Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1272.

[27] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 15–16 and figures 6 and 7.

the Integrated Family Rehabilitation Center (IFRC). Witnesses have described the great quantities of rubble and artifacts dug out of the ground when the convent was built, and indicated the area where an H-shaped section of foundation was seen at the north edge of Felisa Street. Rick Robinson relocated a portion of this foundation in 1999. In the southwest corner of the IFRC grounds, Robinson recorded a section of limestone wall extending east to west about twenty-one feet north of the curb of Felisa Street. This wall was about 2.7 feet thick. Running north at the same point was what appeared to be a trench for a palisade wall of vertical posts.[28]

The first several rooms of the north row, a series of rooms built of stone extending eastward from the sacristy, can be outlined fairly well from the archaeological record, but details become less certain in the area 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 row running southward from the east end of the convento traces. At the west end, Smith had located another row extending south of the first room east of the sacristy, with a gap of about twelve feet separating it from the north row of convento rooms. This gap may have been the *portería*, or entranceway into the convento enclosure.

The Franciscans began building on the above-ground rooms of the north side of the convento around 1733. The buildings erected on the foundations followed the usual structural methods known to all Franciscans. By 1745, the north row of the convento had reached two stories in height: "*Los m[inist]ros viven en una casa de piedra, q[u]e tienen dos suelos; en el primero ay dos officinas, en el segundo la precissa vivienda* [The missionaries live in a house of stone, which has two floors; on the first they have two storerooms, on the second is the actual residence]."[29] Too few details are known of the ground floor plan to permit an assignment of room use based only on the 1745 report. No clear indications were recorded of a stairway to the second story of the convento, where the cells of the missionaries were located. However, two narrow rooms with walls four and one-half feet apart may have supported the stairs. 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, the pre-1740 simple

[28] Rick C. Robinson, "Appendix A3: Concepción: Monitoring Electrical conduit Trenching at Mission Concepción," in Archaeological Investigations at Four San Antonio Missions: Mission Trails Underground Conversion Project, Center for Archaeological Research Archaeological Survey Report no. 297 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 2001), pp. 106–110.

[29] Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1272.

convento and the vaulted structure begun soon after 1740. Because of this a number of details about the foundations were not recorded on his plans.

Fray Francisco Ortíz mentioned a few other buildings at the mission. He said there were "*tres casas de piedra para los soldados, y una troge para las semillas,*" three houses of stone for the soldiers, and a granary for the seed.[30] So far there is no hint of a set of soldiers' houses. The granary in use in 1745 was very likely one of stone. "*Para el ministerio de Carpin[teri]o y Albañilo ay los precissos instrumentos; y una fragua, para componer toda la herram[ien]ta,*" for the work of the carpenter and the stone mason there are the requisite tools; and a forge for the making of all iron items. The last phrase indicates that the carpenter's and mason's tools were present, but does not say that a separate workroom for them had been built, whereas the forge, or blacksmith shop, had been built.

The Pueblo

"*Esta mission,*" said Ortíz, "*está en la margen del Rio de S[an] Ant[oni]o en cuyo parage ay un pueblo formado de los Xacales necess[aria]s para la habitacion de los Yndios,*" this mission is on the banks of the San Antonio River, at which place there is a pueblo formed by the necessary jacales for the housing of the Indians. 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: "*El pueblo esta amurallado con cerca de piedra, y lodo,*" the pueblo is enclosed by a wall of stone and mud.[31] Until the late 1750s, the Indians of Concepción lived in jacales forming a pueblo through which flowed the acequia. The pueblo and mission, including the adobe church, the convento, and other buildings such as the soldiers' quarters and the granary, were within the wall. 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 north wall of the north transept of the present church. A portion of a wall at this location was found during the 1980–1981 excavations. Parts of the enclosure, including the south wall, apparently continued in use as a wall around the later convento through the eighteenth century, and still survived as a landmark in the nineteenth 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.[32] In another deed transferring the convento buildings in 1860, but containing a translation of the lot boundaries of 1824, the same

[30] Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1272.

[31] Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1272.

[32] Asa Mitchell to Jacob Ernst, April 20, 1851, Bexar County Deed Records (BCDR), vol. 12, p. 351.

distance is given as the size of the convento lot north to south.[33] 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 yard enclosed within the walls 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 northeast corner was just beyond the section of north wall uncovered in 1980–1981, then the west wall would have been about 200 feet west of the front of the present church. The section of acequia with a thick deposit of trash dating from the period 1720–1730 and the trash pit with a massive deposit of fragments of demolished jacal or adobe buildings, both found in 1980–1981 at 200 to 250 feet from the church, hint that Indian quarters and the enclosing wall were nearby, since trash pits and dumps were usually just outside the walls. The original enclosure was not considered sufficient, and Concepción went through a reconstruction of its pueblo in 1756–1762, at the same time and in the same phases as the other missions. Valero was enclosed between 1759 and 1762; San José in 1758–1764; San Juan (as usual, later than the other missions) in 1762–1772; and Espada between 1756 and 1762.

Antonio Tello and the Redesign of Concepción

In the late 1730s, the missionaries' construction work on the unfinished convento stopped and planning began for a new, completely redesigned church and convento. The Franciscans brought the master mason Antonio Tello to San Antonio about 1740 to design and build the churches of the four Querétaran missions. Tello designed the present church of Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, as well as the vaulted convento adjoining it on the south. By about 1741 Tello was ready to begin construction on the churches of the San Antonio missions. He started with Purísima Concepción, probably because it was the Father President's church. Here, Tello encountered the problem that the Franciscans had built the stone convento and adobe church with the wrong relationship to allow him the best placing of the new church. Generally, the convento should be against one side of the church, with its front entrance, or portería, next to the church's facade, and the entrance from the convento to the church through the sacristy at the back corner of the convento. If he intended to use the convento unchanged, he would have two choices: a) he would have to place the church facing west at the northeast corner of the convento and joined to it by a new sacristy; this would result in a plan somewhat like that at Valero, where he placed the church at the southeast corner of the convento, with the convento extending out west beyond the front of the church—but this would place the front of the church very close to the side of the old adobe church; or b) he could place the church at the northwest

[33] Ramon Musquíz to the Rt. Rv. John M. Odin, October 23, 1860, BCDR, vol. S1, p. 480.

corner of the convento with the sacristy located where the stone sacristy of the adobe church stood. This, however, would require that the adobe church be torn down before the new one was built.

As at Valero, Tello was forced to accept that he had to leave the existing church standing in the best location during the construction work and select a poorer location for the new church. Therefore, probably on consultation with the Father President, he elected a third alternative: he decided to design a new plan for the convento with his new church at the northeastern corner of this new building, facing west. This located the church far enough north of the old convento buildings that it was not obscured by the north-facing adobe church.

The church was to be vaulted, which would require massive buttresses on the exterior, and pilaster ribs on the interior. Tello laid out the foundations, thirty varas (82.2 feet) in interior length, and eight varas (21.9 feet) across the nave. By mid-1744, it had reached what the Franciscans considered the halfway point. The lower walls of the bell towers, nave, transepts, sanctuary, and sacristy had been built to a height of perhaps eleven feet, but the vaulting of the bell tower rooms, the choir loft, and the sacristy had probably not been started. The arched entrance door to the sacristy and the arch-supported stairway to the level above the sacristy were probably not yet begun. The facade was likely finished to the top of the cornice above the doorway. It is fairly sure that much of the carved stone for the remainder of the facade, and perhaps some of the shaped stone for the ribs, choir loft vault, sacristy vault, and bell tower vaults were cut and stacked in storage near the church. South of the sacristy, Tello apparently tore down the northeast corner room of the convento and across its foundations laid out the foundations of a new granary with large buttresses, intended to be a vaulted building like that begun at San José about this time (and still standing today). It was to be about five varas (fourteen feet) wide and twenty varas (fifty-five feet) long, interior measurements (a little small for Tello, who seemed to like granaries about twenty feet wide by eighty-five feet long), extending from the northeastern corner of the old convento rooms northward to a point twenty-six feet south of the south side of the sacristy. By 1744 the granary, too, was standing to a height of several feet.

Until 1980, the plan of Mission Concepción was virtually unknown. The best available depiction of the layout of the mission was in Marion Habig's study, *The Alamo Chain of Missions.* Habig showed it as a rectangular enclosure with the church and convento centered in its eastern half, and the granary forming part of the east wall northeast of the church.[34] Documentary research and excavations by the CAR conducted in 1980

[34] Habig, *Alamo Chain*, p. 140.

demonstrated the true plan of the mission, with the church and convento forming its southeastern corner and the granary just south of the sacristy.[35]

Research by the CAR found that the Concepción granary had been granted to Manuel Yturri y Castillo in 1823.[36] The Yturri deeds indicate that the granary and the workshop were used as a dwelling from 1823 through about 1838, after which they were apparently unoccupied. Yturri y Castillo sold the granary and its associated lot to Asa Mitchell in 1838. This deed contained a detailed description of the house Yturri y Castillo had built from the ruins of the granary: the structure consisted of "three rooms, built of stone, and connected together in a row which adjoins the church at its south-east corner."[37] The building was surveyed in 1849, beginning at "the S. W. corner of an old house formerly occupied by Yturri; Thence N 5YE along the West wall of said house 32 varas [88.9 feet] to where said house joins the Concepción Mission."[38] This survey was used to guide the excavations at Mission Concepción by the CAR in 1980–1981 to relocate the granary. The measurement of eighty-nine feet included both the granary and a room on its north end built after 1772. The CAR found the south end of the building at 88.4 feet south of the sacristy's southwest corner, only six inches different from the 1849 survey. Subsequent excavations outlined the structure. At the time of the preparation of the report, the CAR decided to interpret the results as indicating the granary occupied the northern two-thirds of the building, and was against the sacristy, but this has turned out to be incorrect—instead, the granary was on the south end of the structure.[39]

Tello's new section of convento was to extend south from the south bell tower of his church, joining it to the existing convento, which continued in use. This is the same method he used at Valero, but is a variation on his method used at Espada and San Juan, where he used the existing convento buildings and added an arcaded corridor to one side. The construction on the lower walls of the convento was carried out at the same time as that for the church, sacristy, and granary. The convento had probably reached a height of about six feet by 1744. This is the height at which the vaulting would

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[35] Ivey, *"Mission Concepción,"* pp. 6–7, 9 fig. 4.

[36] Mexican Government to Manuel Yturri y Castillo, November 5, 1823, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 77.

[37] Manuel Yturri y Castillo and Josefa Rodriguez to Asa Mitchell, August 17, 1838, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 73.

[38] Survey of Concepción Mission tract for Asa Mitchell, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 430, March 16, 1849, with plat; a second copy of the survey and plat are in J. S. McDonald, "Field notes of a Survey of 349 1/2 Acres of Land made for Asa Mitchell," Bexar County Archives, District Surveyor's Book, volume F1, pp. 32–33, March 16, 1849.

[39] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," p. 6.

have to begin, with the associated labor-intensive construction of centering and scaffolding. Tello may even have begun the vaulting on some bays of the convento.

As at Valero, Tello apparently worked out a convento plan that would incorporate the old convento section into a new overall design. This design for the full plan of his new convento is uncertain, but details of the construction of the new section suggest a general idea. Tello designed the new section of the convento to be a vaulted structure with a vaulted, arcaded corridor on its west side; this implies that the standard cloistered patio was to be on the west of the new section and north of the original building, so that Concepción would become very much like Valero, with the convento extending westward beyond the front of the church.

The south wall of the southernmost cell of Tello's new convento wing for Concepción, and the south end of the corridor along its west side also appear to have stopped at nine feet from the old convento's north wall. The patio was apparently intended to be about eighty-two feet (thirty varas) square. The present well did not exist at the time—it was built in the early nineteenth century. Because it sits within the north wall of the adobe church, it had to have been constructed later, after the removal of the adobe church about 1754. The spacing suggests that there was to be no north row of convento rooms. Probably the north side was to be closed by a single wall with a gateway opening north into the *camposanto* that was planned to be in front of the new church, something like what was built at both San Juan and Espada. The old convento patio, only half enclosed by structures, was thereby demoted to being the second courtyard, intended to house the workshops, stables, and warehouses.

The spacing of the ribs suggests that the new convento section was to connect with the old section, with an arcaded corridor added into the nine-foot gap along the north side of the old section. This corridor was apparently intended to extend between the south end of the new section and the north wall of the old section of the convento, from the west end of the old convento eastward beyond the new section up to the south end of the new granary.

Although Tello's layout of the church was fairly accurate, the convento was not as precise. The west corridor of the convento, for example, widens from eight feet two inches at its north end to nine feet at the third rib, and then tapers back down to eight feet eight inches a little south of the fourth rib. The corridor west wall changes angle slightly at the third rib, as though Tello had already built the foundations of the structure up to that point when he realized the layout was in error, and corrected it with a change to the angle of the wall from there southward.

By August 1744, when Tello left San Antonio, the church had reached what the Franciscans considered the halfway point. When Ortíz described the new church in 1745, shortly after Tello's departure, he said: "*Se esta fabricando una Yglesia de piedra labrada, y mezcla, cuya fabrica esta como en la mitad*," a church is being built of carved

stone and mortar; this structure is about half done.[40] This probably indicates that about half the height of the walls had been built, perhaps standing to about the height of the floors of the second-story rooms of the towers; the vaulted ceilings of the ground-level rooms in the towers would have been finished. It is likely that the church walls were being carried up almost level, so the height of any section at a given time would indicate the general height of the entire work at that time. The vaulted roof of the sacristy was not finished—had it been so, the sacristy would have become the temporary church (as happened at San José in the middle 1770s, Valero about 1770, and Espada about 1745, when the Franciscans themselves finished its roof), and the adobe church would have been torn down. Instead, the adobe church continued in use past 1745, and the sacristy was completed around 1753.

After Tello's departure in August 1744, until about 1750 little construction occurred at Concepción. The Franciscans apparently built up the walls of Tello's granary and finished it with a flat, beam-supported roof (as they did the sacristy at Espada to be the temporary church). In Ortiz's 1756 visitation report, he described the Concepción granary as "a room of lime and stone for the seed," in use but not a vaulted building.[41]

The Master Mason Gerónimo Ibarra Arrives

In 1748, four years after Tello's precipitous departure, the Villa de San Fernando hired the maestro albañil Gerónimo Ibarra and the sculptor Felipe de Santiago in San Luis Potosí to complete the parish church begun by Tello.[42] While construction was continuing on the parish church, Ibarra began working part time for the missionaries about 1750. His first task was the supervision of the continuation of construction at Concepción. The Franciscans probably decided to have Ibarra begin work on Concepción because the church was in better condition and closer to completion than the poorly constructed and partially collapsed building at Valero, where apparently the Franciscans themselves had tried to finish the building, only to have it collapse in 1749 or 1750.

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[40] Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1272.

[41] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortíz, *"Vissita De La Mission De La Purisima Concepcion De Acuna [June 4, 1756],"* in Razon de la viss[i]ta de las missiones de San Xavier y de las de S[a]n Antonio de Valero en la provincia y goverNación de Texas, Maio de 1756, ed. Vargas Rea (Mexico City: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanes, 1955), vol. 2, p. 37.

[42] Bachiller Don Juan Ygnacio de Pinilla y Ramos Cardenas, *"Diligencias del cura Cardenas contra Travieso,"* January 19, 1756, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilms, roll 10, ff. 5075–77, 5077–78, 5072; Adán Benavides, "Sacred Space, Profane Reality: The Politics of Building a Church in Eighteenth-Century Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 107(2003)1:1–33.

Ibarra and Santiago clearly began with part of Tello's facade already standing at Concepción. Probably Tello had finished some further carved stone that was awaiting assembly—but at some point on both facades, the stone-carving changes from that of Tello to that of the sculptor Santiago. It would be fascinating if a close inspection of the carving (and perhaps even a microscopic examination of the tool-marks) could distinguish between the work of the two stone-carvers.

The work went slowly while Ibarra and Santiago finished the parochial church. By 1754 the parochial church was nearing completion, and Santiago was able to leave the villa's project and go to work full time for the missionaries at Concepción.[43] Ibarra and Santiago can be considered responsible for all the vaulting at Concepción. The two men apparently began by directing the completion of the choir loft, the vaulted roofs of the ground-level rooms of the bell tower and the roof of the sacristy by 1753—they would have been helped by the stock of already-carved stone components for the facade and vaults that undoubtedly were stored at the site. The arched stairs to the second floor room above the sacristy and the arched doorway opening from the sacristy stairs to the patio south of the church were built at the same time as the sacristy vault, because they acted as flying buttresses to help support the vault.

An examination of the structure and history of collapse of the stairway enclosure indicates that the stairway was constructed against the south wall of the sacristy into the space between it and the south wall of the stairway; that is, the stairway was built first, and then the south and east walls of the stairwell built against it and the south wall of the sacristy. The fall of the eastern and east half of the southern enclosing walls of the stairway, separating cleanly from the stairs themselves, demonstrated clearly that the stairs were an independent structural unit, not built as a part of either of these two walls. This indicates that the stairway was built as part of the construction of the sacristy, and finished before its vault was built around 1752–1753, rather than added later. The scars left on the building by the eastern enclosing wall show that it was built with an abutting joint against the sacristy and the Father President's office. The south and east walls were 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 stairway is very like that built against the convento and tied to the bell tower, serving as access to the second level of the bell tower and to the choir loft; as discussed below, this stairway was added about the same time as the sacristy stairs. It also resembles the stairs to the second floor of the convento at Espada, built by Ibarra around 1757.

Services were probably transferred from the adobe church to the sacristy as soon as it was finished in 1753; the adobe church was undoubtedly torn down by 1754, the same year that Santiago transferred from the work on the parish church to work full time on

[43] Cardenas, *"Diligencias del cura Cardenas contra Travieso,"* OSMHRL, f. 5078.

carving the stone for the upper facade, vaults, dome, and towers of Concepción. Ibarra supervised the construction of the vaulting and dome of Concepción in 1754 and 1755; the "keystone" with the date of 1754 at the top of the triangular pediment on the facade above the main door of the church, was placed three feet above the height of the spring-point of the vault ribs.[44] Ibarra and Santiago completed Concepción in late 1755, and the church was dedicated on December 8—the parish church, Ibarra's other major project, was dedicated only four days later, on December 12.[45]

The Stone Church, 1756–1772

With the dedication on December 8, 1755, by Fray Francisco Ortíz, the permanent church of Concepción began its active life, which has continued with a few interruptions through the present. Ortíz wrote the first description of the finished church seven months later, 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 a discussion of changes where they occurred.[46]

The church was built of coarse limestone stonework with lime mortar. It was vaulted, thirty varas (about 82.2 feet) in interior length, and eight varas (about 21.9 feet) across the nave. Ortíz adds that the width across the interior of the transepts was seventeen varas (about 46.6 feet). In 1762 the size was given as thirty-two varas (about 87.7 feet) long and eight varas wide, but in 1772 it was again described as thirty-two varas long and eight varas wide.[47] The actual dimensions are: length, eighty-six feet two and one-half inches, or 31.5 varas; width across the nave, twenty-one feet seven inches, or 7.9 varas; width across the transept, forty-six feet eight and one-quarter inches, or seventeen varas. There was a dome over the crossing of the nave and transepts, and a

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[44] Anonymous, "Notes from My Knapsack," *Putnam's Monthly*, vol. 3.14 (1854), p. 176.

[45] Cardenas, *"Diligencias del cura Cardenas contra Travieso,"* OSMHRL, f. 5077.

[46] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:27-34; Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, *"Testimonio de la visita de las Missiones de las Pro[vinci]as de Coahuila y Texas pertenecientes al Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz; echa por el R[everedo] P[adre] Fr[ay] Mariano Fran[cis]co de los Dolores y Viana, Com[issari]o Visitador de todas ellas en el mes de Marzo de 1759,"* March, 1759, roll 9, ff. 1492-1493; Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, *"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,"* in *Documentos Para La Historia Eclesiastica Y Civil De La Provincia De Texas O Nueva Philipinas, 1720–1779*, ed. José Porrua Turanzas (Madrid: *Coleccion Chimalistic de Libros y Documentos Acerca de la Nueva Espana, 1961*), pp. 253–54; Fray Juan Jose Saenz de Gumiel, *"Certificac[io]n, e Ymbentario de la Mis[io]n de la Puriss[i]ma Concepc[io]n,"* December 16, 1772, in OSMHRL, Celaya microfilms, roll 10, ff. 4235-4263.

[47] Ortíz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:28; Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 253; Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4235.

series of cornices divided the inner base of the dome from the body of the nave and transepts.

On the exterior of the dome, at the four corners, were buttresses, merlons, and cornices at the spring-point of the dome itself. On the north side of the dome, over the north transept, was a carefully bricked area of the roof, although what purpose this served is not stated. The dome had a small octagonal lantern and four large windows containing glass panes with a heavy wire grill for their protection. At the top of the lantern was an iron cross and a weather vane, two varas (about five and one-half feet) high.[48]

The church had two bell towers, 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 twenty-four *arrobas* (about 609½ pounds), and the other six arrobas (about 152½ pounds). At the top corners of each tower were four merlons. The entire church had a parapet and stone roof drains.[49]

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 in several 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.[50] 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 the twentieth century show that portions of the images of the sun and moon were still visible as recently as the 1930s, and fragments of them could probably still be traced today with close enough examination.[51] All of this was probably painted by or under the direction of Felipe Santiago. 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 with an *ochavada* arch, in the shape of half an octagon, each more than a vara high (about two and three-quarter 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 main doorway of the church. Within the triangular cornice was a niche containing an image of our Lady of the

[48] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, ff. 4235-36.

[49] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4236.

[50] Ortíz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:28; Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4236.

[51] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4236. 50Ortiz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:28; Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4236.

Conception in stone, and above it a stone crucifix. The hands of the Christ figure survive on this crucifix, telling us that the image itself was made of iron. Ortíz added that there was a second niche on the facade containing two angels holding a monstrance—this niche is the oval wreath above the triangular cornice. Unmentioned in the inventories is a rectangular stone boss at the peak of the triangular cornice, inscribed with an almost unreadable date: "l754," probably the date that Ibarra completed the facade to this height.[52] All of the sculpted stonework above the main doorway had been carved by Felipe Santiago and assembled by Gerónimo Ibarra.

The main doorway itself was also an ochavada arch, and contained two large doors of sabino, 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 cedar or juniper, built by Felipe Santiago. A second set of double doors opened from this vestibule into the main body of the church.

To the left of the main vestibule doors was another postigo with a latch-key. The floor of the vestibule area was carefully paved in fired tile.[53]

The remainder of the floor of the nave had been built by Felipe Santiago, and was wood up to the mouth of the transepts; a similar floor was later built at San José in 1780 by the carpenter Pedro Huizar. 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 difference between Querétaran and Zacatecan inventories becomes clear at this point: while at San José the inventorist simply said "the church has a wooden floor," the Querétaran inventorist proceeded to describe the floor's structure. The wooden floor, he said, had eleven *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 indicates that there were eleven joists equally spaced up the length of the nave, which would place them at intervals of about four and one-third feet. It is likely that the floor had provisions for raising panels of each section for the burial of the dead of the mission.[54] A colonial floor with a similar structure survives today in the church of San José de Gracia de las Trampas, New Mexico, built in the 1750s.

In the base of the north tower was the baptistry with a window protected by a grating. Its door had a lathe-turned wooden grill. Here was a large baptismal font. In 1756 it

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[52] Ortiz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:27–28; Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4236.

[53] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4236.

[54] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4241.

was of stone, "beautiful and well-carved," within which was a smaller basin of copper. Elsewhere in the church, perhaps in the nave, was a large font of "*piedra blanca*," white stone, for holy water. Within it, as well, was an old, smaller basin of copper. By 1759 the principle baptismal font was of copper—what happened to the "beautiful and well-carved" stone font of 1756 is not mentioned; the font of white stone with its copper inner basin still served as the holy water font in the nave. The 1762 report and 1772 inventory mention only the large copper font with a tapa or cover in the baptistry. The 1772 inventory says the font had various moldings in the manner of a conch shell, and that it rested on a pillar "*labrado para sumidero*," made to serve as a drain. Within the font was kept a "*palangana bien grande*," a good-sized baptismal basin, in which the holy water was kept so that it would not leak out into the sumidero. The cover, to protect the water from dust, was of wood, very artfully made and with a silk covering.[55]

In the other tower base was a chapel for the Archangel Saint Michael, with a deteriorated framed painting of the Archangel above an altar. The painting was about one vara (2.7 feet) across. On the wall were painted the images of Christ crucified and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The chapel had a door and window like that of the baptistry, and an altar table. On the east wall of the south bell tower room today is a stone altar, and above it on the wall, a painted rectangular frame which apparently outlined the painting of St. Michael. On the south wall is the surviving traces of the painting of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, damaged by the insertion of a stone basin into the wall at this point. The chapel for Saint Michael had been in the south tower base since the first report in 1756, and the same painting and altar were described in each report. The painting of Dolores is mentioned only in 1772.[56]

Within the main body of the church, against the south wall a short distance from the doorway into the chapel of Saint Michael, in 1772 was a large stone font for holy water, which may have been the same holy water font mentioned in 1756 and 1759. It consisted of a square column supporting a basin more than a vara (about two and three-quarter feet) wide. The basin was carved with four angels and various moldings.[57] This font is 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 holy water font was placed in the wall after 1772, and probably after 1824. Mardith Schuetz-Miller suggests that this font was carved by Nicholas Albañil, a mason in training at Concepción who

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[55] Ortíz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:30; Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, f. 1492; Dolores y Viana, "Relacion," 1762, p. 253; Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, ff. 4236-37.

[56] Ortíz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:29-30; Dolores y Viana, "Visita," 1759, f. 1492; Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 253; Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4237.

[57] Ortíz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:30; Dolores y Viana, "Visita," 1759, f. 1492; Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4237.

became a master mason by the 1760s, and that the angel motif on the side of the font is copied from the frontispiece of the 1726 edition of the Diccionario de Autoridades.[58]

The interior of the church was densely decorated with the paintings and furnishings of Felipe Santiago. Above the crossing of the transepts, on the four *"mechinas,"* a miscopy of *"pechinas,"* pendentives, were painted pictures of San Francisco, San Buenaventura, San Antonio de Padua, and San Bernardino de Siena.[59] The sanctuary was raised two steps above the level of the nave floor. These were stone steps, still in use today, and in 1756 there was a communion rail of wood across the head of the church along the top step. The main altar, apparently the altar present today, was made of stone, and *"sobre la que estan tres gradas de Madera Pintadas,"* and on it was a three-level grada of painted wood.[60] The grada had probably been built for the adobe church in the period between 1745 and 1756, and was in temporary use in the new church while the new retablo for the main altar was finished. This and several other items in the church must have been built by Felipe Santiago, primarily the sculptor who finished the facade of the church—but Santiago was also a master carpenter, and applied this side of his skills to produce the basic necessities for the interior of the church.

In the center of the grada was the carved statue of the Purísima Concepción, more than a vara tall, that had been the principal santo on the altar of the adobe church in 1745. Nothing else is mentioned as being on the gradas, but perhaps some of the little pictures, vellums, and prints that had been on the wall of the adobe church around the Purísima Concepción were placed there. Painted on the wall above the altar was the image of a canopy, and *"varias ymagenes,"* various images, probably the cinco señores, the Five Lords, la Divina Pastora, the Divine Shepardess, and la Divina Peregrina, Mary as the Divine Wanderer, all described in 1759. Two side altars of stone had been built in the transepts, and above them were painted images, as well. Above one altar was painted a Santo Christo, and other unnamed saints—in 1759 these are identified as Maria Santíssima de los Dolores and San Juan. On the altar was a statue of the Dolorosa. On the wall in the other transept, an image of Nuestra Señora del Pilar was painted above the stone altar, and on the altar was a small statue of the same saint.

Felipe Santiago had built the pulpit, its guardavoz, and its enclosed stairs, all of carved and painted wood, located at the southwest corner where the transepts crossed the

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[58] Mardith Schuetz, "Professional Artisans in the Hispanic Southwest," *The Americas* 40(1983)1:27, note 32 and figure 13.

[59] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Concepcion,"* 1772, f. 4235.

[60] Ortíz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:28–29.

nave. In this pulpit was a Santo Christo with a canopy over it. On the walls of the nave were the stations of the cross, formed by a series of *"estampas finas,"* fine prints.[61]

In the sacristy was more of Santiago's work. This was a large cabinet of three drawers, in which were kept the vestments and silver items for saying Mass.

By 1759, in the center of the altar was a gilded tabernacle.[62] Above this the altar had a "*pequeño retablo, ovalado dorado*,"[63] a small retablo, oval and gilded. This oval retablo was in the form of a niche. Both the oval niche and the gilded tabernacle had probably been built by Felipe Santiago before he left San Antonio, but had not yet been put in place at the time of the 1756 report. Adding to the likelihood that Santiago was responsible for the oval niche retablo, on the keystone of the main entrance of the facade of the church is a large oval escutcheon enclosing two angels holding a monstrance—this was carved by Felipe Santiago as part of his work on the facade, and was first described in 1756, and is still on the facade today. Clara Bargellini has shown that it is common for the man who carved the facade of a church to also make some of the retablos on the interior, and to have echoes between the interior retablo and the facade decorations.[64]

Within the oval niche was a new statue "*de elegante escultura*," of elegant sculpture, of the Purísima Concepción, with a Niño, or Christ-child, in its arms, and wearing an imperial crown of silver.[65] The statue had been shipped in 1756, but no charge for the image itself was entered in the account book: *"Por una Ymagen de N[uestra] S[eñora] de el refugio en esta Ymagen no fue - 0 p.,"* for an image of Nuestra Señora de el Refugio, this image had no cost - 0 pesos.[66] Apparently, although the statue was made as a Refugio, it was used as a Purísima Concepción, and was so identified for the rest of its use in the church. The lack of a cost for its purchase indicates that the Señora del Refugio was donated to the mission as an hechor bien, a good deed (although the donor

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[61] Ortíz, *"Concepcion,"* 1756, 2:28.

[62] Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, f. 1492.

[63] Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, f. 1492.

[64] Clara Bargellini, personal communication, April 2003.

[65] Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, f. 1492.

[66] *Nuestra Senora de Purisima Concepcion de Acuna, "Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la importancia de los avios, que a la Mission de la Purissima Concepcion de Acuna, remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . ."* Celaya Microfilms, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, roll 15, frame 4514. Hereafter citations of the account books will be in the form *"Cuentas, Concepción,"* the year, and the frame number.

was not named in this case, unlike other examples of such donations elsewhere in the accounts), and was adapted to the needs of the church. The next item in the book listed the cost for the manufacture of the crown for the statue: *"Por la echura de la corona de N[uestra] S[eñora] y plata q[u]e sele agrego - 15 p.,"* for the making of the crown of the Nuestra Señora and the silver used for it - 15 pesos.[67]

The 1759 report described in more detail the painting on the wall above the retablo – it was a drapery with los cinco Señores. These were Jesus Christ, his parents Joseph and Mary, and his maternal grandparents, Joachim and Anne.[68] In the transepts, the 1759 report named the other saints around the Christo Crucificado painted on the wall above one of the side altars, and remarked that the Dolorosa on this altar had a crown and a sword of silver. Although the Nuestra Señora del Pilar painted on the wall above the other altar was described, the small statue of the Nuestra Señora de el Pilar on the altar was not mentioned—in fact, nothing on this altar was mentioned.

In 1762 the main altar was again described as consisting of *"un sagrario dorado, y encima un retablo oblado, en que está la imagen de la Purisima Concepcion de elegante escultura con el Niño en sus brazos, y su corona de plata,"* a gilded tabernacle, and above it an oval retablo, in which is an image of the Purísima Concepción of elegant sculpture with the Christ-child in her arms, and her crown of silver.[69] The 1762 report said that one side altar in a transept had a statue of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and the other had a statue of Nuestra Señora del Pilar—this suggests that the Pilar had probably been on this side altar in 1759 as well. The 1762 visita report described the church and sacristy almost word for word in the same terms as in the 1759 report, although in somewhat less detail.[70]

The 1772 inventory went into much more detail about the individual parts of the main altar, which, combined with the final inventory of 1824, gives a fairly good picture of the retablo. These detailed descriptions indicate that the retablo had been changed since1762. The 1824 description gives an overview of the form of the retablo: *"Hay en el altar mayor un pavellon de madera tallada, y floreada, en cuyo centro está un obalo dorado, con un sagrario al pie con de madera tallada y dorado fuera y dentro,"* on the

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[67] Cuentas, Concepción, 1756, f. 4514.

[68] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:28-29; Dolores y Viana, "Visita," 1759, f. 1492; Jacinto Quirarte, The Art and Architecture of the Texas Missions (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), pp. 108-109; Jacinto Quirarte, "Los Cinco Senores and La Mano Poderosa: An Iconographic Study," in Art and Faith in Mexico: The Nineteenth-Century Retablo Tradition, edited by Elizabeth Netto Calil Zarur and Charles Muir Lovell, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), pp. 79-87. .

[69] Dolores y Viana, "Relacion," 1762, p. 253.

[70] Dolores y Viana, "Relacion," 1762, p. 253.

main altar is a pavellon of carved and flowered wood, in the center of which is a gilded oval, with a tabernacle at its foot of wood carved and gilded outside and inside.[71]

The word *"pabellon"* has a rather variable meaning, but when applied to retablos or the facade of a building usually indicates a triangular upper section of the structure. In this case it seems to be being used as a general term for the entire retablo itself. This enlarged retablo structure had apparently been added to the altar since 1762, as a major structural addition to support the oval niche that had been the center-piece of the altar since 1759. It is likely that this expansion to the altar had been built by Don Ángel about 1762 or 1763, even though he is not listed as working for Concepción during his stay in San Antonio.

The 1772 description says *"Por retablo tiene un Pabellon Esculpido de varias molduras, todo Dorado y estofado,"* for the retablo the altar had a pabellon sculpted with various moldings, all of which was *"dorado y estofado,"* gilded and finished in the technique called estofado.[72] In estofado, an object was covered with gold leaf, then parts of it painted over, after which designs were scratched through the paint to show the gold leaf underneath—this technique gives the effect, for example, of cloth patterns and decorative embroidery and applied to the simulated cloth of painted statues. On the altar table was the *sagrario dorado,* the gilded tabernacle. Above the tabernacle *"esta una cruz como de tercia con un cruzefixo de bronze una dolorosa titulo, y cantoneras de Plata,"* was a cross with a crucifix of bronze about one-third vara tall, a titular dolorosa, and cantoneras of silver. *"Sobre la cornisa del sagrario descanza una Ymagen mui preciosa de N[uestra] S[eñor]a de la Concepción,"* over the cornice of the tabernacle rests a very precious image of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción;[73] this was in the oval niche located at this position, although the 1772 inventory does not say so specifically. *"Quedan en d[ic]ho altar seis Blandones grandes de Bronze Plateados, y doze ramilletes ya viejos, con dose picheles esculpidos y dorados,"* placed on the said altar, six large candlesticks of plated bronze, and twelve carved bunches of flowers, fairly old, with their twelve vases, all sculpted and gilded.[74] These twelve floral groups were placed on the flat background areas of the retablo, probably symmetrically around the central niche. No other sculptures or paintings seem to be on the retablo.

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[71] Bachillor Francisco Maynes and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon, "Inventario General y Particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la ciudad de Bexar de la Provincia de Texas, llamadas San José de Aguayo; La Purisima Concepcion de Acuna; San Juan de Capistrano; y San Francisco de Asis (Vulg[aremente] de la Espada)," February 29, 1824, roll 4, f. 5575.

[72] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4237-38.

[73] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4237.

[74] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4238.

The tabernacle, probably built by Felipe Santiago about 1756 and first mentioned in 1759, was coated with gold leaf, and the remark that it had a cornice indicates that it was made in an architectonic style, probably resembling a small Greek temple. The tabernacle contained a copon, or ciborium, of gold-plated silver with a cover of hammered silver, and an ara, or portable altar stone, of piedra de tecal, a white translucent marble, with its *corporales* (linen napkins), and a cover and curtains of red ribbed silk.

Above the retablo and *"adorno todo el frontis del altar mayor,"* adorning all the facade of the main altar—that is, covering the entire wall of the apse end of the sanctuary above the main altar—was the painting of a drapery with the Five Lords. Painted on the side walls of the sanctuary were the images of Mary as the divine Shepherdess and the Wanderer. The platform of the main altar, apparently the stone platform present today, was covered with a carpet of blue-striped cotton three and one-half varas (9.6 feet) long, and over this on feast days was placed another carpet of red velvet forrado en cotence, lined with coarse cloth on the underside, four varas (eleven feet) square.[75] This was the carpet ordered in 1755, described as *"Por 1 alfombra labrada en fondo de tripe de 4½ v[ara]s de largo, y de ancho 4¼ en - 45 p.,"* for one figured carpet with a base of wool cloth, of four and one-half varas (12.3 feet) length and four and one-half varas width, at forty-five pesos. [76] The 1756 report mentioned this carpet, but at the time it was in use in the sacristy—however, Fray Ortíz meticulously noted that it had been purchased to be used in the sanctuary.[77]

Hanging on the wall was a silver lamp. This had been purchased in 1764: *"1 lampara de plata con 16 marc[o]s y 2½ oz a 6 p 6 r marco y 34 p de lavor, y costo -143 p 7 r.,"* one lamp of silver made using sixteen marks and two and one-half ounces of silver, at 6 pesos 6 reales per mark, and 34 pesos for labor, for a total cost of 143 pesos 7 reales.[78] On one side of this was a large crucifix of silver, and on the other was an image of La Purísima. Below these on either side of the crucifix were images of San Francisco and La Concepción; all three of these images were gilded.[79] Next to the altar was a chair of

[75] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, ff. 4237–38.

[76] Cuentas, Concepción, 1755, OSMHRL, f. 4512.

[77] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:34.

[78] Cuentas, Concepción, 1764, OSMHRL, f. 4546. One mark is made up of eight onzas, and is equal to just under half a pound (7.4 troy ounces).

[79] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, ff. 4238–39.

walnut for the priest, two portable communion railings, and on the epistle side was a small table used as a credenza.[80]

In the left or northern transept was another altar of stone. Behind it, hanging on the wall, was a large niche containing a jointed sculpture of Jesus Nazareno, donated to the mission *("dio dicho ymagen de Limosna")* by Señora Doña Phelipa de Villanueva y Terreros of Querétaro. This statue was mentioned in the 1764 shipping records: *"Por 9 p.s que tubo de costo la imagen de Jessus Nasareno. Para sus abrigos - 9 p 3 r.,"* for the image of Jesus Nazareno that had a cost of 9 pesos. For its protective packing, 9 pesos 3 reales.[81] This donation, and a second below by don Juan Francisco Nuñez de Prado are each specifically mentioned as a *"bien hechora,"*[82] and the items themselves do not appear in any accounts—in the case of the Jesus Nazareno, it was mentioned only in order to explain the charge for the 9 pesos 3 reales of packing.

Above the altar was a cloth canopy hanging from rods, purchased in 1772: *"1 Baldoq[ui]n con 3½ b[ara]s de Espolinado galones, fleco; echura, y avios - 35 p 1 r.,"* one canopy with three and one-half varas (9.6 feet) of brocaded silk, fringed; for the weaving and preparation, 35 pesos 1 real.[83] Painted on the wall were an image of Christ crucified with John the Evangelist and the Magdalene. The platform had a cotton carpet, although the inventory does not give its size or color. In the same transept, in front of the stone altar, was a wooden table that served as a monumento or secondary altar *"en el cuerpo de la Yglesia,"* in the nave of the church. On it was a glass case containing a statue of Christ *"de el Desendimiento,"* as in the descent from the cross.[84] This had been purchased in 1766: *"Una Ymajen de Cristo de Descendimiento; Otra d[ic[ha de n[uest]ra S[eño]ra de los Dolores en - 55 p.,"* an image of Christ of the Descent; another [image] of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, at 55 pesos [for both images].[85] The statue of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores mentioned in this line item was described in the 1772 inventory as on the same altar, with her diadem and dagger or sword of silver. The clothing for this statue was purchased in the same order in 1766: *"Por la ropa de la S[eño]ra que se compone, de camisa, naguas blancas, toca, naguas de Yndianilla, tunica con sus mangillas, y manto; que con sus echuras, todo monta - 84 p 7½ r.,"* for the clothing of the Señora composed of a blouse, white petticoats, hood,

[80] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, ff. 4238-39.

[81] Cuentas, Concepción, 1764, OSMHRL, f. 4546.

[82] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4239.

[83] Cuentas, Concepción, 1772, OSMHRL, f. 4586.

[84] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:29; Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, f. 1492; Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 253; Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4239–40.

[85] Cuentas, Concepción, 1766, OSMHRL, f. 4555.

petticoats of printed cotton, tunic with its sleeves, and veil; with its manufacture, amounting to 84 pesos 7½ reales.[86]

In the south transept was another altar and stone platform. On the altar was a glass case used as the repository on Holy Thursday, and the rest of the time contained statues of Mary, Joseph, and the Christ Child, representing the Nativity. Also on the altar was a statue of the Purísima Concepción with a silver crown. Above the altar, attached to the wall was a large *nicho de cajon*, a box niche, two varas (five and one-half feet) high. It held a statue of San José with a gilded wooden diadem, holding a Christ Child in his arms. This statue had been donated by don Juan Francisco Nuñez de Prado. On the wall above the niche of San José was painted Nuestra Señora del Pilar and other images. Through 1762, the glass case, niche and statue of San José had not been here; instead, a small statue of Nuestra Señora del Pilar had been on the altar.[87]

Near the Nuestra Señora del Pilar and other paintings on the wall was *"un curioso relox de madera con su campana del Bronce y despertador que se manega por una tribuna proporcionada q[u]e descanza sobre quatro canes de Nogal Encarrelado,"* an unusual clock with a wooden case, a bronze bell and an alarm bell that stood on a platform supported by four corbels of walnut set into the wall.[88] Curiously, no clock appears in the accounts of Concepción. However, a clock is listed in the 1754 accounts for San Juan, but never appears in any of the inventories of that mission: *"Por 12 p de la composicion de un relox que queda en poder de n[uest]ro her[man]o Sind[i]co para comutarlo - 12p.,"* for 12 pesos for the construction of a clock that was turned over to our brother sindic for exchange - 12 pesos.[89] It may be that this clock was transferred to Concepción. In 1755 was an additional entry about this clock: *"Por 12 p. costo de la composicion de un relox, que pertenece de esta Mission, y queda en poder del sota sindico de Querétaro para venderlo, o commutarlo - 12p.,"* for 12 pesos cost for the construction of a clock, that pertains to this mission, and was turned over to the sota sindic of Querétaro for selling it or exchanging it, 12 pesos.[90] Apparently the sindic exchanged it with Concepción, although so far no item of exchange has been found in the Concepción accounts.

Above the clock was a balcony or tribune like the one described at San José. Here it ran from a doorway opening from the Father President's office through the south wall of

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[86] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:29; Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, f. 1492; Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 253; Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4239–40.

[87] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4241.

[88] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4241.

[89] Cuentas, San Juan, 1754, f. 4770.

[90] Cuentas, San Juan, 1755, f. 4773.

the south transept about fifteen feet above the floor, and extended along the west wall of the transept. In 1824 this balcony was described as *"una tribuna volada de madera,"* an elevated wooden tribune.[91] It was reached by a door from the Father President's office on the second floor above the sacristy, just outside this transept.[92]

Felipe Santiago's great quantity of painted decoration on the church walls described in the 1772 inventory may yet survive in large part beneath two or three inches of new plaster and paint. In 1913:

> An interesting discovery has been made in renovation of the Mission Concepción, commonly known as the first mission. In removing a coat of plaster from the interior of the structure workmen found the original walls to be covered with paintings. Although time has dimmed the work so as to make many of the designs indistinguishable, a close inspection showed the wall space to have once been covered with brightly-colored paintings, evidently of religious character.
>
> All of the interior had been made to serve as a stone canvass by the early artist, for traces of the work can be seen on all portions of the walls from floor to ceiling. It is assumed that the paintings were made in the time of the Spanish monks, when carving and other artistic work was executed on the missions, which is conceded to be the most classic on the North American continent. In one place—above the altar—traces remain of what seems to have been a group of angels with spreading wings [possibly the cinco señores].
>
> As nearly as can be learned the modern coat of plaster was put on the old walls about thirty years ago [in the 1880s], in the time of Bishop Neraz. It was about half an inch in thickness.[93]

It is likely that the wall paintings were simply re-covered during this refurbishing, and are largely still on the walls of the church at Concepción. Any future resurfacing in the

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[91] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:29; Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, f. 1492; Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 253; Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4240-41; Bachillor Francisco Maynes and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario General y Particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la ciudad de Bexar de la Provincia de Texas, llamadas San José de Aguayo; La Purisima Concepcion de Acuna; San Juan de Capistrano; y San Francisco de Asis (Vulg[aremente] de la Espada),"* February 29, 1824, roll 4, f. 5576.

[92] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4257.

[93] Anonymous, "Old Paintings Bared in First Mission," San Antonio Light, May 4, 1913.

church should be done with great care to protect and preserve any part of these paintings that might survive, one of only two examples of colonial church interior painting still in place in Texas—the other example is the possible survival of some painted areas in San José. The fine success with recovering the painted decorations in the missionary's cell at Concepción in 1980–1981 and at San Xavier del Bac in the 1990s demonstrates what could be done in the church itself to recover and conserve these unique paintings.

Felipe Santiago had built a pulpit near the south transept, probably within the nave at its southeast corner with the south transept. The pulpit had stairs of stone and wood, and a sounding board supported by an iron bar. No trace of this pulpit survives. He probably also built the two confessionals within the nave, called "new" in 1756, with gratings and curtains on small iron rods. They had doors with slide-bolts of iron, and were probably wooden booths standing against one wall of the nave. There were three benches for the Indians, and a large bench for the officials of the pueblo.[94]

Beneath the choir loft and along the walls of the nave were the stations of the cross: *"repartida en proporcion con cruzes Pequeñas y estampas en sus Marcos pintados,"* spaced evenly on the walls with small crosses and prints in their painted frames.[95] These had been purchased in 1763: *"1 Via crucis con sus Marcos en 5 p 2 r.,"* one Way of the cross with their frames, at 5 pesos 2 reales,[96] and had replaced the Via Crucis made up of "fine prints" that had been in the church through at least 1756, and probably until 1763.[97] The choir loft itself was supported by an arch and vault, with a lathe-turned wooden railing along the edge towards the nave. In the south tower at the same level was *"un pieza de boveda por antechoro,"* a vaulted room for the antechoro, the entrance to the choir loft. In the north tower was *"otra p[ie]za igual, y sirve de trascoro,"* another similar room, that serves as the trascoro, the room after the choir loft. Curiously, neither of these rooms is vaulted; both have beam-supported roofs above the level of the church roof. Looking west the choir loft had two large ventanas rasgadas, windows that could be opened. These were each covered with a *celosía*, a lattice or blinds. In the choir loft was an atril, a bookstand or lectern.[98]

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[94] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:30-31; Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, f. 1492; Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 253; Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4241.

[95] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4241.

[96] Cuentas, Concepción, 1763, OSMHRL, f. 4543.

[97] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:28.

[98] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:30; Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4241; Maynes and Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 5575.

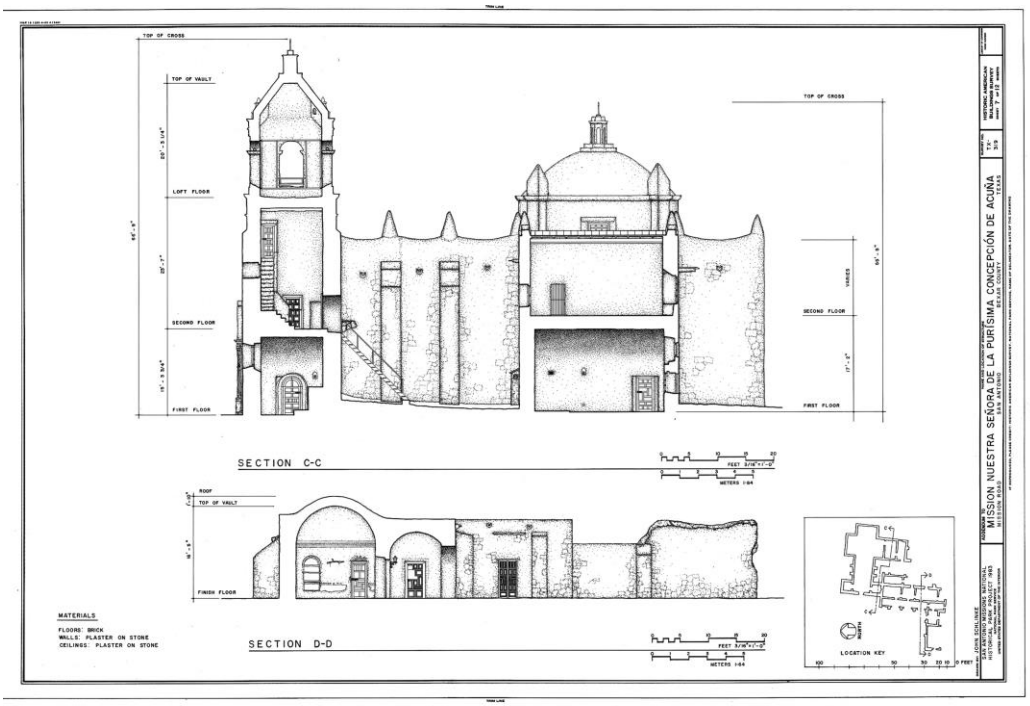


FIGURE 25: Stairs and an exposed archway can be seen in this Historic American Buildings Survey drawing of Mission Concepción. Drawing accessed through Library of Congress Digital Collections.

There was a stair of stone and logs to climb to the towers;[99] today the stone staircase of two flights is still present inside the south tower, giving access to the roof, and the marks and sockets within the south tower show 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 José today. At the bell level, the log floor is still in place.

The missionaries reached the choir loft by an arched stairway against the north wall of the east corridor of the convento, with the stonework attached to that wall by tie-stones. The other major attachment area was in the angle of the bell tower wall and church wall just north of the exterior doorway to the bell tower, at the same height as the base of the doorway opening.[100] This stairway, similar to the sacristy stairway, was in two flights supported by arches like flying buttresses. The first flight on its flying-buttress-like half-arch went up to the east wall of the bell tower. At the top of the half-arch was a landing which formed the starting point for the second half-arch extending up along the east face of the south bell tower and ending against the south wall of the church. A landing at the top of this arch gave access to the doorway through the east wall of the

[99] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4236.

[100] Cook, "Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas," sheet 1.

bell tower. This archway, exposed to the weather as it was, may have been intended to be enclosed in a two-story staircase structure in the space between the east wall of the bell tower, the north wall of the convento, and the south wall of the church, with the same sort of intention as the cylindrical building that held the spiral wooden staircase at San José.

The bell tower stairway has fallen, except for a small section in the corner between the bell tower and the church. Portions of the imprint of the two arches and the staircase on their upper surfaces can still be made out on the wall surfaces, as well as some of the tie-stones. The outlines were more clearly visible in the 1930s, when Harvey P. Smith recorded them on his elevation drawings of the church and convento.[101] Because of the way the stairs were attached to the north wall of the east corridor and the east wall of the bell tower, rather than being part of these structures, they were clearly added to the area after the vault of the south bell tower was built. The structure of the stairs was tied into the fabric of the bell tower only at the top level with the bottom of the doorway into the bell tower, where fragments still remain in place. This makes it clear that the stairs were added by Ibarra, and that the east corridor of the convento had already been built when they were added.

The Sacristy

In 1772 the sacristy was vaulted, eight varas (21.9 feet) long and four and one-half varas (12.3 feet) wide; today the measurements are twenty-three feet east to west, and thirteen feet nine inches north to south. 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. Felipe Santiago had built a large cabinet made up of three large painted and varnished chests of walnut and two closets, one on either side, occupying the entire head or west end of the sacristy. The chests and cabinets had iron pulls, and locks and keys, and contained all the silver altar furnishings and vestments of the mission, as well as an iron for making the communion breads. All these items are described in great detail in the 1772 inventory.[102]

This sacristy cabinet rested on a corniced platform (apparently the present stone platform) with a wool carpet covering the top of the platform in front of the cabinet. The floor of the sacristy was of fired brick; this is probably still beneath the present floor. Above the cabinet on the wall was a painted canopy, and a painting of Christ crucified on canvas one and one-quarter vara (3.4 feet) tall. Traces of painted design

[101] Cook, "Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas," sheet 1.

[102] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:33; Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, ff. 1492-93; Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, 253–54; Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, ff. 4242–48.

can still be seen on this wall. Recent work by Cisy and Pamela Jary in the sacristy has uncovered several areas of painted decoration on the walls.

Against one wall of the sacristy, probably the north wall, was a small painted and silvered chest with four drawers. Set into the other wall was another cupboard with doors and a lock, opened by the same key that was used for the large cabinet at the head of the sacristy. This was the present large shelved niche in the south wall near the southeastern corner; it was apparently closed with wooden doors attached to the walls. Smaller items of silver, metal equipment, and specialty items, including two guitars and a violin, were kept in this cupboard. In the east end of the room was a large window with an iron grating (this was one of the two windows presently at the east end of the sacristy), and the floor was covered with a red carpet with blue stripes and a fringe. There was an arm chair in one corner. In the sacristy were kept the books of administration of the mission, including baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and burials, as well as a book of baptisms of Hispanic children.[103]

The Convento

Beginning about 1753, Ibarra and Santiago had started new construction on the vaulted convento begun by Tello. The old Franciscan-built two-story convento still stood to its full extent, although beginning to decay; it was described as "partly in ruins" but still being lived in by the Franciscans in 1756. Ortiz added that "a little convento with three good vaulted celdas and storerooms, without a second story, are presently being built."[104] Tello had built up the lower portions of the walls of the new convento and west corridor several feet, but apparently he had not started the vaulting. The construction extended south from the half-built new church to a point nine feet north of the old convento walls.

Ibarra was clearly requested to revise Tello's plans for the convento when he began work on the buildings. The Franciscans had apparently decided that Tello's idea to use the old convento buildings wasn't going to work, because they were beginning to decay. Instead, they requested Ibarra to enlarge the new vaulted convento so that all the residential and storage spaces could be housed in an extended version of this building.

The changes to the plan indicate that Ibarra redesigned the layout of both the intended convento patio and the second courtyard, built a new vaulted corridor extending west along the south side of the new patio, and added an east corridor to the section of convento already begun. Ibarra apparently reduced the residential area of the convento

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[103] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:33; Dolores y Viana, *"Visita,"* 1759, ff. 1492-93; Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, pp. 253–54; Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, ff. 4242–48.

[104] Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:35.

to fit around a patio about sixty-nine feet (twenty-five varas) east to west and twenty-three varas (sixty-two feet) north to south, with a well on the east-west midline one-third of the width from the west side. The south side of his new cloister plan was apparently intended to have a vaulted and arcaded corridor on its front like the east wing, and a row of vaulted rooms behind, built against a small portion of the north wing of the old convento that was to be kept. If so, this would have produced a double row of rooms along the south side of the new patio, with the more southerly older row forming the workshops of the second courtyard. The addition of this south row of corridor and two rows of rooms, along with Ibarra's new east corridor, would have produced a plan similar to that used fifty years later for most of the conventos in the California missions.

Ibarra decided to remove the second story and part of the east end of the north wing of the first Franciscan convento for his new plan, leaving a portion of the west end as a one-story building in the second courtyard. This may have been prompted by the rapid deterioration of the upper floor of the structure, described by Ortiz in 1756. Ibarra apparently intended the new east corridor to continue south across the old second courtyard, reducing its area by a third.

The sacristy of the new church was probably completed around 1753. Church services were immediately moved to it, allowing the old adobe church to be torn down probably in 1754, when Ibarra began working on the convento. The new vaulted corridor on the east side of the convento plan had to have been begun very early in the work on the convento, in order for its north wall to be standing when the stairway to the second level of the south bell tower was built, which was immediately after the vaulting of the south bell tower ground-level room was finished, or in 1753. The stairway was added as an afterthought in this area, not built as part of the east convento corridor's north wall. Ibarra built the new east corridor with a width of 8.5 feet, the same as Tello's corridor, but an arch size of eleven feet (four varas) and a rib spacing of a little more than twenty-one feet (eight varas). On Tello's plan, the arches were 8.3 feet (three varas) wide and the ribs spaced at 16.5 feet (six varas).[105] The structural remains in this area indicate that the second bay to the south on this new east corridor had, in addition to the larger arch on the east implied by later descriptions and Smith's plan, a smaller arched opening on the south. The broken end of a second arched rib remains another twenty-one feet farther south down the east side of the convento, high on the wall at the southeastern corner of the main cell wall, now partially obscured by the large rectangular buttress south of the doorway from the main cell. This rib fell sometime around 1800. This tells us that Ibarra had built a second rib to support the intended vault south of the second bay, but never built the vaulting up to it.

[105] Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, Texas Civil Works Administration and Texas Relief Company, Harvey P. Smith, AIA," sheet 1.

The removal of the old church allowed Ibarra to start construction on the corridor of the new south wing of vaulted rooms intended to extend westward from the southernmost arch of the west corridor, adjacent to the old Franciscan convento rooms, that would form the south side of his redesigned convento patio. The new south wing was a vaulted and ribbed structure similar to the sections begun by Tello. The rib spacing, at 18.5 feet (6¾ varas), was midway between Ibarra's new east wing spacing and that used in Tello's construction, and the width of the rooms, at eleven feet (four varas), was also midway between the corridor widths of 8.5 feet (three varas) and the main room width of fourteen feet (five varas). This corridor extended across the foundations of the old adobe church disturbing some burials beneath the floor.[106] Like Tello, Ibarra was prone to less than perfect precision when it came to laying out minor structures like convento corridors. Ibarra's new south wing has a slight parallel error, tapering from eleven feet two inches at the east end to ten feet six inches at the west end, and is slightly off a right angle towards the south, 92.5° rather than 90°.

Although this new wing seems to have been begun with the intent that it be a corridor along the front of another row of vaulted rooms along the north side of the old convento rooms, this intent was not fulfilled. There is no clear indication of filled arches on the north side, suggesting the area was built as a solid wall rather than an arcade. Ibarra built three bays of this oddly ambiguous structure, and was intending to continue this wing farther westward, as shown by backfilled foundation trenches extending westward from the completed walls, but never did so.[107]

Ibarra began the demolition of portions of the old convento in 1754, at the same time he was tearing down the old adobe church.[108] He left the western half of the old convento in use, but removed the east half and all of the upper floor and extended the east corridor foundations and above-grade walls across the old convento foundations. He constructed the above-grade walls of the new east corridor south to about the south wall of the old convento, so that the remaining old rooms butted against the corridor wall. Ibarra continued the excavation of the foundation trenches for at least thirty-five feet south of the old convento.[109] These show that Ibarra intended that the corridor was to extend some distance south of the remaining section of the old convento, reducing the size of the old convento yard, but the surviving structure shows no trace of vaulting

[106] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 28 fig. 14, 29 fig. 15b, 30.

[107] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," p. 29 fig. 15a no. 4; also Ivey, "Architectural Excavations."

[108] The 1756 inventory says only that the old convento was "partly ruined," without making any reference to the number of floors; see Ortíz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:35.

[109] Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, Texas Civil Works Administration and Texas Relief Company, Harvey P. Smith, AIA," sheet 1.

along the convento east wall south of the remains of the second bay, nor are there any actual stone foundations south of the south wall of the old convento's north wing.

The evidence indicates that Ibarra's construction of the remaining vaulted rooms on the lines of foundation laid across the foundations of the eastern half of the old two-story convento, the east corridor south of the second bay, and the corridor or rooms westward from the completed section of the west wing, was stopped before walls were built on the foundations or foundation in the trenches. The foundation trenches extending eight to ten feet west from the west extension had been excavated, but were refilled with little or no stonework in them. The trenches Smith found extending south from the vaulted convento across the east end of the first convento contained foundations only to the south wall of the old convento. South of this were only refilled trenches.[110] Clearly this major construction effort came to a halt in mid-stride, so to speak. Why did this work stop unfinished?

The answer appears to be in the 1759 visitation report of Fray Mariano Dolores y Viana: *"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 boveda, 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 vigas to support the roofs.[111] According to Dolores y Viana's statement, the builder was ordered sometime in early 1759 to discontinue the construction of vaulting.

What caused this change? A possible implication of the statement by Dolores y Viana was that the vaulted structures proved to be structurally unsound—it may be that some of the new construction collapsed soon after completion. A likely candidate for such a collapse is Ibarra's new west wing. The broken section of this vaulted wing was shown as fallen in the earliest drawings in the 1840s, and was apparently down as of the sale of the convento in 1823. It was never described, whole or fallen, in any report or inventory. If it had collapsed about 1758, soon after the forms and scaffolding were removed, this would explain why it was never described later, and such a collapse would have probably been enough to prompt the command to finish the remaining rooms with flat roofs rather than vaults. As a result of this order, we can conclude that all Ibarra's construction on the vaulted convento structures came to a halt in early 1759. Some of the flat-roofed storerooms and workshops described in 1772 may have been

[110] Cook, "Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas;" Ivey, "Architectural Excavations;" Fox, "Monitoring at Mission Concepcion, 1988," p. 3; Fox, "Mission Concepción, 1986," pp. 7–11, 20.

[111] Dolores y Viana, "Visita," 1759, ff. 1492–93.

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 early 1759. They may well have been built by the Franciscans, because not only new vaulted buildings, but also Ibarra disappears from the records at this point.

The structure as it stands, then, is a snapshot of where Ibarra's project had reached as of early 1759. He had finished the vaulting over the northern two bays of the east corridor, but the rest of it to the south had to be finished with a flat roof after early 1759. The walls were built to their full height without the additional springers necessary to support a vault, and the already-built arched ribs were used to help support a flat roof of vigas and plaster. The rest of the extended foundation trenches were refilled unused. On the south wing, no further additions were built, and the foundation trenches here were filled as well.

The halt to the vaulting project ended Ibarra's work at Concepción. It was probably late 1759 when Ibarra stopped working for the missionaries. He may have been fired as a result of the disagreement over the vaulted rooms, or he may (justifiably) have quit in frustration with the missionaries. The halting of the work had the result of several important spaces not getting built, which caused major changes to the plan of intended use of the spaces in the now permanently incomplete convento. The missionaries elected to convert as much as possible of the already-constructed vaulted rooms to residential use. As a result, they filled the northern arch of the northern bay of the eastern corridor and made it into a guest room, with the next bay left open to form its portal, and may have filled the arches of the west wing to convert it into the kitchen, although no trace of these arched openings can be seen today. They walled off of the south bay of the west corridor and filled its arch, making it into the refectory. Geronimo Ibarra may have carried out some of this construction just before he left, but most of it was carried out by the Franciscans.

Some part of the old convento patio continued in use as the second courtyard, where the stables, chicken coop, and latrine were housed. Because the old convento was in such poor condition, its few remaining rooms were used for workshops and storerooms, apparently the weaving workshop and blacksmith shop mentioned in the 1762 report and the 1772 inventory.

Joseph Palafox, the maestro de albañil hired in 1761 to finish the church at Valero, worked at Concepción for 155 days in 1763 and 1764, apparently on details of the convento, probably including the construction and finishing of the non-vaulted sections of the east corridor and the various workshops to the south.

Nicholas Albañil of Concepción may have done a few small construction projects that the Concepción missionaries carried out after 1760. Nicholas was called a maestro de albañil in the 1760s, and had lived all his life at Concepción. He must have trained under Ibarra on the construction of the church and convento during the 1750s.

Schuetz-Miller suggests that in these apprentice years he carved the rather crude baptismal font now in the Chapel of San Miguel in the ground floor room of the south bell tower.[112]

Workshops

A building used for the blacksmith shop was mentioned as early as 1745, and again in the reports of 1756, 1759, and 1762. Equipment for a carpenter's shop was mentioned in 1756, 1759, and 1762, but the references indicated it was in storage. The weaving shop was first described in 1756 as a stone building with three looms. The 1759 report mentioned that there was a weaving shop, and in 1762 it was said to be in a "spacious room."[113] None of these early reports give enough information to work out the probable size or location of the workshops.

The Pueblo

The 1756 report indicates that many jacales had been rebuilt in adobe: *"El Pueblo donde viven los Yndios esta bien formado de Casas de adobe la maior parte y algunos xacales de Palo y tule . . . una abundante 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.[114]

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]."*[115] The word lienso in this context refers to one side of a 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.[116] 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.

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[112] Mardith K. Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions 1718–1821" (Dissertation, University of Texas, 1980), pp. 353-54; Schuetz, "Artisans", pp. 26-27.

[113] Ortiz, "Visita," 1745, f. 1272; Ortiz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:37; Dolores y Viana, "Visita," 1759, f. 1493; Dolores y Viana, "Relacion," 1762, p. 254.

[114] Ortiz, "Concepcion," 1756, 2:35, 36.

[115] Dolores y Viana, "Visita," 1759, ff. 1493–94.

[116] Dolores y Viana, "Relacion," 1762, p. 254.

Concepción in 1772

The transfer of the Querétaran missions of San Antonio to the College of Zacatecas in 1772 required a complete inventory of all the buildings and furnishings of the missions. This inventory, which remained unknown until the 1970s, is our best description of the structure and condition of Concepción at its peak in the late eighteenth century.

The Convento in 1772

The convento at the time of the 1772 inventory was a vaulted structure, considerably modified since the beginning of its construction in 1740. Most of the building described in 1772 still stands today. The inventory gave the size of most of the rooms, and frequently mentions the roof structure. It also described the furniture and other items in each room.

On the west side of this convento was a corridor twenty-three varas (sixty-three feet) long, with a vaulted ceiling and three arches along the west side. A fourth arch was on the north end of the corridor, and opened into the cemetery in front of the church. This cemetery was enclosed in an adobe wall one and one-half varas (4.1 feet) high but of unstated extent.[117]

The corredor was considered to be part of the portería, or formal entrance into the convento. One of the rooms in the main row of the convento was the portería proper, five varas (13.7 feet) wide (the width of all the rooms in this row). This is not made clear by the inventory, and becomes apparent only after a careful reading of the description. No doorways into the portería were described, although today there are two original doorways to the adjacent rooms on either side. To the right of the portería corridor, said the inventory, was the refectory, the vaulted room at the south end of the corredor. The refectory was six and one-half varas (17.8 feet) long and a little more than three varas (about 8.5 feet) wide, the standard width of the corridor. It had a door on its north end, opening into the corridor, a window through the south wall (rather than the doorway of today), and another small serving window opening to the kitchen; this was the window through which the kitchen staff passed food to the friars and staff of the mission in the refectory. The refectory had one large table with three drawers, one of which could be locked, and a large basin for washing the hands, with two towels. No mention is made of benches or chairs for the table, but they must simply have been overlooked by Fray Juan Saenz de Gumiel.[118] The refectory had originally been a part of the corridor, but had been converted to be the refectory sometime after 1759.

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[117] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4254.

[118] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4254.

At present the west wall of this room is an open arch like those along the corridor north of it, but in the 1930s this arch was still sealed and had a small window opening through it into the vaulted room extending westward,[119] making it clear that this was the small serving window, with the room to the west being the kitchen. The present doorway opening to the south out of the refectory 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 1772 inventory and this small window indicate that at least some part of the wing extending west from the refectory housed the kitchen. The inventory never describes the location of the kitchen, other than the above remark about the small serving window, but archaeological evidence[120] and earlier reports indicate that these rooms were built between late 1755 and early 1759. Because the vaulting of the west half of the two-room extension may have collapsed soon after its completion in 1758 or 1759, the kitchen even in 1772 perhaps occupied only the east half with a new end wall added to close off the broken end of the vault. In the kitchen were a good selection of utensils and equipment, including 10 porcelain plates from China, 6 cups and 6 plates from Puebla, 3 iron kettles, 3 copper kettles, 2 frying pans, 1 large ladle, 1 large skimmer, 1 metate with its mano, 1 comal, 1 string of chiles, 1 small kettle, and one almirez, or mortar.[121]

On the north side of the portería room itself was a vaulted storeroom, 9 varas (24.7 feet) by 5 varas (13.7 feet), the northernmost convento room. No doorways or windows were described, but today the original doorway to the portería room and a second to the corredor continue in use. The storeroom had stone benches built against the walls, and two small storage bins. There was a *tapanco*, or loft, at one end of the room; the beams which supported this loft are still in place in the north end of the room. It was probably reached by a ladder-like staircase of wood. The southernmost of the two beams shows a pair of deep notches made with an ax, left by an attempt to remove the beam sometime in the past. Some of the materials for the weaving shop were kept in this room, such as washed wool stored on the loft.[122] This was to be used *"para fabricar las fresadas que ya se empezaron, para poderlas Repartir en el mes de Noviembre, á todos chico, y grande. Queda tambien suficiente Lana para hazer calzones, y coton de sayal a*

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[119] Cook, "Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas;" Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission La Purisima Concepcion de Acuña, Texas Civil Works Administration and Texas Relief Company, Harvey P. Smith, AIA;" Habig, Alamo Chain of Missions, p. 152.

[120] Scurlock and Fox, An Archeological Investigation of Mission Concepción, p. 47, feature 14.

[121] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4257.

[122] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4254-55.

los Yndios, y Mangas para los Pastores [to make the blankets, which is now begun, so that they can be distributed in the month of November, to everyone, small and large. There is also enough wool to make pants and workshirts for the Indians, and cloaks for the shepherds]."[123]

South of the portería and next to the refectory was a cell, 9 varas (24.7 feet) long and 5 varas (13.7 feet) wide, the same size as the storeroom on the north side of the portería, with an alcove 3 varas (8.2 feet) long and 5 varas wide. Both rooms were vaulted. Today 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 and can still be located by the portland cement patches over them. They show that the loft was built into the east end of the alcove. The missionary's bed was located against the east wall of the alcove under the loft, and had two blankets and two pillows. The inventory lists several items of furniture in these rooms. These was a table with a drawer, a bench, two cedar chests, probably for storing the clothes of the friar who lived here, four chairs, a basin, a chamber pot, and a set of bookshelves in the main cell; these may be the stone shelves in the southeast corner. 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 portería on the north.[124]

A second vaulted cell had been made from the north end of the corridor along the east side of the main rooms of the convento, by constructing an enclosing wall across the corridor. This cell was about 8 varas (21.9 feet) long and 3 varas (8.2 feet) wide. No doorways or windows were described, but the south doorway to the rest of the corridor was there. This room also served as the *hospedería* (guest room) and the infirmary. It held two beds and four mattresses "for guests and the sick," two chairs, and a table with a blue tablecloth. The remainder of the corridor, adjoining the hospedería on its south side, continued to be used as a hallway and porch, 8½ varas (23.3 feet) long. This corridor has fallen since 1772, but the remains of its broken vault are still attached to the south end of the eastern cell and the face of the convento's main east wall. Because this row of rooms had begun as the east corridor, the eastern cell originally had an arched opening on its east wall, but this had been filled by 1772, and remains so today; the outline of the arch is visible.[125]

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[123] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4255.

[124] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4255.

[125] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4255.

More recent excavations along the west wall of the granary and the east wall of the vaulted corridor have told us more about this area. Marty Krueger and Frances Meskill in 1992 found that the north end of the corridor wall has been badly stone-robbed and the area disturbed by more than a century of drainage ditches, but enough remained to show that the arch of the portal of the second cell had been sealed with masonry. Historical documents confirm this, telling us that the second arch to the south on the east corridor was filled before 1860, and the old convento guest room and its portal converted to a kitchen.[126] The south end of the corridor wall had also been stone-robbed, but again, enough masonry remained in place to show that the corridor wall ran at least that far south. It is likely that the arcaded wall of the east corridor continued south with at least two more arches built into it. On the west wall of the granary, Krueger and Meskill found the north end of the wall, and a large section of the northern buttress on the west side of the granary. Excavations in 1980–1981 had found a wall extending west towards the corridor east wall from the central buttress of the granary, but stone robbing and the scraping of a drainage channel in the center of the patio had destroyed its west end.

In 2000, additional excavations were conducted by Barbara Meissner and Kristi Miller of the CAR to locate the floor levels of the rooms in the patio area. They put in two units in the area of the patio interior, one just east of the granary, and one in a room added in the late eighteenth century to the north end of the granary. This investigation found floors or packed surfaces in all these areas.[127]

Six feet farther south, in 1986 and 1988 Anne Fox found that both the north and south walls of the old convento were still in good shape in the ground, extending eastward towards the granary. She saw no indication of the east wall of the corridor continuing this far south, in spite of the fact that Harvey Smith recorded it as continuing some 55 feet south of this wall. Fox did find that the west wall of the corridor continued approximately the distance shown by Smith.[128]

The CAR and the NPS conducted further testing in the convento patio from June, 2002, to May, 2005, under the supervision of Steve Tomka of the CAR and Susan Snow of the NPS. The earlier excavations and this recent work have made it clear that the entire

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[126] Ramon Musquíz to the Rt. Rv. John M. Odin, October 23, 1860, BCDR, vol. S1 p. 480.

[127] Kristi H. Miller and Barbara A. Meissner, Archaeological Testing in the Mission Concepción Courtyard (41BX12), San Antonio, Texas Archaeological Survey Report no. 304 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, The University of Texas at San Antonio, 2001), pp. 5-9,16-18.

[128] Fox, "Mission Concepción, 1986;" Fox, "Monitoring at Mission Concepcion, 1988;" Marty Krueger and Frances K. Meskill, "Test Excavations at Mission Concepcion Courtyard, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas," Archaeological Survey Report no. 214 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, The University of Texas at San Antonio, 1992).

area of the east corridor and granary had been severely stone-robbed and disturbed. The recent excavations traced the west and east walls of the granary, and demonstrated that the granary structure had occupied the southern two-thirds of the structural outline south of the sacristy, rather than the northern two-thirds as described in the archaeological report of the 1980-1981 excavations. The NPS intends to scrape down the area of the patio interior beginning in late 2005 in order to improve the drainage in this area. As part of this process, the entire outline of the granary will be uncovered, and the walls capped at the level of the new surface to show the plan of the mission in this patio.

Above the sacristy was a high cell, 8½ varas (23.3 feet) long and 5½ varas (15.1 feet) wide. This room 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-year period from 1750 to 1763 when Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana served as President. He had been a missionary at San Antonio de Valero for 12 years before his appointment as President, and apparently stayed in his office at Valero through personal preference.[129]

No description of the roof construction of the Father President's cell was given in 1772, but the 1824 inventory indicates that it was made of vigas.[130] 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 leveled, and somewhat lower than the top of the transept wall, rather than sloping down from it as it does today.

Inside this cell were a combined alcove and loft, and inside the alcove was the door which went to the tribune in the south transept.[131] This door is the present opening through the north wall of this room high in the transept of the church. Filled sockets and the imprint of beams on the wall mortar visible today show the outline of the alcove and loft, 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 6½ 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 the alcove were a bed with two blankets and pillows for the Father President. In the cell were a table with a drawer and key, six chairs, a small chest containing six towels

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[129] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions,* pp. 255–56, 272.

[130] Maynes and Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5576.

[131] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4257.

and six razors for shaving, and a shaving basin. There was also a large cedar chest containing 5 bedsheets and 4 nightshirts for the sick, and a quantity of items for the refectory including table cloths, napkins, tableware, spices, a chocolatero, or chocolate-pitcher, and its molinillo, or mixing whisk, two cups from Puebla and two porcelain plates, a quantity of chocolate, a chamber pot, and other items. In the office was a gun cabinet with four guns. There was a small chest containing the archives of the mission and a desk where the archives of the Father President were kept; these archives were listed in the inventory.[132]

Outside the Father President's office was a portalito, a small porch. The southeastern corner of the portalito fell between 1846 and 1850 after the removal of the granary, separating along an abutting joint at the southeastern corner of the sacristy and the Father President's office above. The stairway from the ground floor, which also serves as a flying buttress helping to support the vaulted roof of the sacristy, survived the fall and stands today. It is shown in drawings made soon after the collapse of the wall. 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 have originally been of wood, since the drawings made after the collapse clearly show the edge of the stairs with no bannister above it. This edge is still easily seen below the present stone bannister.

In 1772 this small porch contained two bookshelves, and a loft where about 1,500 pounds of cotton were stored. These items stored in it indicate that the porch must have been well-protected from the weather, suggesting that the large west window must have had a closure of some sort. A small staircase went up to this loft, and was probably of wood.[133] The loft was in the space above the stairway. A filled socket and the imprints of crossbeams of the loft 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 9½ feet long and 8 feet wide (present size), with its east edge about 8 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. As built, the south wall of the porch had a large arched opening or window, a portion of which still survives along the western edge of the surviving south wall of the second level. The arch had the same peaked shape, called a "conopial arch," as the window opening west off the porch, which still survives today.

The Granary

The granary extended to the south from a point 26 feet south of the south wall of the sacristy stairwell. The inventory does not put it here specifically, but deed records

[132] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4257-59.

[133] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, ff. 4259-60.

indicate this location and archaeology has relocated its outline here. It was 20 varas (54.8 feet) long, divided at its midpoint into two tramos, or sections, each 10 varas (27.4 feet) long, and 5 varas (13.7 feet) wide. Excavations have shown it to be 54.5 feet long outside and 14.3 feet wide inside.[134] It was built of rough stone, and had six buttresses on the outside for support. The presence of these buttresses indicate that the granary was to have been vaulted; they would have served as additional bracing structures to help the walls retain the massive weight of the intended vaulted roof.[135]

The granary contained 200 fanegas of maíz—over 20,000 pounds, or about 10 tons. 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 better protection of the grain, it had a second roof thatched with tule over the first. This remark probably indicates that the flat roof had begun to deteriorate and was leaking by 1772.[136]

The Second Courtyard

The few structures listed in the 1772 inventory indicate that the old convento yard had been made into the second courtyard, with workshops built into the surviving section of the old rooms. Few additional rooms had been built here since 1760.

The *officina de habasto común* (storeroom for community supplies) was 14 varas (38.4 feet) long and 6 (16.4 feet) wide, with a roof of vigas and tabletas, or small boards, in place of latillas, small round poles, supporting a layer of earth and probably a plaster upper surface. The construction material for the walls of the community storeroom was unstated in the inventory. 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 approximate middle of one side rather than through one of the small ends.[137]

The community storeroom contained a large quantity of goods. On the northern loft, the one on the left as one entered, was stored wax, flour, sugar, and a little soap. On the south loft was a random mixture of items: cards for wool, pitchers from Patamba, six pounds of steel, 12 guns with their locks, two cases of bottles of wine, six boxes of soap

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[134] Note that in my report on my CAR excavations at Concepción (Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 10-16), I misinterpreted the location of the east wall of the granary because I unknowingly put the test unit directly on the buttress—I thought the east edge of the buttress was the east edge of the granary wall itself.

[135] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4260.

[136] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4260.

[137] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4255.

for the Indians, 150 pounds of lead for bullets, three molds for bullets, four pounds of gunpowder, 50 pounds of lard, candles, shearing scissors, and a tercio of tobacco, among other things. On the main floor of the storeroom, the tools and equipment for a carpenter's shop and a stone-mason's shop were stored — these two workshops had never been built, and the tools had been stored since at least 1745.[138]

The blacksmith's shop measured 8 varas (21.9 feet) long by 4½ varas (12.3 feet) wide. The context in which it was discussed indicates that it was adjacent to the kitchen, but this is not explicitly stated. Rooms in the main north row of the old convento had this width—it is likely that the blacksmith's workshop was located in one of these old rooms, now relegated to the second courtyard. The inventory did not list construction material for the walls or roof, but they were presumably stone with a flat earthen roof of vigas and tabletas. No doorways or windows were mentioned. A forge with its bellows, an anvil, and a good selection of tools were present in this shop.[139]

"Cerca de d[ic]ha oficina," near the said community storeroom, was the obraje, or weaving workshop, 14 varas (38.4 feet) by 5½ varas (15.1 feet). The weaving shop had a roof of vigas and tabletas. The structure had three stone pillars or arches which probably supported a porch roof on one side, rather like the layout of the weaving workshop at San José. The room contained three looms and their associated equipment.[140] The most likely location for this room was south of the community storeroom in the tangle of foundations marking the old convento and Ibarra's more recent construction, but no specific room outline can be associated with the obraje.

A small corral was located south of the refectorio, apparently in the small plaza or courtyard between the main convento buildings and the south wall of the convento yard, which was located about where the north side of Felisa Street is today. The horses for the fathers and the mayordomo or mission foreman were kept in this corral. In the same general area was the chicken coop, and next to it the lugar de la secreta necesidad, the place of private necessity, or privy, for the convento, with its door.[141]

In general, the 1772 inventory shows that the convento of that year was a makeshift structure made up of adapted buildings dating from all periods of its construction, and probably would have appeared so. The decision in 1759 to stop the construction of the vaulted rooms of the convento effectively stopped virtually all construction on the convento for some time, and forced the Franciscans to adapt the completed spaces and leftover older rooms to uses for which they were not intended, such as the refectory in

[138] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, ff. 4256-57.

[139] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4257.

[140] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4257.

[141] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4260.

part of the west corridor, and the guest room in part of the east corridor. The carpenter's shop and stonemason's shop had not been given room space by 1772. It is likely, though, that rooms were built later for these workshops.

The Pueblo

In 1772 the pueblo was described as *"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.[142] No size was given for these houses, and no indication of the house plan. The reference to the need for partition walls suggests, however, that the 26 houses each had two rooms as were built at San José. The mission could have had as many as 32 houses, according to the inventory, but apparently the last six were never built.

The southern part of the west wall of this compound was located by archaeology in 1971–1972 by the Texas Historical Commission. The central and northern parts of the west wall were found in 1979–1980, and the north and east walls in 1980–1981 by the Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Texas at San Antonio.[143] The wall extends from the northeastern corner of the apse of the church towards the north about 236 feet. Here it turns west and runs about 406 feet to the west edge of the old 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 were severely disturbed by bulldozer, when the field in this area was leveled by Father Manning of the St. Joseph's and St. Peter's Orphanage. Dan Scurlock of the Texas Historical Commission found a single surviving wall section extending north from the area of this corner.

In the CAR excavations of 1980–1981 I found traces that I interpreted as part of the west wall that may have aligned with Scurlock's wall section. Subsequent CAR research confirmed that Scurlock's wall section was part of the west row of rooms. Anne Fox, Maureen Brown, and Barbara Meissner in 1988 and 1990 relocated the west wall in the relatively undisturbed area north of Theo Road, and this section of wall aligned with Scurlock's wall section, showing that it was indeed on the west wall, apparently part of the eastern face of the western row of rooms. Fox, Brown and Meissner located sections of both the inner and outer wall, and a section of cross-wall dividing one Indian house

[142] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4254.

[143] Scurlock and Fox, An Archeological Investigation of Mission Concepción, pp. 45 fig. 18, 47; Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 17–23.

from another.[144] It is likely that more of the west wall survives – the area around Scurlock's wall segment and the northern third of the west wall should be explored further.

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 1980-1981, 1988, and 1990 on the east, north, and west. The two new houses being worked on in 1772 were probably on the south wall near the southwest corner, where disturbance is heavy.

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. The 1980–1981 excavations found the traces of a palisade structure, of vertical posts set into a footing trench, running for at least ten feet to the northwest from the northwest corner of the kitchen wing of the convento.[145] This appears to have been a temporary closure of the south side of the mission plaza, intended to serve until the south wall and main gate could be finished. There is no suggestion that this side was ever completed.

In some part of the plaza of the mission was a corral "within the pueblo ... for protecting the beasts from thieves." "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, since the south side contained the convento and small corral, and the road to the missions ran just outside the west wall.[146] My excavations in 1980–1981 found a wall segment extending north from the northeast corner, suggesting that the corral was on the north side of the mission against the north wall.[147]

The Acequia

The acequia system was fed from a dam on the San Antonio River, "next to the Presidio," located on the south side of the great eastward loop of the river a little to the

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[144] Anne A. Fox, Archaeological Investigation to Locate the Northwest Corner of Mission Concepcion, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas, Archaeological Survey Report no. 212 (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, The University of Texas at San Antonio, 1992); Brown, Fox, and Meissner, Mission Road Realignment Project, Phase II (1994).

[145] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 26-31.

[146] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4261.

[147] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 21-23.

east of the Presidio de San Antonio. Presa Street is so named because it crossed the river at this dam, through the shallow water just downstream. The dam was removed from the river as part of its channelization in the early twentieth century. It was a *"toma de agua,"* or waterfall-dam, like the San Juan Dam and the Espada Dam, farther down the river. It was made of stone with lime mortar, and was 1¼ varas high (about 3½ feet) and 1 vara thick (about 3 feet).[148]

A local tradition, traceable back to at least the early nineteenth century, holds that the "Pajalache Ditch," the acequia of Mission Concepción, was the oldest in San Antonio, supposedly built before 1724.[149] If the ditch was originally built for San José in 1720-21, during its one-year stay at this location, then this statement is true; it would predate the San Antonio Ditch for the Presidio, the next-oldest, by perhaps a year, and the Valero Ditch by three or four years; it would, however, be about two years younger than the original version of the San Pedro Ditch, the first acequia built for the Villa de Béjar in January 1719.

The acequia itself is still largely unlocated near the mission. The acequia madre, or main ditch, for Concepción, is shown on most historical maps, but the branch that supplied the mission and pueblo buildings themselves is shown following several different paths—it is unclear which of these is correct. Survey notes from the early nineteenth century for the western end of this branch, or desague, are available, and generally agree. Only the section of the ditch where it leaves the main ditch and crosses the mission area is uncertain. Several excavations have crossed one or another branch of the acequia network around Concepción, but have not clarified its actual plan during any one period. In 1971–1972, Dan Scurlock and Daniel Fox of the Texas Historical Commission (THC) found what appeared to be a section of acequia almost due north of the Concepción quarry in their test pits 14 and 17, and an associated midden in test pits 19, 20 and 21.[150] The CAR excavations of 1980–1981 reexamined this region (units 42 and 43), and found further indications of a pit or trench in the area of the THC test pits 19 and 20.[151] In 1982, the National Park Service reopened the THC test pits 19 and 20, and the CAR units 42 and 43, in order to draw composite profiles and plans of the

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[148] Saenz de Gumiel, "Concepcion," 1772, f. 4260

[149] Anne A. Fox and I. Waynne Cox, Testing of the San José Mission Acequia, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, Bexar County, Texas, Archeological Survey Report no. 207 (San Antonio: Center for Archeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio, 1991), p. 2; William Corner, San Antonio de Bexar: A Guide and History, San Antonio: Bainbridge and Corner, 1890, p. 43. Rhodes vs. Whitehead 27, Texas 304; Edwin P. Arneson, "Early Irrigation in Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 25(October 1921)2:123, says "[t]he oldest of the San Antonio canals was the Concepción, or Pajalache, constructed in 1729."

[150] Scurlock and Fox, An Archeological Investigation of Mission Concepción, p. 44.

[151] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 25–27 and fig. 13a.

apparent ditch. This additional work did not make it clear whether these units were looking at a single ditch that curved sharply through the area, or a ditch and several large, basin-shaped midden pits overlapping across the area. The artifacts associated with these features are very early, and date from the first years of European occupation of the site, perhaps as early as 1720.

North of the mission church, the CAR excavations of 1980-–1981 found a very early section of ditch that again dated from the first years of European occupation of the site. This ditch section ran north to south, but how it may have been connected with the possible ditch north of the quarry was unclear, and remains so.[152]

Joseph Labadie trenched across the easternmost area of the early nineteenth century surveyed acequia southeast of the Concepción quarry in 1987, and found indications that the ditch was indeed still recognizable in the ground here.[153] He made use of a ca. 1880 photograph of Mission Concepción that showed an irrigation ditch running towards the southwest from just north of the mission church. Reconstruction of the route of this ditch from the photograph indicated that it also ran through the area of THC units 14, 17, 19, 20 and 21. Labadie found no physical evidence to allow the dating of the probable ditch section he relocated; as a result, it cannot be directly associated with the ca. 1880 ditch or any of the early eighteenth century ditches.[154] Its apparent

[152] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," pp. 18, 19, and fig. 9.

[153] Labadie, “Mission Road Realignment.”

[154] Curiously, Labadie gave no citation, location, or other identification for this photograph; it is only mentioned in passing as a “previously unpublished photograph of Mission Concepcion, taken about 1880,” that was made available for his excavations; Labadie, "Mission Road Realignment," pp. 4, 9–10, 13.

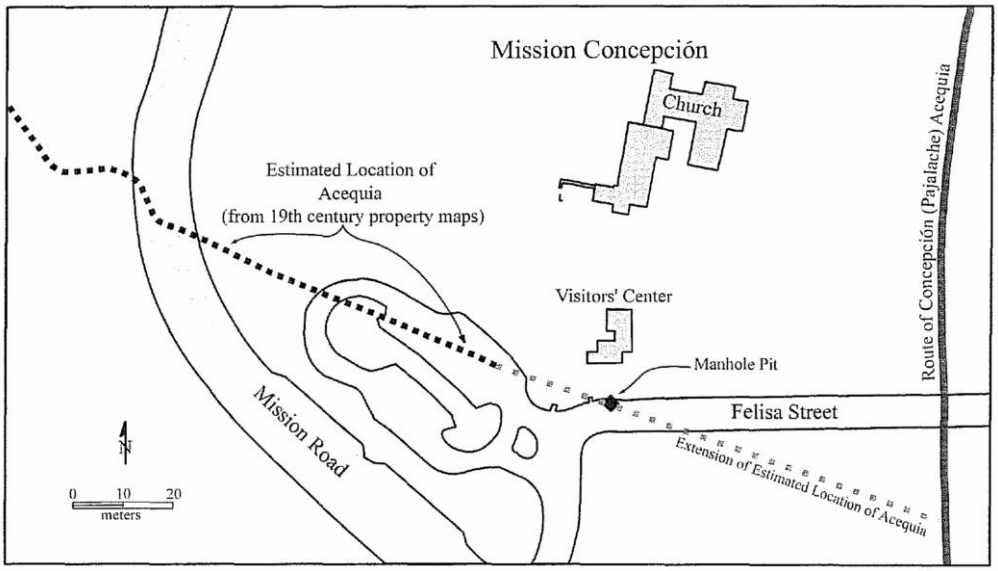


FIGURE 26: Barbara Meissner of the University of Texas at San Antonio's Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) in 1999 excavated parts of Mission Concepción's acequia. Her conjectural drawing of Concepción's acequia lines originally appeared in CAR's Archaeological Survey Report, No. 297.

precise match with the location of the ca. 1880 ditch as shown in the photograph, however, indicates that Labadie did indeed find the 1880 ditch.

In 1999, Barbara Meissner, in excavations for the CAR along the north side of Felisa Street just south of the visitor's center at Mission Concepción, found a segment of an acequia that ran east to west across the south side of the mission. Artifacts in this segment indicate that the acequia was filled in the late 1700s. Meissner, in her discussion of the results of her excavation of the acequia segment, suggests that this was one of three general acequia lines across the mission area. Two of these would be an acequia that crossed the western half of the area in the 1720s, and a later one that Meissner suggests was put in use in the 1740s, and that was still in use in the 1850s. The third, the segment that Meissner found in 1999, she suggests was part of an irrigation system in use in the 1730s. All three systems followed a single line west of Mission Road, from the first construction of at least part of the system possibly as early as the 1720s, through the abandonment of the ditch after 1880. However, it is more likely that the ca. 1720s–1730s ditch crossed the area of the early Indian village in the area west of the convento, and was moved somewhat over time, with its older routes filled with early trash. A later, somewhat shifted line of this ditch would have been the ditch described by Fray Ortiz in 1745. It continued in use until the mission was enclosed with a wall in the late 1750s, at which time the old ditch was filled and a new ditch cut east to west along the south side of the now-enclosed mission wall.[155] Finally, after the mission walls began to fall in the late 1700s, the acequia was again rerouted to

[155] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," p. 5, fig. 2.

the approximate original alignment in use in ca. 1720–1760, and the southern route (the segment found by Meissner) abandoned and filled. The new ditch on the original alignment continued in use until after 1880.

Concepción, 1772–1794

With the departure of the Querétarans in 1772, heading west to Sonora and Arizona to take over the missions left empty when the Jesuits were expelled from the New World, the administration of the San Antonio missions became unified under one person, the Father President of the College of Zacatecas. This unification, and the anticipation of the conversion of the missions to doctrinas, resulted in a considerable shift in the emphasis of construction projects after 1772. Because Concepción was a finished church, the mission saw very little subsequent construction. What there was emphasized the secular over the religious, and resulted in the addition of a few workshop spaces to the mission's second, or secular, courtyard.

After the 1772 inventory, we have a few more descriptions of Concepción. Father Morfí visited Concepción in 1778. His diary says nothing about the place, but it is described briefly in his journal. Morfí's *Historia* includes some information from Dolores y Viana, by then well out of date, and confuses the location of structures. 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 casas 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 bóveda, con divisiones acomodadas.*

> The houses of the Indians make an enclosed plaza with that [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[156] [probably referring to the quarry outside the south wall of the mission, near the south gate]. The sacristy is well supplied with vestments and sacred vessels, all nicely decorated. The house of the fathers is one story and its roof is vaulted, with spacious rooms.[157]

Not until Fr. López'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 baja: 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. Esta pared o muralla, sirve a las casas que contiguas a ella estan formadas de Piedra y Lodo con competente capacidad para la vivienda de los Indios, que son veinte y tres con techos de terrado, aunque algunos de ellos algo ruinozos pero no dificilm[en]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 ny oficinas de comunidad, todo de Cal y Piedra, y lo más con techos de Boveda, y en vajo toda, a Excepcion de una pieza que esta en Alto, y contiguo a ella están la Sacristía, e Iglecia 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 built against it, of stone and with adobe mortar 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

[156] The large plaza in front of the church was usually called the "patio" in sixteenth-century Mexico; Samuel Y. Edgerton, Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), pp. 276-77.

[157] Fray Juan Agustín Morfí, Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrua e Hijos, 1935), p. 226.

> 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. . . .[158]

In 1786 the area around the mission was described as *"en llanura, pero abrigada del monte que esta a las corrientes del rio,"* on the flats, but the woods that are along the channel of the river had been cleared.[159]

In the mid-1790s after the Franciscans gave up the temporalities of Concepción, a gristmill was built for Concepción. The mill was not mentioned in the 1794 documentation of the distribution of the mission temporalities, indicating it was probably built after that year. The first description of the mill was in a petition by Ygnacio Chaves to be granted farmland and water from the lands of Concepción in 1823.[160] In this petition the mill was used as a landmark defining one corner of the labor requested by Chaves, indicating that it had been built on the lands of Mission Concepción during the period when the mission was a doctrina, 1794 to 1823. The Chaves petition suggests that the land on which the mill was built had not been distributed in 1794, or had been abandoned since that distribution. The mill was probably constructed in response to the increasing production of wheat from the mission fields as a result of the order for all the missions to begin growing wheat, given by Governor Domingo Cabello in 1778.[161] Mission San José built a mill just outside the north wall of the pueblo in the same time period, but because of the contours of the land, the mill at Concepción was somewhat farther away from the mission. It was on the steep bank of the San Antonio River about 875 feet northwest of the pueblo, where the Concepción acequia and the road from the town passed close by the river. A branch of the acequia brought water to it. The surveyor Francois Giraud described it as being an "old stone mill" having a "Cuba or well-hole," indicating that its design was the same

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[158] Fray José Francisco López, "Razon e Ynforme que el Padre Presidente de las Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, o Nuevas Filipinas, remite al Yll[ustrissi]ma S[eñ]or D[on] Fr[ay] Rafael José Verger, del Consejo de S[an] M[iguel] Obispo del Nuevo Reyno de Leon," May 5, 1786, copy made by Josef Sanchez de Luque in 1789 from the original in Archivo de Secretaria Episcopal, Monterrey, Mexico (photostat in Barker Texas History Center, Austin), ff. 2, 2v.

[159] López, "Razon e Ynforme," 1786, f. 2.

[160] Ygnacio Chaves petition for a grant of farmland and water in the lands of Mission Concepción, October, 1823, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. C1, p. 215.

[161] Morfí, Viaje De Indios Y Diario Del Nuevo Mexico, p. 229; Fr. Juan Agustín Morfí, Diario Y Derrotero, 1777–1781 (Monterrey: Edición de Eugenio del Hoyo y Malcolm D. McLean y Escuela de Verano, 1967), p. 105.

as the mill at San José.[162] A. S. Castillo, a local Concepción resident, found the "well hole" and outflow channel of the mill by accident in 1937.[163] The foundations of this mill may still survive in the ground at the northwest corner of the large parking lot west of the offices of San Antonio City Public Service at 613 Mission Road.

Giving Up the Temporalities at Concepción, 1794

As a result of the decision to transfer the secular properties of each mission to their Indians, the lands of Concepción passed from the control of a single institution, the church, into the hands of a number of individuals, each of whom made decisions that affected only his house, lot, or field. Farming became a matter of personal choice; which fields were planted, and with what, was an individual decision, with perhaps some hints and suggestions from the resident Franciscan, since most of the families in the mission were accustomed to asking his advice. The town council of the pueblo of Concepción became the governing body for the settlement, and, under the direction of the mayordomo, determined the management and disposition of those lands divided out as the town common lands.

All the properties of the mission except the church, sacristy, and missionary quarters of the convento were turned over to the Indians, who numbered thirty-eight persons. This included all the pasture and ranch lands and the animals kept by the mission, and the tools and equipment to work the fields, as well as all the tools of the carpenter's shop, the blacksmith shop, the weaving workshop, and the stonemason's shop.[164] Only one loom with five *malacate*s, or warp spinning devices, seven *cigueñas* (probably meaning tornos, weft spinning wheels, of which they were a part), eleven *peines*, reeds, and three pairs of *lisos*, heddle frames, remained in the weaver's shop.

In the inventory for the release of the temporalities, the Indian quarters were 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

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[162] Ivey, "Mission Concepción," p. 83 and map, p.5 fig. 2; Francois Giraud, "Plat & Field Notes of a Survey of two dulas, or days water granted to Don Ignacio Chaves, by Jose Antonio Saucedo, Political Chief, in Dec[ember] 1823," December 7, 1847, in Bexar County Archives, County Surveyor's Book, vol. 1, pp. 1-2, Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas; Petition of Ignacio Chaves, December, 1823, BCDR, vol. C1, pp. 214–18.

[163] Anonymous, "Rock-Walled Tunnel to River Found Near Mission Concepcion, Relics of Struggle Uncovered," San Antonio Express, Friday, January 22, 1937.

[164] Manuel Muñoz and Fray Josef Maria de Jesus Camarena, "Ynventario de los bienes de Temporalidad de la Mision de la Purisima Concepcion," August 1, 1794, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 28, pp. 14–19.

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."[165]

They received the granary *"de tapia de Piedra de dos Naves y veinte y un varas de largo, y nueve de Ancho, cuyo techo necesita recomposición por que se gotea, tiene esta Pieza su puerta múy buena con su chapa,"* with a partition wall of stone, of two bays, twenty-one varas (57.5 feet) long, and nine (24.7 feet) wide, the roof of which requires rebuilding because it leaks; this room has a very good door with its lock. These were an exterior length and the exterior width of the building between buttresses. The actual exterior measurements of the building show that it was sixty-four feet long and twenty-four feet wide between the buttresses.

Twenty fanegas of corn were apparently stored in the granary, "for rationing out during the present month of August." Eighty cargas of unground wheat were stored in one room of the convento; the space being used was probably the storeroom, now of no utility to the convento because the mission no longer controlled the temporalities, including goods for the Indians stored in the storeroom, while the celda, refectory and kitchen were theoretically still in use by the resident Franciscan. The presence of this wheat indicates that the leak in the granary roof was bad enough that part of it was unusable for grain storage. The deterioration that had become noticeable in 1772, when it required a thatched roof over the beam and plaster original roof, had progressed until the granary was almost useless for storage by 1794.[166]

[165] Muñoz and Camarena, *"Ynventario,"* 1794, p. 18.

[166] Muñoz and Camarena, *"Ynventario,"* 1794, p. 18.

Chapter 7
The Structural History of San Juan Capistrano, 1731–1794

Introduction

Mission San Juan was founded on March 5, 1731, at its present site.[1] As is the case with the other two San Antonio missions established in this year, no useful structural descriptions are presently available of San Juan between 1731 and 1745. The reports of 1745, 1756, 1759, 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. Fortunately, archaeological investigations at San Juan and the 1772 report have allowed a fairly detailed interpretation of the spatial locations of the structures in the earlier reports.

Archaeological work has been far more extensive at San Juan than at 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-Miller between 1967 and 1971. These have revealed a greater complexity of foundation, addition, and rebuilding than might have been expected.[2]

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

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[1] Muñoz and Camarena, *"Ynventario,"* 1794, p. 18.

[2] Harvey P. Smith, "Measured Drawings of the Mission San Juan de Capistrano for the Civil Works Administration, Under the Direction of Harvey P. Smith, AIA, Supervising Architect,"sheets 1–5, December 18, 1933, in Harvey P. Smith, Jr. Collection, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, San Antonio, Texas; "Mission San Juan de Capistrano, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas," Survey No. TEX-321, Works Progress Administration, Official Project No. 265-6907, Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), sheets 1–2, Donald Weichlein, delineator, ca. 1933, (taken from Harvey Smith measured drawings); Mardith K. Schuetz*, The History and Archeology of Mission San Juan Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas, Vol. 1: Historical Documentation and Description of the Structures, Archeology Program Report 10* (Austin: State Building Commission, 1968); *Vol. 2: Description of the Artifacts and Ethnohistory of the Coahuiltecan Indians, Archeology Program Report 11* (Austin: State Building Commission, 1969); *Vol. 3: The Dating of the Chapel of Mission San Juan Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas, Texas Historical Commission, Special Report 12* (Austin: Office of the State Archeologist, 1974); *Vol. 4: Excavation of the Convento* (Austin; manuscript on file at the office of the Texas State Archeologist, 1980).

detailed treatment. To add to the difficulties (and perhaps in large part the cause of them), 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 being repaired. Even so, the inventory gives the sizes and materials of the rooms and some spatial relationships, allowing the rooms listed in the 1772 inventory to be associated with the standing structures and known foundations with little uncertainty.

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.[3] During the period from 1731 to 1745, the Franciscans built their first structures of stone for the San Juan convento complex.

The master mason Antonio Tello, still working at Espada at the time of his sudden departure from San Antonio in 1744, seems to have begun a church at San Juan.[4] Tello's church was apparently to have been at the north end of the convento facing west, and later the obraje was built across that area. This would suggest that the Indian village was in the area immediately west and northwest of the convento. Testing by Jeffery Durst of the Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at the University of Texas at San Antonio west of the present church and convento buildings have found indications of floors and walls in this area, associated with colonial artifacts. These structural traces, different from the rectory buildings constructed against the west side of the church in

[3] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, *"Visita de las Missiones hecha de orden de H. M. P. Comm[isionari]o G[ene]ral Fr[ay] Juan Fogueras, por el P[adre] Fr[ay] Fran[cis]co Xavier Ortiz, en el año de 1745,"* October 11, 1745, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, microfilm archives (hereafter Celaya microfilm), roll 9, frames 1269–70.

[4] Don Alberto Lopez Aguado y Villafuerte, *"Causa Criminal contra Ant[oni]o Tello,"* August 21–September 2, 1744, BAM 8:800-810; Ortiz, *"Visita,"* 1745, ff. 1270–71; Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, *"Certificacion, e Ymbentario de la Mis[io]n de San Juan Capistrano,"* December 16, 1772, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 10, ff. 4191, 4197. A second copy of this inventory in a different handwriting but the same date and affirming signatures is in Celaya microfilm, roll 3, ff. 3528-3555. One of the two copies was undoubtedly for the Querétaran archives, the other for Zacatecas. The handwriting is less clear in the roll 3 copy, and a number of descriptions are somewhat different.

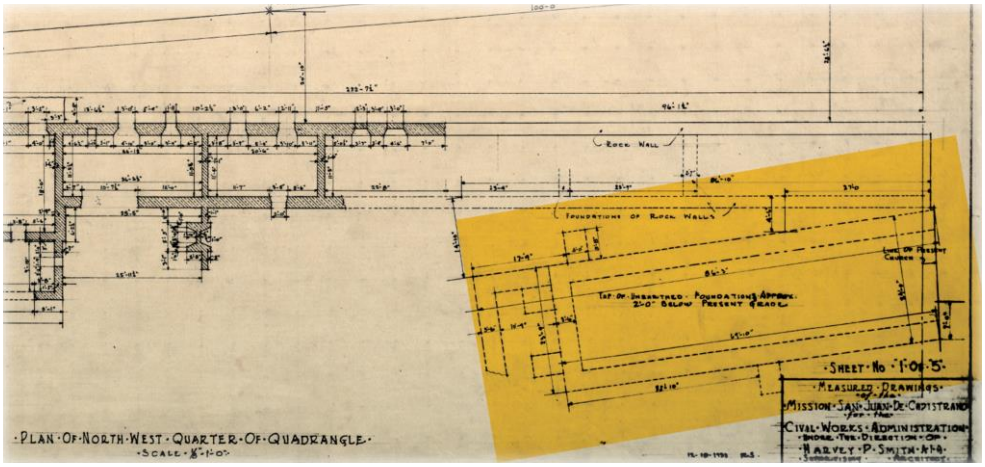


FIGURE 27: Drawings made by Harvey P. Smith in the 1930s indicate a granary approximately eighty-six feet long and eighteen feeet wide. In 1745, the foundations and walls of the granary are believed to have been constructed, though no vaulting had begun at that time. Image courtesy the Alexander Architectural Archives, Architecture and Planning Library, University of Texas Libraries.

the 1840s and 1850s, indicate the presence of additional convento rooms or other mission buildings in this area.[5] These may be traces of the early Indian village.

Tello apparently laid the foundations for the troje, or granary, following a plan similar to the one he began at Concepción. These massive foundations, found north of the present church of San Juan by Harvey P. Smith in the 1930s, outline a structure about sixty-eight feet long and eighteen feet wide, apparently intended to have three buttresses along each side, and two against the north end; the presence of these buttresses indicate that Tello intended the building to be vaulted.[6] Tello apparently built the walls up to some height before his departure in 1744, but did not begin the vaulting.

As of 1745, after Tello's departure, the mission consisted of a group of jacal buildings, and a row of stone convento structures along the west side of the present compound. The jacales were the pueblo, or village, in which the Indians lived, and a temporary church. The convento structures were a building of stone and adobe mortar containing two cells for the missionaries, an oficina, or storeroom building, and Tello's granary; it had been completed with a flat roof by the missionaries.

[5] Jeffery J. Durst, "Recent Excavations at Mission San Juan de Capistrano," ms., 1998, in the files of the Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio; Schuetz, Dating of the Chapel, pp. 20, 23, 48.

[6] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 1.

The oficina may have been the small room adjoining the granary on the south, the first of a series of buildings constructed on this location. Later buildings reused portions of the original foundations and walls of this building, and as we shall see, the site of the oficina eventually became the present church of San Juan. Most of the mission buildings were still unbuilt or incomplete; for example, the equipment for the carpentería and *albañilería* were listed ñ as in storage, and no reference was made to either a weaving workshop or its equipment.[7]

The lack of weaving equipment is not surprising; in 1745 the mission had no cotton fields and only 300 sheep, a seed herd apparently far too small to produce enough wool to allow a woolen cloth industry at San Juan. The mission depended on trade with Valero and its well-established textile workshops, as well as cloth imported from Mexico to make clothing for the Indians.

A short distance south of the oficina was the convento building itself, containing two rooms, part of the present museum.[8] This began as a core structure about sixty-two feet long exterior measurement, built of yellow tabular sandstone, constituting approximately half the length of the present building. Inside the core friary structure, the tie-stones of a cross-wall are visible today protruding from the wall about thirty-three feet south of the present interior surface of the north wall; Smith found traces of the foundation of this wall in 1933.[9] This early wall formed the partition separating the two cells of 1745, the northern about seventeen feet long, and the southern thirty-seven feet. About 1750, the Franciscans built another crosswall dividing the southern cell into two rooms, the northern about twenty-three and one-half feet long and the southern about eleven and one-half feet. This wall has not been seen by archaeology or by physical traces on the building, but the 1772 inventory measurements give its location, and the 1756 count of cells indicates that it was built between 1745 and 1756.

The jacal church was apparently located on the present south wall of the mission, and was oriented east-west. This is based on Schuetz-Miller's locating, in all three of her deep test pits in the central area of the south row, six extended burials all aligned on an east-west axis.[10] These burials were found in two test units and in the wall of a later pit. At least one burial had been disturbed by the north wall of the convento compound, indicating that it, and therefore probably all the burials, predate the stone walls along the south side of the compound. Five of the six, at least, were interred with their heads to the west (not enough of the sixth was seen to be able to determine its orientation),

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[7] Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1270.

[8] Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1270.

[9] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2.

[10] Schuetz, Excavation of the Convento, pp. 11, 12, 48–49.

suggesting that the altar was on the east end of the building; in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Franciscan mission churches the dead were usually interred with their feet toward the altar.[11]

Frequently in seventeenth-century mission churches a group of one to several burials will be found very near the altar, sometimes with the bodies' feet pointing away from it, but outside this apparently special area the rule was that feet pointed toward the altar.[12]

These three were the only deep tests in this area—the location of burials in every one of them indicates that there were burials throughout the area. The burials may have been entirely within the nave of the jacal church, or partly in a cemetery and partly in the church nave. In Spanish missions, burials usually went into the church first, with the cemetery in front of the church used when the church was full, when the family of the dead could not afford the obvention necessary for a church burial if the missionary was asking for such a payment, or occasionally for burials of uncertain sanctity.[13] The jacal church was used less than about twenty-five years, so most of the burials will have been in the church. If this jacal church resembled the early churches located at Rosario and Concepción, it would have been perhaps fifteen feet wide and sixty feet long.

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[11] Bonnie McEwan and Clark S. Larsen, "Archaeological and Biocultural Investigations in the Church Complex at San Luis: Final Report to the National Endowment for the Humanities," no. RK-20111-94, August, 1996, on file with the San Luis de Talimali State Historical and Archaeological Site, Tallahassee, Florida, pp. 7–8, fig. 4; Clark S. Larsen, "Biological Interpretation and the Context for Contact," in *The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina De Guale: 2. Biocultural Interpretations of a Population in Transition*, edited by Clark S. Larsen (New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1990), pp. 20, 21 fig. 1–3; Curtis D. Tunnell, and William W. Newcomb, Jr., *A Lipan Apache Mission, San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz, 1762–1771, Bulletin 1*4 (Austin: Texas Memorial Museum, 1969), pp. 17 fig. 8, 19 fig. 9, 21–22; Watson Smith, Richard B. Woodbury, and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury, *The Excavation of Hawikuh by Frederick Webb Hodge: Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition, 1917–1923, Contribution from the Museum of the American Indian, Vol. 20 (*New York: Heye Foundation, 1966), p. 200; Schuetz, *Vol. 1: Description of the Structures*, (Church 3, Schuetz-Miller's Room 26) pp. 207–213, figs. 25, 26.

[12] McEwan and Larsen, "San Luis," pp.7–8; Smith et al., Hawikuh, pp. 201–02; bundle burial of European male under the main altar in Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Established at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona, Reports of the Awatovi Expedition, Report No. 3, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 36* (Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1949), p. 99.

[13] Tunnell and Newcomb, *San Lorenzo*, p. l7, fig. 8; Deagan, *Spanish Saint Augustine*, pp. 220–21.

This structure, San Juan's Church 1, was probably built in 1731 or 1732. As of 1745, it was the only building on the present location of the south wall, and was described as being *"con la decencia posible,"* as decent as was possible. No size was given. On the church was a *campanario*, or bell tower,[14] with two middle-sized bells and two small bells. The church had only one altar. Above it was an altar decoration formed by the placing of several statues and paintings on the top of the altar and on the wall. The central statue was of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores three-quarter vara (2.1 feet) high, with an *espada*, or sword, and rays of silver. On either side of this statue were two others, one a *niño Jesus*, a baby Jesus, and the other a statue of San José, both about one-half vara (1.4 feet) high. On the wall above these was an oil painting of San Juan Capistrano with its frame, about one vara (2.7 feet) square. In the nave was a baptismal fount of copper, a confessional and two benches. The church had no sacristy—the vessels and vestments were kept in a cedar chest in the church, possibly in the main altar itself, as at Espada at this same time.[15]

In the period from 1745 to 1756, a series of changes occurred. The Franciscans directed the construction of a rectangular structure on the present east side of the convento courtyard, beginning the formation of the convento enclosure as it appeared through most of the eighteenth century. The south half of the later church began as part of this core building, and Mardith Schuetz-Miller found early crosswalls forming rooms in this building.[16] By 1756 the east-row building had been extended and converted to the first stone church, the jacal church had been demolished, and a new south row building built over it, to contain several storerooms and the convento kitchen.

The Church and Sacristy, 1756–1762

Gerónimo Ibarra began working at the mission about 1757, and may have had some involvement with supervising the construction of the new interim church. The 1756 report gave the size of the new stone church building as twenty-four varas (65.8 feet) long by 5.58 varas (15.5 feet) wide. The building had decoratively carved vigas

[14] Technically, a campanario is the place where the bells are located, but in general meant a bell tower attached to the church, while a campanile was a similar tower, but separated from the church. An espadaña was "a campanario situated in the wall of the facade of a church, or in a separate wall next to the church;" it is frequently called a "bell-wall" in English. Secretario del Patrimonio Naciónal, Vocabulario Arquitectonico Ilustrado, (Mexico City: Secretario del Patrimonio Naciónal, 1975), p. 90

[15] Ortíz, "Visita," 1745, f. 1269.

[16] Schuetz,*Excavation of the Convento*, fig. 1:11

supporting a flat roof.[17] The church plan in the ground is 69.2 feet long and 14.2 feet wide. The core structure, which is approximately the south half of the building, was built of tabular yellow sandstone, while the north half was of tabular yellow sandstone and limestone. The south half and the buildings south of it were probably built just after 1745, for use as storerooms and workshops—they are almost exactly parallel to the convento building built before 1745. The north half of the building that became the church was probably designed and laid out more or less at the same time as the core rooms of the south row, sometime between 1745 and 1756. It follows the orientation of the south row fairly closely, being only about three and one-half degrees from forming a right angle with it. The north half of the church alignment may have been changed slightly from the south half so as to minimize the apparent angular difference between the two rows. The actual compromise from a right angle between the west 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 west-facing entranceway into the compound at the southwest corner.[18]

The new church had one altar, like its jacal predecessor. The altar would have been at the south end of the building. It was made of a good table, on top of which was a gilded niche with a glass front, containing a statue of San Francisco on-third of a vara (eleven inches) tall. Around this was a simple altar decoration of several tiers, *"A los lados unas gradas,"* at its sides, some gradas, or stepped wooden structures like those used for early altar decorations at the other missions.[19] On the gradas were statues of Nuestra Señora del Rosario purchased in 1754,[20] and San José (possibly the santo mentioned in the 1745 report as being one-half vara tall, perhaps without its base), each one vara (2.7 feet) high with their bases. Above the niche, in the center of the grada structure, was a statue of San Juan Capistrano, also one vara high and purchased with the Rosario in 1754, with several paintings on either side of the San Juan. On one wall of the church

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[17] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, June 15, 1756 (the San Antonio missions were inspected in May and June, 1756, *Razon de la Viss[i]ta de las Missiones de San Xavier y de las de S[a]n Antonio de Valero en la Provincia y GoverNación de Texas, Maio de 1756*, 3 vols., edited by Vargas Rea (Mexico: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanes, 1955), vol. 2, pp. 13–14.

[18] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2; Schuetz, Excavation of the Convento, figure 1:11

[19] Ortíz, *"Visita,"* 1756, 2:13.

[20] *"Por 85 p. importe de 2 Ymagenes de talla de N[uestra] Señora del rosario, y S[a]n Juan Capistrano, que con 1p 7r.s flete de Mexico deste Colegio - 86p7r,"* San Juan de Capistrano, *"Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la importancia de los avios, que a la Mission de S[a]n Juan de Capistrano remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . ."* Celaya Microfilms, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, roll 15, f. 4770. Hereafter, the account book will be referred to as *"Cuentas, San Juan,"* the year, and the microfilm frame number.

was a new painting of Nuestra Señora del Refugio just purchased in 1756, one vara square,[21] and on a carrying frame was a statue for use during *"los Rosarios,"* although the report does not give the saint or its size. The 1759 report tells us that this was the Dolores from the center of the 1745 altar, with a diadem of silver ordered in 1750.[22] The Niño and the painting of San Juan from the jacal church altar do not appear here. The copper baptismal fount mentioned in the jacal church in 1745 had been moved to the nave of this new church.[23]

The sacristy was a small room on the west side of the south end of the church, the foundations of which were found by Harvey P. Smith in the 1930s, although not until Mardith Schuetz-Miller's excavations in 1971 was it recognized as such.[24] The sacristy was 9.3 by 15.2 feet with its long axis running north and south, parallel to that of the church. A splayed doorway opened into the church just in front of where the altar platform stairs would have been located, and a second splayed doorway opened from the sacristy into the convento patio.[25] In the sacristy was a good walnut table containing three drawers, with keys, in which the vestments were kept, and a cupboard with its doors and a lock where the silver utensils for Mass were stored.[26]

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[21] *"Por 85 p. importe de 2 Ymagenes de talla de N[uestra] Señora del rosario, y S[a]n Juan Capistrano, que con 1p 7r.s flete de Mexico deste Colegio - 86p7r,"* San Juan de Capistrano, *"Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la importancia de los avios, que a la Mission de S[a]n Juan de Capistrano remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . ."* Celaya Microfilms, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, roll 15, f. 4770. Hereafter, the account book will be referred to as *"Cuentas, San Juan,"* the year, and the microfilm frame number.

[22] *"Por 85 p. importe de 2 Ymagenes de talla de N[uestra] Señora del rosario, y S[a]n Juan Capistrano, que con 1p 7r.s flete de Mexico deste Colegio - 86p7r,"* San Juan de Capistrano, *"Libro en que se lleva la quenta, y razon de la importancia de los avios, que a la Mission de S[a]n Juan de Capistrano remiten los RR[everendo] PP[adres] G[uardian]es de este Ap[postoli]co Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz de Querétaro . . ."* Celaya Microfilms, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, roll 15, f. 4770. Hereafter, the account book will be referred to as *"Cuentas, San Juan,"* the year, and the microfilm frame number.

[23] Ortíz, "*Visita,"* 1756, 2:13–14.

[24] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2; Schuetz, *Excavation of the Convento*, pp. 35–40.

[25] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2; Schuetz, *Excavation of the Convento*, pp. 35–40.

[26] Ortíz, "*Visita,"* 1756, 2:15–16.

The 1759 report described the church as a temporary building, twenty-four varas long and five and one-half varas wide, or 65.8 feet by 15.1 feet.[27] The contents of the church had changed somewhat since 1756. The description of the main altar was almost identical to that given in the 1756 report, but the slight differences give us added details about the appearance of the altar area. The main altar was made up of a large portable altar table "*sobre la que estan unas gradas de madera pintadas en su centro una nicho,*" on which was a set of gradas of painted wood, in the center of which was the gilded niche with a glass front and key first described in 1756.[28] Within this was the statue of San Francisco a vara high. On a *repiza*, a pedestal or bracket attached to the gradas (the 1756 inventory makes it clear that this was above the niche) was the statue of San Juan Capistrano, one vara high, beneath a canopy of striped canvas purchased in 1753.[29] At the sides of the gradas were eight paintings of various sizes, showing a variety of scenes, although the report does not describe them. A second portable altar table against one side wall of the sanctuary had an altar decoration in the center of which was the statue of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, one vara high, holding the baby Jesus, both with crowns of silver. The crowns had both been purchased in 1758, for sixteen pesos, two reales.[30] Above this on the wall was the painting of Nuestra Señora del Refugio mentioned in 1756, "with its curtain of green lamé with embroidered gold flowers." At the sides of this painting were twelve large hand-tinted prints, with frames. "In front of this," on the other side of the sanctuary, was a third portable altar table where there was a new statue of Jesus Nazareno, two varas (five and one-half feet) tall; it had been purchased in 1757 for thirty pesos.[31] On the epistle, or right side of the nave as one faces the altar, was a table on which rested a carrying frame with a statue of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, one-half vara (1.4 feet) high, which was taken out on procession during the

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[27] Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, May 10, 1759, *"Testimonio de la Visita de las Missiones de las Pro[vinci]as de Coahuila y Texas pertenecientes al Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz; echa por el R[everendo] P[adre] Fr[ay] Mariano Fran[cis]co de los Dolores y Viana, Com[misari]o Visitador de todas ellas en el mes de Marzo de 1759,"* Celaya Microfilms, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, roll 9, f. 1487.

[28] Dolores y Viana*, Testimonio,* 1759, fr. 1487.

[29] Dolores y Viana, *Testimonio*, 1759, fr. 4762*; "Por 1a Cortina de Lama de oro bordada de flores de lo mismo, con guarnicion forro y Echuras todo en 8 p.s."* OSMHRL, Cuentas, San Juan, 1753, f. 4762.

[30] *"Por 2 Coronas de plata para la Virgen , y el Niño en 16p2r,"* OSMHRL, Cuentas, San Juan, 1758, f. 4785.

[31] *"Por una Ymagen de Jesus Nazareno de 2 v[ara]s y caxon[e]s - 30p," "Por 1 tunica de Jesus Nazareno con 7½ v[ara]s de lustrina a 14 r.s - 13p4½r,"* OSMHRL, Cuentas, San Juan, 1757, ff. 4777, 4780.

feast of the Rosary. This adds the missing detail to the 1756 reference to a statue for use during "los Rosarios" on a carrying frame.[32]

The sacristy in 1759 was a "spacious" room, containing *"un cajon, con tres gabetas grandes,"* a chest with three large drawers, probably the same structure as the "table" with three drawers described in 1756, in which were kept the vestments. Beside it was a cupboard, lined with red sheepskin, and a second cupboard made of cedar on its table, where the chalices, missals, and other altar utensils were kept.[33]

The report of 1762 gives no width for the church, but gives the length as twenty-five varas, or 68.5 feet; this is not a significant difference from the previous two measurements of twenty-four varas, and in fact later information and direct measurements of the foundations indicate the church was twenty-four and one-half varas long.[34] The report says that the church had three altars, but very little description. What there was indicates the arrangement was the same as it was described in 1759.[35] The altars were one of San Juan Capistrano, now with a gilded tabernacle, a second of Jesus Nazareno, and the third of Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

As in the previous reports, no size, location, or material of construction is given for the sacristy, although each report states that it is present, and describes its contents. In 1762 it was said to contain cabinets and cupboards, with no additional description.[36]

Other early foundations extend south from the church and sacristy into the southeastern corner of the convento compound, and were probably other storerooms and workshops. Apparently when the jacal church was removed, the south row area was reconsidered and a new design laid out. The angles of the two halves of the church and of the south row suggest that the change of the east row room to a church, the

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[32] Dolores y Viana, *Testimonio*, 1759, OSMHRL ff. 1487–88.

[33] Dolores y Viana, *Testimonio*, 1759, f. 1488.

[34] Fr. Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, March 6, 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,"* in *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas o Nueva Philipinas, 1720–1779, vol. 12,* edited by José Porrua Turanzas, (Madrid*: Coleccion Chimalistic de Libros y Documentos Acerca de la Nueva Espana*, 1961, p. 255. A manuscript copy of this report made in 1792 from the original is *in Archivo General de la Nación, Historia*, Vol. 28, exp. 7, folios 164–180, with the title *"Informe de los misioneros de Texas, acerca del estado de sus misiones, su decadencia, etc."*

[35] Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 255.

[36] Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, pp. 255–56.

removal of the jacal church, and construction of the south row buildings were all part of a unified plan overlaid on earlier construction on a slightly different alignment.

The Convento in 1756–1762

By 1756 the friary had begun to take on the general plan as it existed in 1772. The western section with its three cells was described as being *"al media día,"* toward mid-day, a colloquial way of saying "toward the south." Because the next line of text in the report referred to another section of the convento, and this was specifically stated to be *"al Sur,"* to the south, the phrase "al media día" used to describe the west row probably meant simply that it was oriented with its long axis toward the south.[37]

Most of the structural changes during the years between the 1756 and 1762 visita reports happened in the three-year interval from 1756 to 1759, under the direction of the master mason Gerónimo de Ibarra, hired by the Franciscans in 1750. About 1757, after completing the church at Concepción in 1755 and a major construction program at Espada in 1755–1757, Ibarra began directing several construction projects at San Juan.[38] The series of construction steps that Ibarra undertook from 1757 to 1759 were similar to his work in 1755–1757 at Espada. It involved extending the friary, adding a corredor to its east side, and filling in the corner between the west and south rows of the convento with a portería and entry gateway.

Ibarra began by extending the convento south by adding a room seventeen feet long on the south end of the building. This new celda was about ten feet wider than the old friary; it was built of a combination of limestone and yellow sandstone, the same material as was used in the north half of the church. The room formed one of the three celdas of 1759, with the other two being the two cells of the core building. Ibarra then added a corridor about ten feet wide and fifty-four feet long to the east side of the friary section of the convento, with a row of four arches along its east side, each about nine feet wide. Apparently the arcade was not mentioned in 1759 because it was still being constructed and roofed.

The 1756 report tells us that the core structure on the south row had been built by that year; it was laid out at an angle of about eleven degrees off the orientation of the rest of the compound. This structure contained *"tres piezas, la primera, es una buena oficina. Refectorio la segunda, y cocina la Tercera,"* three rooms, first a good storeroom, second

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[37] Ortiz, *"Razon,"* 1756, 2:17.

[38] Master mason Hieronimo Ibarra, January 19, 1756, in Bachiller Don Juan Ygnacio de Cardenas, Pinilla y Ramos, "Diligencias del Cura Cardenas contra Travieso," January 18, 1756, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, 10:5075-77; Adán Benavides, "Sacred Space, Profane Reality: The Politics of Building a Church in Eighteenth-Century Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 107(2003)1:1-33.



FIGURE 28: Details visible in Historic American Buildings Survey photograph of 1936 show clear traces of sockets for large beams set into the north red sandstone wall, symmetrically around the door, which was sealed at the time the photographs were taken.

the refectorio (refectory or dining hall), and third the kitchen.[39] As usual, the refectorio and kitchen were adjacent rooms. The core south row building begins today just west of the eastern arch of the present southwest entrance gateway and, as first built, extended toward the east about seventy-two 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 photographs of 1936 show clear traces of sockets for large beams set into the north red sandstone wall, symmetrically around the door, which was sealed at the time the photographs were taken. These beams supported two loft structures within the room, one at the east and one at the west end—a parallel can be seen in the surviving beams of a similar loft structure in the oficina at Mission Concepcion. At San Juan, this room was the community storeroom in 1772, and probably had been the main storeroom since its construction between 1745 and 1756. East of it, in sections of the core building that have since been severely altered, the next two rooms were 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 the new stone church.

The report states that there were three looms on which woolen *fresadas*, or blankets, and cotton *mantas* for shirts and trousers were woven for the Indians;[40] this group of looms was undoubtedly in an obraje, or weaving workshop, 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.[41] The product of the sheep and cotton fields had grown enough to

[39] Ortiz, *"Razon,"* 1756, 2:20.

[40] Ortiz, *"Razon,"* 1756, 2:20.

[41] Ortiz, *"Razon,"* 1756, 2:20.

justify the acquisition of three looms at some time in the twelve years between 1745 and 1756, probably about 1750.

Ibarra added two structures to the southwestern corner of the convento: a new room at the west end of a formal entrance into the convento, a portería; and it is described by that word in the 1759 report.[42] A traditional portería had two parts, the entranceway itself, and a room adjacent to serve as the porter's office, where a representative of the convento would stay during the day to control who entered the convento. The new construction on the southwestern corner of the convento followed this traditional plan. As the first step in this construction, Ibarra added a new room to be the porter's office, about eighteen feet long to the west end of the southern core structure. The extension was made of a pale limestone with some yellow sandstone chunks. Felipe Santiago carefully carved the fine limestone used in this room addition, much finer stone and much better carving than that seen in other areas of the complex. The north wall facing into the gateway area included a carefully constructed doorway with moldings cut into the stone. The outer gateway was added at the same time, built as part of the construction of the western room; it extended to the south wall of the new southern room of the west row, and shows the same sort of careful stonework at its corners and arches, built of a pale, carefully cut limestone. This gateway was capped with a sophisticated example of stone-carving—an arch that appeared to be square from the west, or exterior side, but was a round-topped Roman arch if one viewed it from the east, or convento patio side. A Roman arch forming the inner gateway was constructed immediately afterward. This arch was nine feet wide and extended from the west end of the core south row building to the new south room of the west row. The passageway between this new arch and the eastern Roman arch was then roofed.[43]

The stone-carving for the western gateway and northern porter's office doorway at San Juan is the best of the surviving cut stone in the southern two missions of San Antonio, and very like the work that created the facade of Concepción, also the work of Felipe Santiago.

By 1759 the description of the convento listed the portería, or entrance gateway that Ibarra had just completed at the southwest corner of the patio; the refectorio and the adjacent cocina; and three oficinas, or storerooms, including the large room just inside the double gateways of the portería. 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 an earlier room that had extended south from the new stone church across this area, and that probably had contained the

[42] Dolores y Viana, *"Testimonio,"* 1759, f. 1489.

[43] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2.

earlier location of the obraje.[44] The brief inventory of the obraje indicated that San Juan's weaving operation had continued to grow in complexity since the 1756 report. The three looms were still in operation, and there was a good selection of spinning wheels, warping mills, cards, spare reeds and heddle frames.[45] Unfortunately, the location of the obraje is not clear—it may have been in a new room in the southeastern corner of the convento compound. In the west row of the convento, the report specified three celdas *"para los Ministros, y Huespedes,"* for the ministers, and guests—indicating that the fourth cell on the west row, just north of the gate, was serving as a hospedería, or guest room. Although the major construction of these additions were completed by 1759, much of the finishing work carried out by the missionaries and their Indian laborers was poorly done and the buildings had to be reroofed and replastered in 1772. The 1759 report made no mention of the houses of the Indians.

About 1759, Ibarra built the room on the north end of the convento to be a new obraje. The obraje was made by adding an extension of sixteen feet to the north end of the core friary and then removing the old north wall of the core convento building to make a room about thirty-three feet long. The extension was built of thicker, more rounded yellow sandstone, and the coursing of the construction stone in this addition is far less pronounced than in the core structure. The obraje was built into the area that was apparently to have been the south bell tower of Tello's church, and its construction indicates the Franciscans had given up on building the church.

In 1762, the visita report described the western row of the convento as having four cells and the obraje. The weaving workshop was *"una pieza capaz,"* a spacious room, with three looms and other equipment for weaving.[46] The report mentioned the arcaded corredor along the west row for the first time. The hospedería was apparently still in the southernmost of the four cells.

On the south row was the portería, two oficinas, the refectorio, and the cocina. This implies that two of the smaller oficinas of 1759 had been rebuilt to make the room that in 1772 was called the *oficina segunda*, the second storeroom. By 1762, then, the convento compound looked very much as it would appear in 1772, except for a major remodeling of the stone church and the sacristy carried out in the intervening ten years. Antonio Tello had begun the granary in stone about 1744, and the Franciscans had finished it with a flat roof. It was probably the building that stood on the foundations shaped like those of a granary north of the present church on the alignment of the earliest buildings at San Juan. Ortiz specifically described the material of the granary as

[44] Dolores y Viana, *"Testimonio,"* 1759, ff. 1489–1490.

[45] Dolores y Viana, *"Testimonio,"* 1759, ff. 1489–90.

[46] Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, pp. 256.

stone with lime mortar in the 1756 report.[47] He made no reference to it in 1759, and in 1762 Dolores y Viana referred to it only as "a spacious building."[48] It continued in use through 1762, when it would have been nearly twenty years old.

In 1756 the jacales of the Indian pueblo formed blocks of houses along two streets.[49] The 1759 report mentions the pueblo, but does not describe it.[50] The location of the jacal village was never given, although in 1756 the report stated that the pueblo was "in view of the mission."[51] The mission had begun to plant cotton in the fields, and had 4,000 sheep in pasture, enough to supply a good textile industry.[52] The 1762 report indicated that the Indian 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.[53]

The Mission, 1762–1772

Between 1762 and 1772, a number of changes were built at San Juan. The master mason Joseph Palafox extended the corredor north by one arch, to cover the front of the new obraje. The plan of the arcade, as it was uncovered by Harvey Smith in 1933, indicates it was built in two sections, with the southern four arches built to one plan, and the northernmost arch built to a somewhat different plan.[54] The plan also indicates that an entrance stairway of two or three steps was constructed through the third arch to the north. Palafox probably built these stairs after he added the obraje arch at the north end of the row.

Palafox clearly was planning to enclose the convento at the time he built the cell extension on the north end of the convento west row. The cell extension and the northernmost arch were both built so that their north ends aligned with the north end of the church, and undoubtedly the mason supervised the construction of a wall

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[47] Ortiz, *"Razon,"* 1756, 2:17.

[48] Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 257.

[49] Ortiz, *"Razon,"* 1756, 2:17.

[50] Dolores y Viana, "*Testimonio,"* 1759, f. 1490.

[51] Ortiz, *"Razon,"* 1756, 2:17.

[52] Ortiz, *"Razon,"* 1756, 2:19–20.

[53] Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, pp. 256–57.

[54] Harvey P. Smith, "Measured Drawings of the Mission San Juan de Capistrano for the Civil Works Administration, Under the Direction of Harvey P. Smith, AIA, Supervising Architect,"sheet 2, December 18, 1933, in Harvey P. Smith, Jr. Collection, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, San Antonio, Texas;

enclosing the north side of the patio immediately afterward, or even as part of the construction of the northern arch, with an entrance gateway centered in this wall, opening from the convento compound to the main plaza of the mission.

The master carpenter and fine-carver Don Ángel worked for fifty days at San Juan in 1762, apparently building furniture and a new retablo for the church—the Franciscans were probably beginning the plans to rebuild and extend the building about this time. The changes to the church building were carried out about 1765–1767, under the direction of Estevan Losoya. The sacristy was removed, the church was extended to the south, and a new sacristy was added into the south end of the new church building.

The measurements of the church given in the various reports, without any indication of the location of the church, made it a mystery for some time where this building was located. It was suspected that the church was on the foundations located by Harvey P. Smith in the 1930s in the rooms forming the east side of the convento, but the 1772 inventory, when it became available in the 1970s, made things clearer. Mardith Schuetz-Miller's excavations of 1967–1971 found the evidence for major remodeling of the east building thought to be the church, and when she compared her field results to the newly-available 1772 inventory, the questions cleared up.[55] The inventory of 1772 described the church as twenty varas (54.8 feet) long by five varas (13.7 feet) wide. Its roof had been rebuilt in part, and its sacristy was entirely new.[56]

Schuetz found the filled doorways, crosswalls, and sacristy foundations that, with the description of the sacristy and the roof of the church, made it clear that 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 five varas (14.6 feet) long and three and one-half varas (9.6 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.[57] The old, external sacristy had been torn down, and the doorway from it into the church had been sealed. The new partition wall dividing the new sacristy from the church was about three feet thick and had been built so that it partly covered the sealed opening of the first sacristy door.[58] Note that the total of the interior lengths of the church and sacristy as found in the ground is 64.4 feet, which added to the partition wall thickness gives an interior length of 67.4 feet, or twenty-four and one-half varas, quite close to the twenty-four-vara length of the 1756 and 1759 reports, and the twenty-five-vara length given in 1762. Clearly only internal changes produced the 1772 church. No burials remained in this structure, so far as Schuetz-Miller was

[55] Schuetz, Excavation of the Convento, pp. 50–53.

[56] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, ff. 4271–74.

[57] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, ff. 4274-75.

[58] Schuetz, Excavation of the Convento, pp. 11, 12.

able to determine, but her excavations found a quantity of the small bones of the hand and foot for a number of individuals, along with several religious medals and glass beads; the beads are datable to the first half of the eighteenth century. This combination of small bones, medals and beads makes it clear that the bodies had been disinterred from the church at the end of its period of use. The larger bones, she suggests, were probably reburied in the unfinished church 3, and are the numerous secondary burials found in that church. The sum of Schuetz-Miller's evidence leaves little room for doubt that the long building on the east row of the convento was indeed the stone church of San Juan from about 1750 until after 1772.[59]

San Juan in 1772

The Convento Compound

In 1772, the inventory that accompanied the transfer of the mission from the Querétarans to the Zacatecan Franciscans gives us our first detailed look at the structures of the mission. The convento compound, said this inventory, was a rectangle enclosing a patio with a well in the middle; the inventory remarked that the well "always supplies water."[60] A new main gateway for the convento compound had been built, probably by Joseph Palafox, replacing the one constructed at the southwest corner of the convento by Ibarra about 1759. The gateway, said the inventory, faced to the north "and to all the Pueblo," and was big enough for a person on a horse to enter. The earlier portería had continued in use into the 1760s, but was now described as *"un portal (era la portería),"* a porch, which had been the portería.[61] The outer opening of the portería had been walled up sometime before 1772, leaving the inner Roman arch open; again, much like the space that apparently had been built to be a portería at Espada, but that was immediately closed up on its south end, and became the antecocina. At San Juan, this room was used as a storage space. The porter's office was converted to the hospedería, or guest room.

In the 1772 inventory the rooms of the convento were not listed in a strictly physical sequence, but by physical sequence within categories. The rooms described first were those of the friary, the residence area in the west wing of the convento, including the corredor and the hospedería. 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. We will begin with the east row of the convento.

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[59] Schuetz, Excavation of the Convento, pp. 11, 12, 39–40.

[60] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, fr. 4271-4294.

[61] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, f. 4290.

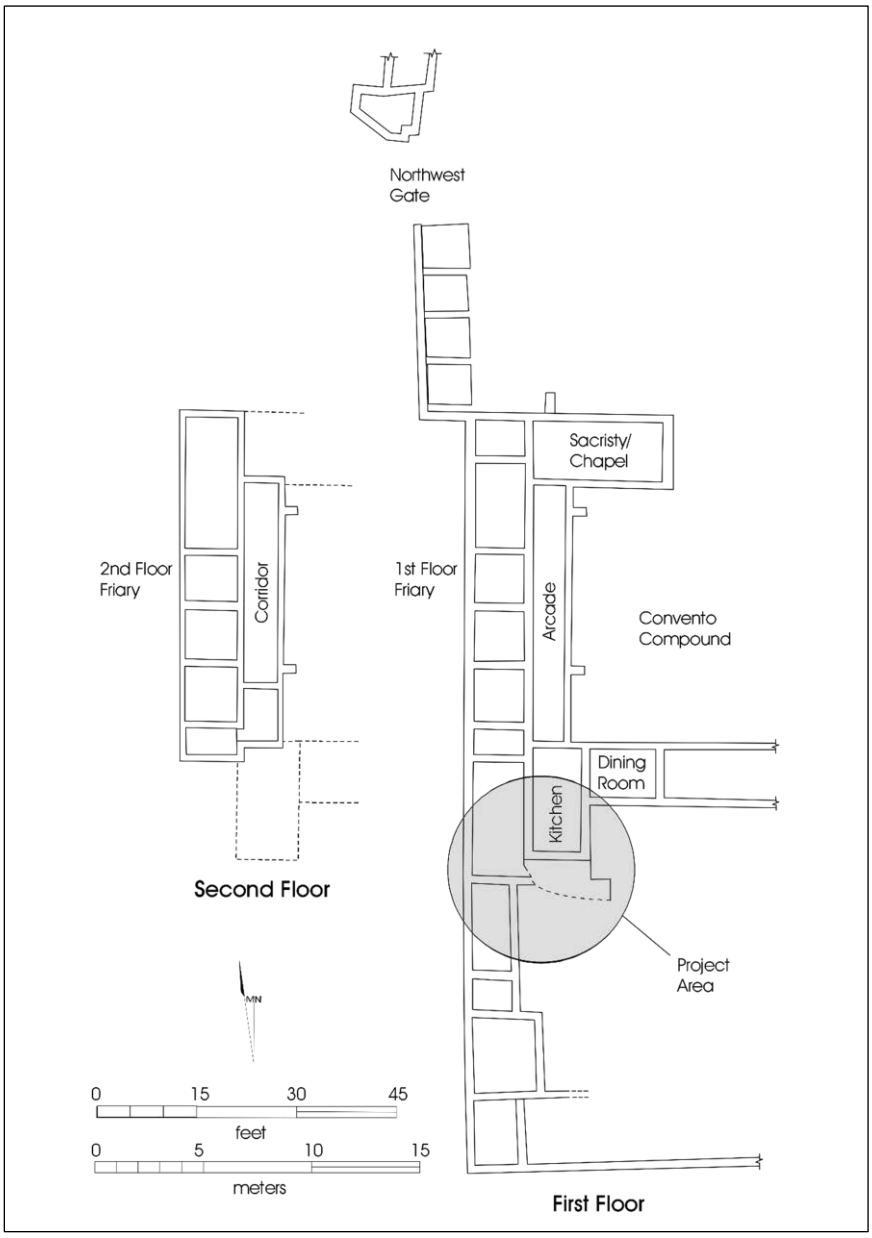


FIGURE 29: The Convento at Espada ca. 1772. Image courtesy UTSA Center for Archaeological Research.

This row contained the church on the north, with the sacristy on its south end, and then another storeroom. In 1772 the inventory described this church as built of stone and lodo ("mud", or adobe mortar). It had four windows that allowed good light inside, probably two on each side of the nave, and a roof of beams and boards. As said above, half of this roof was new, probably over the new altar and sacristy partition wall at the south end, while the other half, the old roof probably over the older part of the church, was of good carved morillos. The boards on the older half were not expected to have a

long life because they were flimsy.[62] This is the roofing from the same period of construction as the older part of the convento roof, and was apparently characteristic of that period—the convento roof was already having to be replaced as of 1772, as well.

The description of the interior of the church indicates that the entrance was on one side of the church near the north end rather than in the end wall itself. Probably at the north end of the church, beside the entry doorway, was the baptismal font of copper, with its lid. The baptismal font was supported on a table of walnut. Next to it was a small box carved of ebony containing three small silver bottles of the holy oils and a little cup of the blessed salt for baptisms. Where one entered the church, one encountered a large font of copper in which was holy water, and in front of it a small cross of wood attached to the wall. This entrance had to have been on the east side of the north end of the building, opening out toward 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.[63] The doors for the church were still being made.[64] In the nave was a pulpit with a base of walnut; its stairs and balustrade were walnut; its box was also of cedar, with chamfered edges. Opposite the entry door of the church was a confessional with chamfered edges, its material of cedar—both the pulpit and the confessional had probably been built by Don Ángel in 1762. At one side of this was a large lectern for the singing of professions. Within the church was a calvario and crosses hung for praying the *via sacra*, the stations of the cross. There were four carpets on the floor in the sanctuary in front of the altars, and a bench of cedar next to the sanctuary.

The church had two altars, one against the head wall at the south end of the church, and one against the nave wall, probably on the west.[65] The three portable altars described in the earlier reports had been replaced by a single altar made of a large table of wood perhaps built by Don Ángel as part of the work he was doing at San Juan in 1762, a little less than three varas (8.2 feet) long and 1.32 varas (three feet, eight inches) high.[66] "*Sobre tres gradas pintadas, de madera,*"[67] on the same painted gradas of three levels above the altar mentioned since 1756 was the titular saint of San Juan Capistrano, the carved statue one vara in height, over a carved and gilded niche one vara in height,

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[62] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4271.

[63] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, ff. 4271–74.

[64] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4290.

[65] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4274.

[66] Montgomery, in Franciscan Awatovi, p. 190, says that the "required rubrical height ... from the sanctuary floor or predella to the mensa or table top [was] 3 feet 4 inches high."

[67] Gumiel, *Ymbentario,* 1772, f. 4272.

which had in it the statue of San Francisco (described as a vara, or eleven inches, in height in the previous reports), with a glass door and key. On the evangelical, or left side of the altar as one faces it, was the statue of Nuestra Señora del Rosario standing on three cherubim, with the Niño in her left hand, and a rosary in her right hand, 1.1 varas (3.1 feet) tall. On the epistle, or right, side of the retablo was an old statue of San José, probably the one mentioned on the altar in 1756. *"En medio del Altar (in lugar de Sagrario),"* in the center of the altar, in place of a tabernacle, there was an *"urnita de madera, pintada,"* a little "urn," or case, of painted wood with glass sides, and inside it a statue of Nuestra Señora de Assumpcion, probably the same as the tabernacle mentioned in 1762. The altar was protected by a *guardapolvo*, or canopy, the same one mentioned first in 1759.[68]

Hanging on the *testera*, the wall above the altar, were two paintings, one of the Purísima Concepción, and the other of Santa Catarina Virgen y Mártir. On one of the side walls was a painting of Nuestra Señora del Refugio, probably the one purchased in 1756, one vara square. On the epistle, or right, side of the altar was a table that served as a credenza, on which were five little bells of bronze that served for the Mass. To the left of the altar was a cross of bronze and its sheath, with its Santo Christo, also of bronze, and two *ciriales*, processional candlesticks, of wood. Both the bronze cross and the ciriales were attached to a bench made for the purpose of carrying them in a procession.

There was a second altar in the church, probably against one wall of the nave. This was the altar for Jesus Nazareno mentioned first in 1759. The altar table was of wood, and was *"suficiente,"* big enough. It had two drawers, in which were kept supplies for *"las funciones de iglesia,"* the operations of the church. The size of the statue of Jesus Nazareno was not given in this inventory, but in 1759 it was listed as two varas (5.5 feet) tall. On the left of the image of Jesus Nazareno was a statue of Dolores, perhaps the one ½ vara high that had been on a carrying frame for the Rosario procession since 1756. To the right (the inventory says "left" again) of the Jesus Nazareno was a statue of San Juan, of unstated size. Over this altar was a canopy, as well.[69]

The sacristy, 14.6 feet long and 9.6 feet wide, was an entirely new room. The inventory said that *"sus paredes son nuevas aunque de piedra, i lodo,"* the walls were new, but of stone and adobe mortar. The phrasing indicates that this was considered inferior construction, which shows that the missionaries considered stone and lime to be a better material. The roof of the sacristy was of beams of oak and boards cut from mesquite. It was covered with thin, flat stones set with mortar, as the inventory states, *"que la defiende de todo temporal como lo ensena la experiencia,"* which, as experience

[68] Gumiel, *Ymbentario,* 1772, ff. 4271–73.

[69] Gumiel, Ymbentario, 1772, ff. 4273–74.

has shown, will protect it from all weather. The single window and the two doors were also new.[70]

One of the doors opened into the patio of the convento with its lock and key, and the other was an interior door for the entrance of the missionary into the church, next to the altar; it had only a *pastillo*, a latch. Between the two doors was attached a clothes-rack, from which hung four robes for the acolytes. There was a large basin of copper on a stone base that came out from the wall, and served as a washstand. It also had its *sumidero*, or drain for the water, and a wardrobe in which was a towel that the father ministers could use to dry their hands when going to celebrate Mass. The sacristy contained a large chest two and one-half varas (6.9 feet) long and 1.3 varas (3.6 feet) high for the storage of vestments. Its interior was divided into three spaces. On top of this chest was a smaller chest for corporales (altar cloths), and next to it on the left was a cupboard with a lock and key for curtains, *almaisales* (altar veils), and palls. Also in the sacristy was a chest with a lock and key that contained the vestments of white cloth, such as albs, and a small chest for *amices*, another type of vestment. Another cupboard of sabino, cypress, one and one-half varas (4.1 feet) high and one and one-quarter varas (3.4 feet) wide, for the vessels of the altar, missals, and two portable altar stones for when the missionaries went on expeditions to bring back Indians.[71]

"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 that was cracked. The bells were hung here, said the inventory, 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.[72]

"Contiguo a la iglesia, ai una oficina con tres divisiones," adjoining the church was an oficina of three divisions.[73] The archaeology tells us this room was on the south end of the church. The inventory gives no size or other details for this oficina other than the general layout of the space. It had three sections: two ground-floor rooms, and a tapanco, or loft, above the first or both of them. The first room contained wool stored at ground level. The adjoining room stored enough boards to make doors for the church and to finish the doors for the houses of the pueblo. The loft held about 250 pounds of cotton still in its bolls. Archaeology indicates that this oficina was the same width as the church with its exterior walls and the partition wall between the two ground-level rooms all of stone.

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[70] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, ff. 4274–75.

[71] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, ff. 4274–79.

[72] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, f. 4279.

[73] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, f. 4290.

The obraje, or weaving shop, was still the northernmost room in the west row, as it had been since it was built by Palafox in 1762–1763. It was eleven varas (30.2 feet) long and five varas (13.7 feet) wide, 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 west row. 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.[74]

Of the weaving establishments in colonial San Antonio, the setup at San Juan was the most complex and well-equipped, outdoing even the one at Valero during its heyday in the 1740s and 1750s. The number of looms included in the inventory dropped, however, from three to two, suggesting that one of the looms had been a smaller one, like that for ribbon at Espada, and was overlooked during this inventory. The shop had ten pairs of cards for *emprimar* and *emborrar*, the various steps of carding or combing wool and cotton, five other pairs of cards, seven tornos, or weft spinning wheels, seven malacates, or warp spinners of steel as well as a locking box in the workroom for quota piecework in which the malacates and other delicate equipment were stored, two *devanaderos*, or skein winders, a new box in which to store warp thread (probably on spindles or *canillas*, lengths of cane), two *burros*, or warping frames to measure specific lengths of warp thread for the loom, with their pegs, two *lanzaderas*, or shuttles, and eight outfits of reeds, each with their sets of heddle frames, for different weaves of cloth, as well as two spare heddle frames for cotton cloth weaving.[75]

"*Al entrar en el corredor, i junto al obrage*," at its door to the corredor and adjoining the obraje, was the quarto de tareas, the room where quota work was done, where wool and cotton were prepared for weaving.[76] The quota 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. The northern arch of the corredor had been built by Palafox about 1762–1763, after the obraje room extension had been built on the north end of the convento,

[74] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, ff. 4287–4288.

[75] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, ff. 4287–4288.

[76] An examination of the numerous references to the weaving industry at the missions in the available mission records indicates that the persons who carded the wool and cotton, and spun the thread from these, worked on a quota basis—they were given a specific weight of wool or cotton and expected to comb and spin this amount in a given time. The word tarea, assigned work or work shift, was used regularly in the mission records to refer to this arrangement.

but by 1772 it 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.[77] This corredor fell or was stone-robbed in the 1860s, 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 north wall of the quota workroom are both still visible on the east wall of the friary.

The room contained several sets of scales with which to weigh the wool and cotton as it came in from the field, and as the materials went out as quotas and came back in. The large scales, said the inventory, were to weigh the wool quotas given the carders. There was a loft, probably at the north end of the room, for drying cotton and wool which had been washed, *"que se ha menester, tener á mano, para las tareas diarias,"* that must be taken by hand, for the daily quotas. There was also a chair *"para quien diere, i recibiere tareas,"* for whoever may have given and received quota work. No size was given for this room nor was there any reference to the roof or to windows, but in the 1824 appraisal it was listed as seven varas (19.2 feet) long and four and one-half varas (12.3 feet) wide. Archaeological findings agree with these measurements.[78] There was one door with a lock and key.[79]

Celda 1, the second room south in the friary building, consisted of a main room and an alcove, alcova 1, south of it. The main room was eight and one-half varas (23.3 feet) long and about five varas (13.7 feet) wide. The size of the alcove was not given, but measuring the traces on the building itself tells us it was 18.6 feet long. The cell had a table with a drawer; the table was covered with black leather. A second table in the room, *"hecho con arte,"* made with artistry, was for eating, and in one corner of the room was a large cupboard with beveled edges, with many small drawers and a lock and key. Both of these items of furniture may have been built by Don Ángel in 1762. The cell also had two bookshelves with four drawers, and six chairs made of wood and wicker. The alcove had two strong bedsteads where the missionary slept, a chair, and a chest with a lock and key.[80]

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

[77] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2.

[78] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2.

[79] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4288.

[80] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4287.

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 repaired and new doors had not yet been installed. [81] The walls between the obraje, celda 1, and alcova 1 were removed early in the twentieth century, and today this entire length is used as the museum for the mission.

Celda 2 occupied the area now used as the park office, the extension on the south end of the friary—it was five and one-half varas (15.1 feet) long and five varas (13.7 feet) wide. 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. In the cell were a table with a drawer, a set of shelves for books, a cupboard, a painted chest with a lock and key, two chairs, and a clay water jug with a cup for drinking.[82]

Celdas 1 and 2 had a corridor twenty-four varas (65.8 feet) long, with five arches. The center four arches were the oldest part of the corridor, built by Ibarra in 1757–1759. The roof of the corridor was being rebuilt; the inventory remarks that this roof did not yet have a layer of concrete because the mission had none at the moment. This indicates that the new corridor roof had its vigas in place, and possibly the boards above these,

[81] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4287.

[82] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4287.



FIGURE 30: 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 hospedería. To the right of this, through the north wall of the room, is the doorway into the old portería. At the right edge of the doorway is the scar left by the collapse or removal of the wall between the hospedería 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.

but no lime concrete layer on top of the boards as of the date of the inventory. One part of the corredor was used as a barber shop, with all the necessary razors, sharpening stone, scissors, two basins, and several barber cloths.[83]

The South Row

The porter's office, now the hospedería, was the westernmost room on the south row of buildings, serving as a guest room and the infirmary. It was five varas square, and had a window looking south with its *enrrejado torneado*, or grill of lathe-turned wood. The room contained three beds, each with a mattress, a blanket, a pillow, and a sheet of cotton. There were two striped bedspreads of locally grown cotton, a candlestick with its snuffers of iron, a table with a drawer, and three chairs. There were also four

[83] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4287.

sheets of linen and four nightshirts of the same material, for missionaries who were ill. No information is given of the doors or the roof structure of the hospedería in the inventory, but most of the room survives in its original form today.[84]

The hospedería adjoined *"un portal (era la portería),"* a porch which had been the portería, until the mid-1760s when Joseph Palafox or Estevan Losoya built the new wall and central gateway across the north side of the convento and sealed up the old portería gateway. In the roofed portal were stored ten new doors and ten new windows for the Indian quarters, under construction.[85]

East of the hospedería was the *oficina del comun* (the community storeroom), twelve varas (32.9 feet) long and five varas (13.7 feet) wide, which contained a vast quantity of goods, supplies and tools. The room had a door facing north and a window to the south, probably directly opposite the door, and two lofts with wooden stairs, one at each end of the room. Each loft had its own door, indicating that each was closed off from the main space by a partition wall. This partition wall covered the front of the upper level of the loft, but did not close off the area beneath the loft—in other words, at ground level, the entire length of the oficina del comun was open. Traces of one of the sockets survives today, and is about six feet above the floor level of 1772. A continuous bench or table of wood on stone supports encircled the room. No description of the roof construction was given. The inventory remarked that the room was "very well arranged," probably meaning that its contents were neatly stacked and ordered. The inventory lists all the great number of goods and supplies stored in this room; among other things the room contained the stored tools for the albañilería and the carpentería, still unbuilt, and the arms and armament of the mission including one cannon, twelve muskets and carbines of all calibers, eight lances, one sword with a hilt of silver, and three *"media lunas"* (*"demilunes,"* a variety of pole-ax) "for attacking and defending against the enemy."[86]

East of this was a room five varas (13.7 feet) square 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 the late 1760s, like the similar room at Espada. Here also was a set of stocks for fugitives and delinquents, and *"una mesa grande de Altar, i otro pequeña,"* two altar tables, one large and one small, undoubtedly the tables that had formed the second and third altars in the stone church before its major remodeling; they were described in the 1759 and 1762 reports.

[84] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, f. 4287.

[85] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, f. 4290.

[86] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, ff. 4288–90.

East of the ex-refectorio was the cocina, also five varas square, 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, including two large pots of copper, four jars of iron, one of them large, an earthenware jar, three frying pans of copper, seven metal plates, four earthenware plates from Puebla, and four cups.[87]

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, archaeology and the earlier reports on the mission allow its outline to be picked out on the ground and plotted on the 1772 plan. It had apparently begun as two oficinas in 1756–59, and had been converted to a single oficina in 1759–62.[88]

East of the second storeroom was the *gallinero* (chicken house).[89] Again no structural details were given, but archaeology indicates that it was apparently a room partitioned off from the east end of the oficina segunda. The partition wall was of adobe, and within the gallinero was a low, narrow retaining wall of stone that could have supported the roosts or nests.

The Troje

By 1772, the probable granary north of the present church 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 tule, or reeds, forty varas (109.6 feet) long and six varas (16.4 feet) wide, with a door facing to the north. The actual location was not indicated, but it was 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.[90] Work had to have begun on a new granary before Indian house construction began, because the southernmost house used the northernmost flying buttress of the new granary for part of its south wall. Therefore, the construction on the new granary had to begin in the late 1760s, under the direction of Estevan Losoya.

Auxiliary Buildings

The only auxiliary building mentioned in the inventory was the *fragua*, or forge, usually meaning the entire blacksmith shop. This was a new building, eight varas (21.9 feet) long and four varas (eleven feet) wide. Its location is unknown, although it may have

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[87] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4288.

[88] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4290.

[89] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4290.

[90] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, ff. 4290–91.

stood in the area of the south half of the present church of San Juan, where archaeology has located traces of the foundations of earlier structures; or, it may have been in one of the Indian Quarters rooms, all of which were of this same size. No reference to a blacksmith shop had been made in the reports of 1745–62. In 1772, the blacksmith's shop was new, with a new door and a roof 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).[91]

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 1772 inventory. For an idea of the sort of structures that may have existed, see the chapter on Mission Espada.

The Pueblo

In 1772 the pueblo consisted of fifteen new stone houses all in the process of being finished. 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 *muralla*, a strong defensive wall of stone, that was "almost rectangular" in plan. Each house was eight varas (21.9 feet) long and four varas (eleven feet) wide. At this time sixty families lived in the mission, with a total Indian population of 202.[92] Based on these figures, it is likely that some of the families still lived in jacales which were not mentioned in the inventory. These would have been surviving jacal structures of the original pueblo.[93]

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 nine degrees east of north, or approximately on present magnetic north. Several structural traces north of the present museum show both orientations: the earliest foundations are oriented on geographic north, while later overbuilding followed the 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 the alignment nine degrees east of 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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[91] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4287.

[92] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4286.

[93] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Ymbentario,"* 1772, f. 4286.

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 an alignment nine degrees east of north, and the east wall is oriented west of north. Construction on the stone-built pueblo of Espada, however, began in about 1755, perhaps ten years earlier than at San Juan.

The 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, discussed in Chapter 11, 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 more complex buildings along the west wall.

No gates were mentioned on the west and north sides of the mission in 1772, but later statements, archaeological reports, photographs, and drawings indicate that in addition to the gate in the east wall, by this date an early version of the arched gateway between the friary and the present church (church 4) on the west, and a main gateway from the pueblo through the north wall probably both already existed. Certainly they were present by 1786, when they were mentioned by Fray Francisco López.



FIGURE 31: San Juan Dam in ca. 1940, before the channelization of the San Antonio River buried most of it. Courtesy of the Library of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas.

The presa (dam) for the acequia, or irrigation ditch, was in front of Mission San José, at a distance of about 2.6 miles from Mission San Juan.[94] This dam, long thought to have been destroyed by river channelization in ca. 1957, was relocated by the author and National Park Service archaeologist Santiago Escobedo in the fall of 1982 on a surviving portion of the old river channel just east of the present channel, and a little northeast of Mission San José.[95] The flow of water *"pasa de un buei,"* exceeded one "bullock." This was a measure of inflow cross-section at the source of the irrigation ditch of one square vara, or 7.5 square feet. This produced a water flow generally considered to be equal to about 345.6 cubic feet per minute (2,585.2 gallons per minute), or about 6 cubic feet a second, or an acre-foot every two hours. The entire acequia system was cleaned out during the year of 1772.

[94] Saenz de Gumiel, "Ymbentario," 1772, f. 4291.

[95] Field notes and plans in the files of the National Park Service; Susan Lindee, *"Mission Mysteries," VivaSA: A Magazine of the San Antonio Light,* December 11, 1983, pp. 24–25; see also David R. Hafernik, I. Waynne Cox, and Anne A. Fox, *Archaeological Investigations of the San Juan Dam,* 41BX266, Bexar County, Texas, Center for Archaeological Research Archaeological Survey Report no. 179 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1989).

The building in which the present church of San Juan is housed was not mentioned in the inventory of 1772, indicating that it was built after 1772. This is supported by archaeological information and historical documents. The final plan of the present church dates to ca. 1790 and will be discussed in the section dealing with that time period, below. 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 present church of San Juan less complicated, the history of the building from 1745 to 1772 will be summarized here.

In her report on work carried out in the present church, Mardith Schuetz-Miller discussed the origin of the present plan of the church.[96] She found evidence of an earlier structure about twenty-five 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 east wall still stands as the section of the present church 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, once the south wall of the southernmost Indian house. This plan was associated with the lowest floor of the structure to which Schuetz-Miller excavated.

In several areas of deeper testing, however, she saw evidence of another, even lower floor surface, and in the northeastern interior corner of the church she found that the east wall of what appears to be the pre-l772 granary outside the north wall of the present church continued south beneath the church, paralleling the original west wall of the pre-church structure. This indicates that the structure associated with the lowest floor, which Schuetz-Miller did not investigate further, was a rectangular building on the same geographic north alignment as the Tello granary of 1745 on the north and the rest of the convento compound to the south. Schuetz-Miller also found traces of other foundations south of this building, between it and the friary, on the same orientation.[97]

Based on information in later documents, sometime between 1762 and 1772 a new stone granary was begun to replace the temporary jacal granary described in the 1772 inventory. The new granary was built on the site of the old oficina of 1745, and reused the foundation and any standing walls of the 1745 structure on the north and south sides. The alignment of the west wall was either on true north or magnetic north—the evidence is unclear. The east side, and possibly the west side, were built on a new

[96] Schuetz, *Dating of the Chapel*, pp. 15–20, figs. 6, 8.

[97] Schuetz, Dating of the Chapel, p. 14, figs.6, 20. The wall foundation in this figure is plotted incorrectly: it is offset to the west by its own width.

alignment requiring new foundations. The work was begun before construction on the Indian quarters had proceded beyond the foundation level, because the north flying buttress was completed before the Indian quarters, and then was incorporated into the south wall of the southernmost Indian quarters. This indicates that at least the lower five to ten feet of wall of the new granary were built about l765 before the Indian quarters were begun.

The granary was still incomplete as of the 1772 inventory, but was finished soon after. In its final form it 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. The arrangement of relieving arches suggests that much of the mass of grain was to be on an upper level of the granary, now largely removed, similar to the granary at the mission of Tumacácori in southern Arizona, built about the same time.

The Condition of the Convento in 1772

This completed the inventory of the convento compound. The picture presented is unique. At least one of the celdas and one of the oficinas had new roofs; the roof of the corredor had just been rebuilt and was still incomplete; the main gate into the convento compound was also new; and the old portería had been closed off and was being used as a storage area for finished doors for the new Indian quarters. The materials for the doors of the church had been collected, but the doors themselves had not yet been made. Half of the roof of the church was new, and virtually all of the sacristy walls, doors, window and roof. In addition, the Indian Quarters were still being completed, and few, if any, doors or windows had been installed; the blacksmith shop was new; and the granary was a temporary jacal structure, replacing the original stone granary, and a new granary was under construction. Finally, no albañilería or carpentería existed yet, although rooms for them may have been under construction. The tools for these workshops were still in storage in the oficina del comun.

This tells us 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 same time. The mission must have been a maze of scaffolding and stockpiles of raw material, with men and carts moving in every direction, making the job of an inventoryist difficult, if not impossible.

San Juan, 1772–1794

In his diary, Fray Juan Morfí gave no description of San Juan in 1778.[98] In his journal he said only that there was nothing particular about San Juan, and that it was comparable to Concepción.[99] As with the other missions, it is better to avoid the use of Morfí's Historia, since again it used Dolores y Viana's 1762 description extensively and uncritically, thereby confusing the structural sequence at the mission.[100] In the 1786 inventory of San Juan, Fray Francisco López, Father President of the missions of Texas, 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 menores, 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 terrado. 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[ic]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[o]r su Fabrica podra abaluarse en mil y quinientos p[eso]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] previously discussed 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 roofs of earth and wood, with a good

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[98] Fr. Juan Agustin Morfí, *Diario y Derrotero 1777–1781* (*Monterrey: Edicion de Eugenio del Hoyo y Malcolm D. McLean y Escuela de Verano,* 1967).

[99] Fr. Juan Agustin Morfí, *Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico, second edition,* annotated by V. A. Robles (*Mexico: Antigua Libreria Robledo de José Porrua e Hijos, 1935*), p. 228.

[100] Fr. Juan Agustin Morfí, *History of Texas 1693–1779*, Carlos E. Castañeda, trans. and ed. (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1935), pp. 98–99.

> friary for the minister and rooms for communal storage. Joined with this [friary] is the granary, which is sufficiently large and roomy; its walls are of stone and lime mortar, with flat earthen roofs. Near the said friary, 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 as much again 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 . . .[101]

The granary directly adjoining the convento was probably the arched and buttressed building which stood on the site of, and which was later incorporated into, the present church. This stone granary had been completed north of the convento between 1772 and 1786. Work on the construction of a new church had begun sometime before 1786. The temporary church which López appraised was the church described in the 1772 inventory and still standing in 1786, on the east side of the convento compound and not actually contiguous with the vivienda, the friary or row of cells on the west wall.

The Unfinished Church, 1775–1785

The present unfinished church may have been begun a few years before the inventory of 1772, and was built following the later orientation on the magnetic cardinal directions. The section of east wall running south from the unfinished church to the old wall was probably built in the 1880s. It was not marked on the map of San Juan made by François Giraud in 1868,[102] while in 1890, Corner showed it on his updated copy of the Giraud map and referred to it as the "new wall."[103]

The unfinished church may have been designed and begun by Estevan Losoya in 1765–1767. It was intended to supply the mission finally with a formal church, although one smaller and simpler than the large churches more typical of a frontier Texas mission during the previous half-century. It was to have been about seventy feet (twenty-five

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[101] Fray José Francisco López *"Razon e Ynforme que el Padre Presidente de las Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, o Nuevas Filipinas, remite al Yll[ustrissi]ma S[en]or D[o]n Fr[ay] Rafael José Verger, del consejo de S[u] M[agestad] Obispo del Nuevo Reyno de Leon,"* May 5, 1786, copy made by Josef Sanchez de Luque in 1789 from the original in Archivo de Secretaria Episcopal, Monterrey, Mexico (photostat in Barker Texas History Center, Austin), ff. 4v, 5.

[102] François Giraud, "Sketch of the Mission of San Juan," in "Field Notes of 2 tracts, comprising 19 Suertes in the Labor de San Juan, Bexar Co. Texas," Bexar County Sketch File No. 36, 36(b), Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas.

[103] William Corner, San Antonio de Bexar: *A Guide and History* (San Antonio: Bainbridge and Corner, 1890), map of San Juan, between p. 16 and p. 17.

and one-half varas) long, and about twenty-two feet (eight varas) wide. It was intended to be without transepts, but vaulted and with a single bell tower and a sacristy of square plan. A baptistry was to be in the ground level of the bell tower.[104] The building was continued by Antonio Salazar in the early 1770s. He redesigned the sacristy to be octagonal. Work on the building was slow because most of the Franciscan effort was concentrated on the construction of the new church at San José.

The mason Joseph Padron was one of the people who worked on the new San Juan church. He was the mayordomo of the quarry for this construction, and was involved in the cutting and hauling of stone for this church. Upon his death in 1779 he requested that he be buried in the church on which he had been working. In his will, dated March 16, 1779, he indicated that as of that date the construction of this church was still in progress.[105]

He explicitly stated that the new octagonal plan for the sacristy would require more stone than had originally been planned, and urged his heirs to be sure to collect for the difference. He outlined the provisions of his contract with the Franciscans: 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.[106]

The building was blessed as a cemetery about 1779, and Padron was the first burial in it.[107] This use of an unfinished church as a burial area was not unprecedented. For example, mission San Antonio Valero's principal church was blessed as a cemetery in 1749,[108] even though the building had been begun only five years before, in 1744. Fr. Diego Martin Garcia at Valero 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, November 16, 1749."[109] 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 about 1779 in the unfinished church, then from that point on, at least for a time, the older

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[104] Will of Joseph Padron, Bexar County Courthouse, Bexar County Archives, Wills, no. 84, 1779, p. 3.

[105] Will of Joseph Padron, p. 3.

[106] Will of Joseph Padron, p. 3.

[107] Will of Joseph Padron, p. 3.

[108] Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of the Mission San Antonio de Valero: 1772*, Fr. Benedict Leutenegger, trans., Special Report 23 (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1977) p. 23; Schuetz, Excavation of the Convento, p. 139.

[109] Saenz de Gumiel, *Inventory of Valero*, 1772, p. 23.

church on the east side of the convento compound was used for services but not for burials.

By about 1780 the church had reached the height where construction on the vaulting would have to begin, but the ribs and vaulting of the roof were never built. Vaulting was the most labor-intensive phase of construction, and required constant supervision by the maestro. It was also the point at which a church usually stopped if there were funding or labor difficulties. Concepción and Valero both spent several years stopped at this height, Valero never to continue. As it happened, the San Juan Church became another of those that never reached completion. Excavations have found that nonetheless, the interior had been floored and some decorative plaster details and painted designs had been added.[110]

In the appraisal of 1786, López stated that the mission had spent 3,000 pesos on the church up to that year, presumably as payment to masons and skilled laborers for work the labor of the Indians could not be used for. Because of the poverty of the mission, the work had been stopped sometime before 1786.[111] More Indian labor, López implied, would have considerably lessened the cost. Further efforts to finish the building were made through 1824, but never succeeded.

The work on the unfinished church did not stop because the architect, Salazar, died or quit. He, in fact, continued to work at San Juan, building a fourth church, the present building. Instead, the third church stopped because the expense of further construction became more than the mission wanted to support, and the missionaries decided to build a simpler building, another temporary church. Over the years afterward, much of the stone cut and placed in the walls of the building was robbed from the site, so that the south wall of the nave and all the octagonal sacristy were reduced to their foundations.

The Construction of the Present Church, 1786–1791

As it became clear in the late 1780s that it would be some time before Salazar's new church was finished, if ever, and that the old temporary church was becoming dilapidated, the decision was made to build a new interim church using parts of the granary, finished in the early 1780s, and to demolish the old building.

A brief discussion of the earlier versions of this structure was presented above in the section dealing with the mission in 1772. Construction on new Indian quarters for the mission began about 1765; they were just being finished in December 1772. The south wall of the west row of Indian quarters incorporated the northern buttress on the east side of the granary into its fabric, where it can still be seen today. This indicates that

[110] Schuetz, *Historical Documentation*, pp. 200, 216.

[111] Lopez, "Razon," 1786, p. 5.

the walls of the granary had been raised to at least the height of the top of the flying buttress by about 1765. However, it was still unfinished at the time of the inventory in December 1772, when the only granary described is a large jacal, although the Indian quarters built around the northern flying buttress are described. The granary was eventually completed, and in use by the time of the 1786 report.[112]

Soon after 1786 Antonio Salazar tore down two of the four walls of the granary and began the construction of the walls of a new, much larger building, incorporating the old east wall and north wall of the granary into the east and north walls of the new building.

He removed 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 twenty-five feet, and all walls carried about seven and one-half feet higher than the original granary walls for a total height of twenty feet. At the same time that the new granary was being incorporated into the present church, 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 church, in the middle of the plaza on the foundations located here by Smith.[113]

About 1790 or 1791, Salazar completed the church with a triple-arched espadaña of fired brick, a virtually exact replica of the bell-wall he built at Espada about this same time. The *espadaña* (incorrectly called the campanario in the 1824 inventory) had a cross and two bells with iron clappers.[114] The only available inventory of this church was carried out in 1824, but undoubtedly there was little change in the layout of the interior during the thirty-four years or so since it was completed. The 1824 description will be used to work out the appearance of the church as of about 1791.

The church had a flat roof supported by vigas, and was seventy feet long and seventeen feet wide. It had a choir loft of beams with a wooden railing, reached by a wooden stairway against one side wall. The main door was a single door with a key. In the nave was a confessional containing an armchair, probably the same confessional that had been in the earlier church in 1772, and a small basin for holy water on a wooden base. The sanctuary had two steps of wood with a lathe-turned communion railing at the

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[112] Saenz de Gumiel, *"Inventario,"* 1772, fr. 4286, 4290; Lopez, *"Razon,"* 1786, p. 5.

[113] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2.

[114] Bachillor Francisco Maynes and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario general y particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la Ciudad de Bexar de la Provincia de Texas, llamadas San José de Aguayo; la Purisima Concepcion de Acuna; San Juan de Capistrano; y San Francisco de Asis (vulg[Aremente] de la Espada),"* February 29, 1824, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 4, frame 5578.

top, with a gate in its center. The church had the same two altar tables and altar decorations that had been in the earlier church in 1772. The main altar was formed by a large wooden table on a wooden platform, probably the main altar table of 1772, three varas (8.2 feet) long and 1.3 varas (3.7 feet) high, and on it was a *trono* (throne) made with a three-level grada, again the same one as had been on the main altar in 1772. By 1824 many of the statues that had been on the main altar were missing; only the statue of San Juan Capistrano, more than one-half vara tall, was in its favored position at the top of the three-level grada structure. The 1824 inventory did not mention several of the other parts of the main altar, such as the tabernacle that was formed by the urnita de madera pintada, the little "urn," or case, of painted wood with glass sides, or the carved and gilded nicho above this and below the San Juan, but these and the other statues were all undoubtedly present in 1791.

There was a small side altar made using a second wooden table on apparently the same wooden platform. This altar had a nicho in its center, and two large shelves or platforms at its sides. On this altar in 1824 was the statue of Jesus Nazareno one and one-half varas tall, and a statue of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, one-half vara tall. Undoubtedly most of the others from 1772 were present as well in 1791.[115]

The sacristy was seventeen feet square, and the doorway into the church had no door. A second doorway, with a door, opened into the plaza. It contained a set of shelves with a double door, a frame on which towels to dry the hands were hung, and a table of wood with three drawers and an *alucena unida*, a cabinet of polished or burnished wood, with a door in which the vestments of the church were kept. These were undoubtedly the furnishings from the earlier sacristy described in 1772, but the elements of the descriptions do not allow a direct one-to-one connection between the items of furniture. The church had a good selection of vestments and silver items for the altar.[116]

The main west gate of the pueblo, an arched entrance at the north end of the convento, had been built before the construction of the church, and had been connected by a stretch of enclosing wall to the southeastern corner flying buttress of the granary, as traced by Harvey P. Smith's excavations.[117] The northern portion of this wall was torn down for the construction of the present church, and after the church was finished in the early 1790s, the end of the wall was rebuilt to turn through a right angle over to the

[115] If the nicho on the second altar was attached to it, then this table may have been the main altar table in 1772, and the main table of 1824 the second altar table in 1772.

[116] Maynes and de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 5578.

[117] Smith, "Measured Drawings," sheet 2; Schuetz, Historical Documentation, fig. 1 between pp. 7 and 8.

southeast corner of the new building.[118] The tie-stones set into the east face of the extension of the church can still be seen above the surviving wall height.

Once the new temporary church was ready, the burials were removed from the old church and placed in the unfinished church on the east wall of the convento, and the old building was demolished, along with the wall and gateway that enclosed the north side of the old convento. The unfinished church continued as the cemetery for the mission until hope for its completion was given up sometime in the first decades of the nineteenth century. At that point, the parish priest stopped burying in the unfinished building, and the new temporary church was sanctified for burials. None of the burials were removed from the unfinished church.

Schuetz shows that all burials found within the present church that can be associated with a specific floor of origin were in graves dug from the upper floor surface of the present plan of the church. In addition, all burials were in coffins, of which all but one was a simple rectangular box (the single exception was a typical "coffin-shaped" box). Artifacts associated with these burials were insufficient to make any fine determination of dating of the beginning of use of the church for burials.[119]

However, the coffins within which all the burials recognized by Schuetz-Miller 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,[120] and certainly not before the major Anglo influx into Texas beginning in 1821 with the creation of the Republic of Mexico. Therefore, the present church 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. 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 church where burials occurred during the changeover from direct burial to coffin burial, apparently in the period from about 1790 to about 1821, or there were non-coffin burials in the church between its completion in the early 1790s and the common use of coffins after perhaps 1821, but these were not seen or recognized by the convent plan.

A third alternative is also possible, and is perhaps the likeliest. This is that burials continued in the unfinished church on the east side of the mission through the 1820s even though the use of the present church of San Juan as a burial place had begun in the early l790s, but that coffin burials only went into the new church. This distribution

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[118] Lopez, *"Razon,"* 1786, p. 4v.

[119] Schuetz, *Dating of the Chapel*, p. 46.

[120] Schuetz, *Dating of the Chapel*, p. 46.

of coffins may be the result of the unfinished church being regarded as the cemetery. Those who were well-to-do enough to be able to afford a coffin were buried in the present church, 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.

The Pueblo in 1786

López'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. López did not, unfortunately, give the number of houses or any further information on their locations in 1786. Houses were built along the east wall after about 1780, as happened at Espada; wall foundations visible in the ground, and archaeological investigations by Santiago Escobedo beneath the "Post-Colonial House" have shown that house foundations extend this far north from the unfinished church, but their date and how much farther north they might have gone is uncertain.[121] All the available evidence indicates that the most likely period for the construction of houses in this area is after 1824. The excavations under the "Post-Colonial House" found colonial artifacts, but this need not indicate that the house foundations below this house were colonial. The excavations were limited and disturbances were extensive, making interpretation of the stratigraphy difficult.

The Surrender of the Temporalities at San Juan, 1794

San Juan was secularized in April 1794. The inventory of the mission made during the secularization was far more brief than the two more northern missions of San José and Concepción, and in fact was less detailed even than that of Espada, itself very short. The San Juan distribution did not give any description of the buildings or their condition, but simply indicated that everything of the temporalities of the mission was now the property of the Indians.[122] Although the workshops and storerooms were not specifically listed, their tools were. For example, the entire contents of the blacksmith shop and the weaving workshop were listed. The weaving shop was considerably reduced from its strong development of 1772; rather than two working looms and the long list of equipment available then, by 1794 there were only one loom, an unstated

[121] James T. Escobedo, "The Post-Colonial House: an Excavation Report," manuscript in the files of the National Park Service, 1985.

[122] Manuel Muñoz and Fray Jose Cardenas, "Ynventario de los bienes de Temporalidad de la Mision de S[a]n Juan Capistrano," July 14, 1794, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 4.

number of reeds and heddle frames, one torno and two malacates, and several scales for weighing.[123]

[123] Muñoz and Cardenas, *"Ynventario,"* 1794, p. 13.

Chapter 8
The Structural History of San Francisco de la Espada, 1731–1900

Introduction

Mission Espada was the southernmost of the three missions 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, and the sequence of development described in the documents can be associated with individual rooms.[1]

Espada's Founding and Early Years, 1731–1740

Espada was established on March 5, 1731, at the same time as the other missions' relocation 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.[2] Fray Marion Habig suggested that the name commemorated 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.[3] There are,

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[1] Harvey P. Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas," 1934, in Harvey P. Smith Collection, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park: San Antonio, Texas; Harvey P. Smith and Associates, "Restoration of Convent for use as a Rectory, Espada Mission," ca. 1955, in Harvey P. Smith Collection; Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario de la Mision de la Espada*," December 15, 1772, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas (hereafter OSMHRL), microfilm roll 10, ff. 4193–4229.

[2] William Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar: A Guide and History* (San Antonio: Bainbridge and Corner, 1890), p. 21.

[3] Captain Juan Antonio Peres de Almazán, "*Testimonio de Asiento de Missiones*," 1731, Texas General Land Office Spanish Archives, Austin, Texas (GLOSA), box 122, folder 2, ff 21–22; Corner, *San Antonio*, p. 21; Fray Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), pp. 192–202.

however, several variations on popular legends associated with St. Francis that refer to his appearing in a dream to Brother Pacificus with crossed swords above his head.[4] The name "St. Francis of the Sword" given to the mission of Espada apparently refers to these legends.

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 growth from 1731 to 1772.

In the fourteen years between its founding and the first visita report of 1745, Espada saw only limited development. The Franciscans undoubtedly built convento rooms in *palisado* (with walls of vertical posts set in the ground, and usually a thatched roof) and then rebuilt them in adobe as they did at the other missions; in the meantime, they began the first rooms of the permanent stone convento. Espada probably also had a palisado church, but no references to early palisado buildings here have been found. As at San Juan, the lack of nearby stone of good quality undoubtedly forced the missionaries to use the palisado church until they completed the sacristy of the primary church in late 1744 or early 1745.

The convento grew room by room over the years, until about 1740 the convento consisted of two *oficinas* (a term always used to mean storerooms in the reports and inventories) at ground level and two cells above these. Some of the last details of this construction may have been directed by the master mason Antonio Tello, who arrived in San Fernando about 1740.[5]

Antonio Tello

When Tello arrived in San Antonio and began his work, the evidence suggests he began construction at Espada after starting work at Concepción and Valero, even though he very likely used the same church plan at each of these missions. As at Concepción and Valero, Tello had to strain the relationship between the church and the pueblo somewhat in order to get the church to fit properly against the already-begun convento, although he did not go as far as he did at Concepción, where he had to design a whole new convento as well. At Espada, Tello marked out the outline of the foundations of his standard transepted church with a sacristy on the south transept, connecting the church to the four rooms of the convento already built by the Franciscans. From the

[4] Clemens Jockle, *Encyclopedia of Saints*, trans. German Translation Center (London: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1995), p. 167.

[5] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, "*Visita de las Missiones hecha de orden de H. M. P[adre] Comm[isari]o G[ene]ral Fr[ay] Juan Fogueras, por el P[adre] Fr[ay] Fran[cis]co Xavier Ortiz, en el año de 1745*," OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 9, ff. 1270–71.

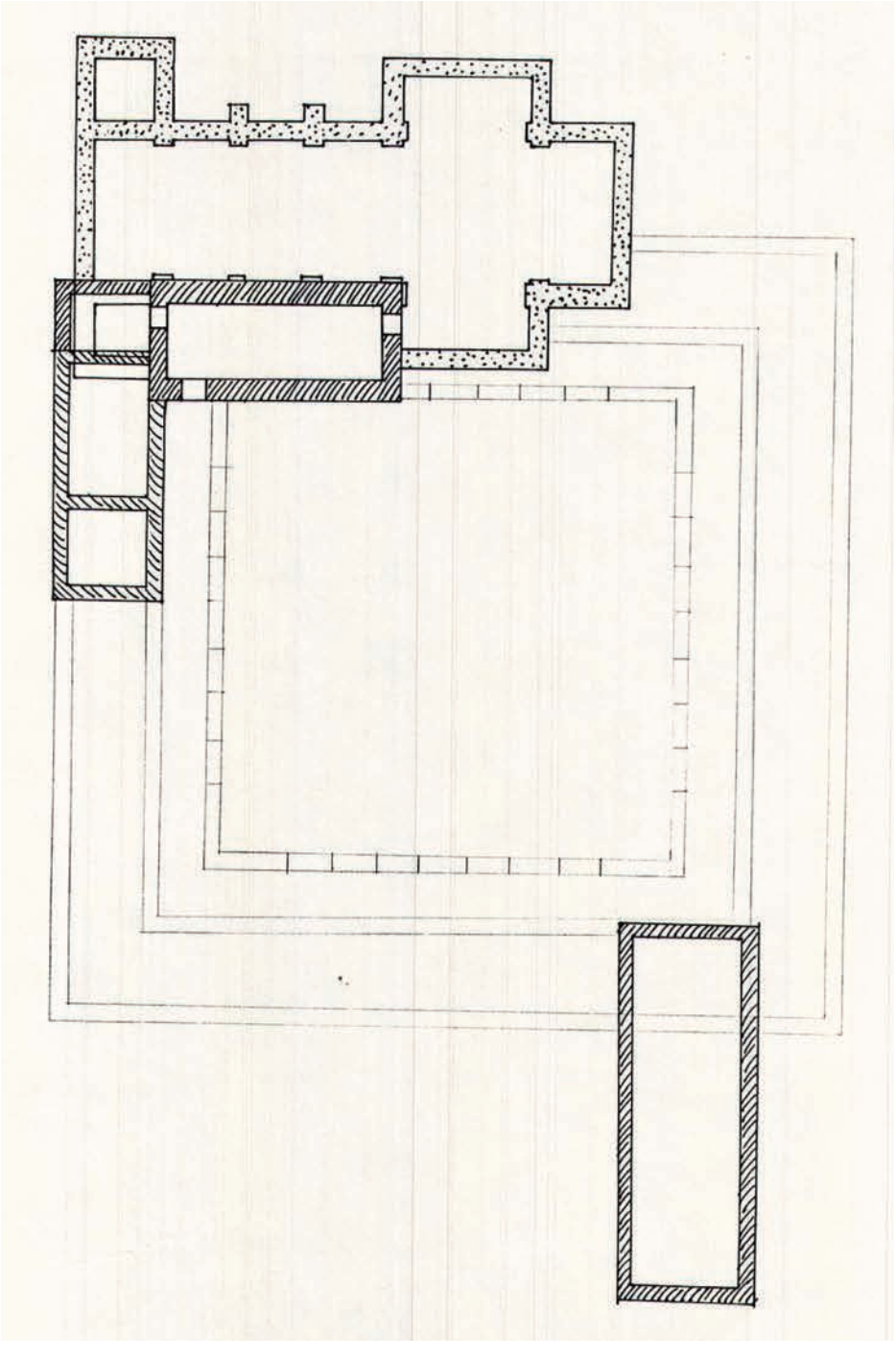


FIGURE 32: Conjectural plan of Tello's design for Espada. Drawing by James E. Ivey, for the National Park Service.

location of the sacristy and the other structures around the site of the church, it is fairly likely that the church faced west (as at Valero and Concepción) with the north wall of the sacristy forming the south wall of the nave of the intended church. West of the church was the probable plaza and streets formed by the temporary buildings of the pueblo.

Tello's plan for the relationship between the Espada church and convento resembled his design at Concepción and San Antonio de Valero, where he ran the convento from one bell tower, with an arcaded corridor on one side of the main row of convento rooms. The south bell tower of the Espada church was apparently to have been located at the west end of the sacristy against the north end of the already-standing convento rooms, rather like at Concepción and Valero, and Tello may have begun a corridor along the east side of the already-standing convento rooms. It is likely that he was intending for the convento patio to be east of the convento rooms already begun, because at Espada such a placement would have given a more traditional plan to the convento, and this space was available for use, unlike at Concepción or Valero.

The entrance from the sacristy into the church would have been at the east end of the sacristy on the west side of the south transept. In such a plan, the church would have been the same size and with the same footprint as that for Valero. The north wall of the sacristy would have formed the south wall of the nave, its east wall was to be the west wall of the south transept, and its west wall the east wall of the south bell tower. The south wall of the sacristy would have been thick enough to support a vaulted ceiling on the sacristy itself. Indications of these structural relationships may still be seen on the building: the facade and remaining fragments of the original north wall are four feet thick, while the south and west walls were three feet thick—the west wall thickness is the result of a reconstruction of the church about 1776, and probably overlays an original foundation four feet thick. Today's rebuilt walls along the north and south sides are only two feet thick.[6] Structural traces on the facade suggest that it had a simple rectangular doorway about four and one-half feet wide and six and one-half feet high, with its center about eight feet south of the northeast corner of the sacristy. This is offset north somewhat from the center of the east wall of the sacristy, so that it would have centered on the west wall of the transept. The original sacristy doorway was probably an undecorated, flat-topped opening with a splay toward the interior of the sacristy, like the doorway from the transept into the sacristy at Valero.

Tello apparently designed *mixtelíneo* window and main entrance tops for Espada. He probably began construction on the church for Espada soon after the founding ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone at Valero on May 8, 1744.[7] Work at Espada went somewhat slower because the mission was farther from the quarry at Concepción.[8] It is curious that Tello did not begin San Juan next, because it was closer

[6] Father Francis Bouchu, "Espada," in "Espada File," Archives of the Archdiocese of San Antonio, Chancellory, Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio, Texas, ca. 1880.

[7] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 49.

[8] Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, "*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*," in *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas o Nueva Philipinas, 1720–1779*, ed. José Porrua Turanzas (Madrid: Coleccion Chimalistic de Libros y Documentos Acerca de la Nueva Espana, 1961), p. 258.

to the limestone quarry at Concepción. This suggests 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.

By August 1744, the foundations of the sacristy were finished and construction on the above-ground walls had started, and the church was begun. In 1772, the unfinished church remained in the same condition it was as of the end of 1744: "*[l]a que ha de ser Yglesia esta delineada: 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 delineated: its nave and transepts by half a foundation; and for it a doorway of cut stone needs carving."[9] The phrases are ambiguous: it is uncertain whether only half of the outline of the church had been marked out with foundations, or if stone was laid along the entire outline, but only to half the depth intended for the stone foundations. In either case archaeology would be able to trace either the foundation trench or the foundations themselves. It is quite possible that the outline of the Espada church is still preserved in the ground under the parking lot north of today's church; it would be fascinating to recover this plan through archaeology. For the church doorway, it is unclear if the stones needed to be cut, or were cut but needed to be fine-carved with decorations; the presence of the partially carved large doorway in the present church suggests that the second interpretation is the better.

In addition to his various other projects for the missions, Tello may have designed and built the massive, double-arched Espada Aqueduct. Paralleling the present ditch line as it approaches the aqueduct is a second, dry ditch line against its north side. Today there is no provision to carry this ditch across Piedras Creek, but in the early 1740s it may have crossed the creek on a wooden trestle, carrying the water while the stone aqueduct was under construction.[10]

Tello probably began the first stone granary of Espada as well.[11] This granary was mentioned in the 1745 and 1762 visita reports, and apparently stood just west of and adjoining the later granary built in 1770–73. A foundation trace perhaps twenty feet wide and about sixty-five feet long was found here in the 1930s and recorded on Smith's plan of the mission, but no structural details indicative of a granary were seen at the time. This granary was undoubtedly similar to the others Tello is known or suspected to have built, with massive buttresses to support an intended vaulted roof that he never finished.

After Tello's abrupt departure in late 1744, the missionaries decided to finish the sacristy building with a flat roof rather than the vaulted ceiling Tello had certainly intended. They built up its walls to a height of about seventeen feet, where they set the

[9] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion*," 1772, f. 4197.

[10] Cite topographic map of Espada showing aqueduct with second channel.

[11] Dolores y Viana, *"Relacion,"* 1762, p. 259; also Ortiz, *"Visita,"* 1745, f. 1271.

vigas of the flat roof in place. As finished, the structure had little resemblance to the present building. It lacked the central doorway of carved stone, the square choir window above, and the triple-arched *campañario* on the top of the wall. The interior was about thirty-eight feet long and fourteen and one-half feet wide, rather than the present sixty feet by sixteen feet. We may assume that the missionaries built a choir loft into the east end of the building, probably during its completion in 1744–45, because it is difficult to place the large beams needed to support a choir loft in an already standing wall. The choir loft was not mentioned in the 1745 report, but was described in 1756.[12] The Franciscans completed the sacristy as a church by October 1745.

Espada in 1745

When Fray Ortiz prepared the first report on mission Espada in October 1745, "*esta empezada una Yglesia de piedra, y lodo, cuya sacristia esta ya finalizada, y sirve aora de Yglesia…*" a church of stone and mortar[13] is begun, the sacristy of which has been completed and presently serves as the church.[14] The report did not give the size of this temporary church, but later reports indicate that it was thirty-eight feet long and fourteen and one-half feet wide on the interior. Two carpets were on the floor, and a baptismal font with its *concha* were also in the nave, probably at the front near the entrance.[15] There was no sacristy for the church in 1745—the altar table itself served as the storage area for the vestments and utensils of the altar. The sacristy building 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 convento was still a simple structure: "*Los M[inist]ros viven en dos celdas de alto, aqui corresponden en el primer suelo dos oficinas…*" the missionaries live in two cells on the second floor, here corresponding to two storerooms on the first floor—that is, with the same plan as the two first-floor rooms beneath them.[16] These were the two northernmost ground-level rooms of the present convento, and the two second-level rooms above them. The equipment for a mason and a carpenter were stored at the

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[12] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, "*Vissita de la Mission de N[uestra] P[adr]e S[a]n Fran[cis]co de la Espada [May 29, 1756],*" in *Razon de la Viss[i]ta de las Missiones de San Xavier y de las de S[a]n Antonio de Valero en la Provincia y Governacion de Texas, Maio de 1756*, ed. Vargas Rea (Mexico City: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanes, 1955), vol. 1, p. 33.

[13] The term used in the 1745 report is "*lodo*," mud, but its use here and in the reports on other missions are in a context indicating the material must actually be a lime mortar. No architect would build a church and sacristy using mud rather than mortar and expect it to stand.

[14] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1745, ff. 1270–71.

[15] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1745, ff. 1270–71.

[16] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1745, ff. 1270–71.

mission, probably in one of these storerooms, and there were no separate workshops for these activities.[17] The 1745 report made no mention of a weaving workshop at Espada—the equipment and training in its use must have come into the mission over the next ten years. The sheep herd for wool was only at 740 animals, but growing—what wool was harvested was probably taken to Valero for weaving.

Tello may have begun the construction of the foundations of his intended arcaded corridors, but as of the time of his departure they had not reached high enough to be mentioned in the visita report. If he was following the same plan as at Concepción and Valero, the arcade would have been on the east, or interior, side of the convento, where Ibarra actually completed it a few years later. Tello intended to vault this corridor—he began the same pattern of buttresses along the face of the arcaded front wall that he had built at Concepción, and there the corridor was vaulted.

"*Para encerrar las semillas ay una troge; todo lo qual es fabrica de piedra, y lodo…*" for enclosing the seed, [the mission] had a granary; all of it is built of stone and adobe mortar.[18] This may have been the structure located just west of the granary built in the first few years of the 1770s.

The pueblo was described as "*las casas neces[aria]s de palisado para los Yndios, y soldados…*" the necessary houses of *palisado* for the Indians and soldiers.[19] This pueblo of *palisado* was probably located somewhat west of the convento and the foundations of the church.

"*Riega todas las tierras una azequia de agua que pasa por medio del pueblo…*" an acequia passed through the middle of the pueblo and watered all the fields.[20] The acequia was probably the one that ran down from the north past the west side of the convento. This was later cut by the movement of the river, necessitating the excavation of a new line of ditch that curved farther out to the west from the river, and came to the pueblo from the west.

Gerónimo Ibarra

In 1748, four years after Tello's precipitous departure, the Villa de San Fernando hired maestro Gerónimo Ibarra and the sculptor Felipe de Santiago in San Luis Potosí to complete the construction work of the parish church begun by Antonio Tello. The two

[17] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1745, f. 1271.

[18] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1745, f. 1271.

[19] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1745, f. 1271.

[20] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1745, f. 1271.

men were subsequently hired by the missionaries to finish the mission churches and other projects abandoned by Tello.

After the completion of Concepción in 1755, Ibarra began working on the other missions. Between 1755 and 1756, Ibarra carried out major construction at Espada, where he added several more rooms to the convento. The south row rooms were begun at the same time or a little earlier, and by 1756 the kitchen and *antecocina* with its arched doorway and the *obraje*, or weaving workshop, were all completed.[21] At the same time, Ibarra was working on two more rooms for the convento. One of these was built on the south end of the upper level, and the second on the south end of the lower level. The oficina built on the lower level was longer than the new cell on the upper floor, and in order to support the wall at the south end of the upper cell, Ibarra built an arch across the midpoint of the oficina on the first floor beneath it.[22]

Espada in 1756

In June, 1756, Ibarra had almost finished Espada's major reconstruction, even though the 1756 report does not mention it. The report gave the size of the sacristy being used as the church: it was fourteen varas (thirty-eight feet) long and five and one-third varas (fourteen and one-half feet) wide, with a little choir loft. The church was of cut stone and lime mortar, with a good flat roof supported on carved vigas. The table that served as the altar had four drawers of walnut with their locks to protect the vestments. This was the same table in use in 1745—Espada still had no separate sacristy. The baptismal font was described again, and this time the concha was stated to be of copper.[23]

As presented by the 1756 report, the west row of the convento had not changed significantly since 1745, with the two original cells on the second floor and two corresponding storerooms on the first floor.[24] In spite of this depiction, however, the arcaded corridors, an oficina on the first floor, and a cell on the second floor, along with the arched stairway at the south end of the friary, were all probably under construction, but not mentioned in the report.

A new south row had been finished on the convento. This included the obraje and the kitchen as well as its adjoining antecocina with a large arched doorway facing north, all completed by the time the 1756 report was made. Physical evidence indicates that

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[21] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1756, 1:39; Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, "*Testimonio de la Visita de las Missiones de las Pro[vinci]as de Coahuila y Texas pertenecientes al Colegio de la S[antissi]ma Cruz; echa por el R[everedo] P[adre] Fr[ay] Mariano Fran[cis]co de los Dolores y Viana, Com[issari]o Visitador de todas ellas en el mes de Marzo de 1759*," March, 1759, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 9, f. 1484.

[22] It is the presence of the arched doorway and wall support that allows us to determine that these rooms were built by the master mason Ibarra rather than the Franciscans themselves.

[23] Ortiz, "*Vissita*," 1756, 1:38.

[24] Ortiz, "*Vissita*," 1756, 1:39.

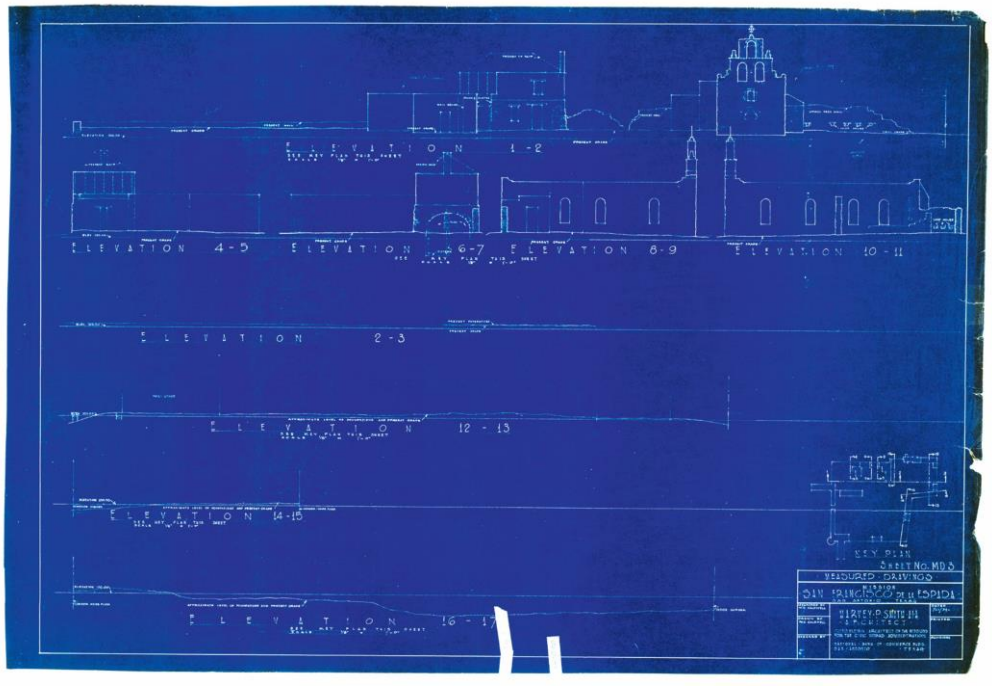


FIGURE 33: A Harvey P. Smith drawing of Mission Espada, made in 1934 for the Works Progress Administration. Image courtesy the Alexander Architectural Archives, Architecture and Planning Library, University of Texas Libraries.

the kitchen and antecocina had to have been built before the obraje. These buildings survive today at the south east corner of the friary portion of the convento, where "friary" is used as it was at San Juan, to mean the actual residential part of the convento, as opposed to those parts of the convento that contain the weaving workshop, kitchen, and other workrooms and storerooms. The east end of the antecocina has stones projecting eastward from its corners in the manner typical of stones added to an already existing structure to tie new walls to it.[25] This indicates that the obraje was built onto the already-standing antecocina. The kitchen is part of the same construction as the antecocina; this physical evidence indicates that construction on the kitchen complex therefore began before 1756, and probably before Ibarra began work on the southern rooms of the friary itself.

Ibarra, however, began the antecocina, not as a room to be part of the kitchen complex, but as the *portería*, or formal entranceway, for the convento of Espada, like the structures built or remodeled into existence at Valero, Concepción, and San Juan during this same period. As built, the room had a large arched doorway on its north side and a large square-topped doorway on the south. This formal entrance into the

[25] Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas."; Works Progress Administration, "Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas," in *Official Project 265-6907, survey no. TEX 320*, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, San Antonio, Texas, ca. 1934.

convento was given up more quickly at Espada than at any of the other missions, since it had already been converted to the antecocina by 1756.

The report specifically described the three *telares*, or looms, in the weaving workshop, "*en que se texen fresadas, Manta, y otras telas de Algodon ... con el esmero*," where blankets, cotton *manta* and other cotton cloth is woven ... with neatness. There were 1,950 wool-producing sheep in the pastures, and cotton was being grown regularly in the fields. At some time during the eleven years since 1745, Espada had developed its own weaving industry as its herds and fields began to produce fibers for the workshop.[26]

The south courtyard was begun with the construction of a blacksmith shop against the south side of the kitchen.[27] This development indicates that the portería Ibarra built in 1755 was converted to an antecocina because the Franciscans made the decision to place the second courtyard on the south side of the convento, rather than to the east. This choice left the portería forming an entrance from the secular courtyard of workshops and the blacksmith shop, rather than from the outside of the convento. Because the arrangement left the portería as a meaningless structure, it was converted to an antecocina.

The stone granary continued in use.[28] The pueblo was still of *palisado* houses, but the construction of stone houses had been begun, east of the probable location of the original pueblo, following a new plan that would eventually result in a completely enclosed, stone-built mission compound: "*esta formado el Pueblo de Casas de xacal, en que viven los Yndios, y se han empezado a fabricar de Piedra…*" the Pueblo is formed of houses of jacal in which the Indians live, and building them in stone has begun.[29]

After the completion of the new upper cell, between 1756 and 1759, Ibarra built arcaded corridors on the upper and lower levels of the Espada convento. At the time of the construction of these corridors, the lower level of rooms on the west row extended its present length, but the upper floor had only three cells, and the arcaded corridor on this level stopped at the south end of these rooms. The rest of the second level was a large open porch. Ibarra built an arched stone stairway to this porch about the same time, and probably the friar's latrine underneath these stairs. This stairway was very like those Ibarra built for the bell tower and Father President's office at Concepción a year or two earlier. During the same interval the roof of the entire one-story section

[26] Ortiz, "*Espada*," 1756, 1:40, 41, 42.

[27] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1756, 1:39; Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas."

[28] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1756, 1:39.

[29] Ortiz, "*Visita*," 1756, 1:39.

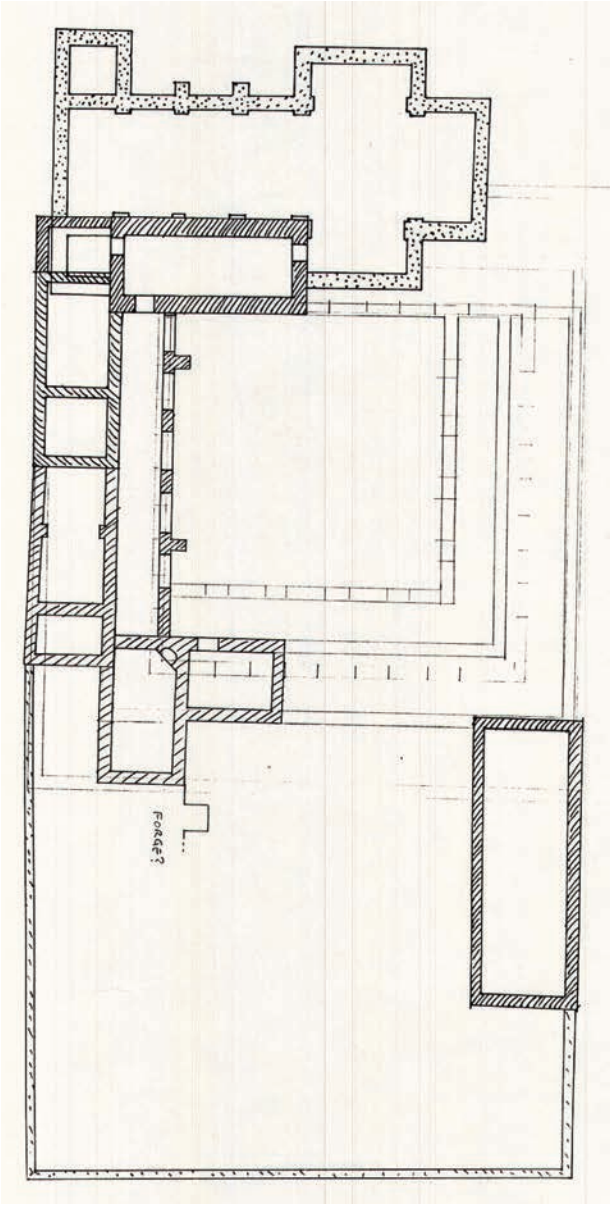


FIGURE 34: Conjectural plan of Espada in 1759.
Drawing by James E. Ivey, for the National Park Service.

that formed the porch at the south end of the friary was covered with tile, probably as protection against sparks from the chimney of the kitchen also added about this time.[30]

Espada in 1759

It appears that Ibarra worked at Espada only in 1755–1756. He seems to have finished his work at Espada soon after the 1756 report, with the completion of the first and

[30] Ortiz, "*Visita*,"1756, 1:39; Dolores y Viana, "*Visita*," 1759, f. 1484.

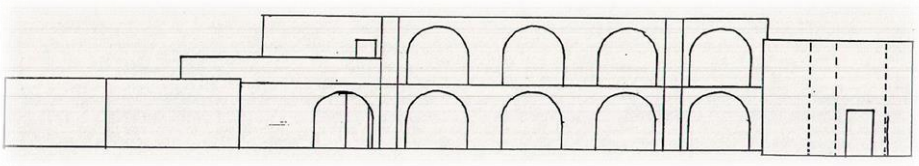


FIGURE 35: Between 1759 and 1762, the Franciscans constructed one more cell on the upper floor, taking up the large tiled porch at the south end of the building. The absence of any architect involved in this work is indicated by the failure to extend the arcaded corridor on the second level along the front of this new cell. Drawing by James Ivey, for the National Park Service.

second floor corridors and the arched stairs and additional rooms of the friary. These are first described in the 1759 report.

The 1759 report shows Espada's condition after Ibarra finished his work there, unlike San Juan where the work was still going on at the time of the same report. The church and altar area remained relatively unchanged at the time of the 1759 report. Here was the altar table with four drawers of walnut with keys, where the vestments were kept, mentioned in the previous reports. As in the previous years, there was no sacristy—all the vestments and other equipment were kept in the drawers of the altar table.[31]

Ibarra's two additional rooms had been completed on the convento, one on the ground floor and one on the second floor, and "*corredo el corredor*," the corridor had been run, presumably on both floors.[32] At this point the convento rooms consisted of oficinas or storerooms, a troje or granary, a *fragua* or forge, and the obraje, or weaving workshop mentioned in 1756 continued in operation with its three looms.[33] At this point, there were 2,200 wool-bearing sheep in the pastures, equaling the Valero herd.

As of 1756, the rebuilding of the pueblo as an enclosed, fortified compound, had been begun, and in 1759, "e*l Pueblo componen dos liensos de casas de piedra, embigadas, y otro [lienso] que esta ha formarse, los que con el convento ... forman Plaza…*" the pueblo is composed of two sides of houses of stone with viga-supported roofs, and another side which is being built; these, with the convento ... form a Plaza.[34] This was the enclosure north of the church that survives today—most of the stone houses whose lower walls remain were built during this period from 1756 to 1759.

Between 1759 and 1762, between the departure of Gerónimo Ibarra and the arrival of Joseph Palafox and Ángel Anglino, the Franciscans constructed one more cell on the upper floor, taking up the large tiled porch at the south end of the building. The absence

[31] Dolores y Viana, "*Visita*," 1759, ff. 1483-84.

[32] Dolores y Viana, "*Visita*," 1759, f. 1484.

[33] Dolores y Viana, "*Visita*," 1759, f. 1484.

[34] Dolores y Viana, "*Visita*," 1759, f. 1484.

of any architect involved in this work is indicated by the failure to extend the arcaded corridor on the second level along the front of this new cell.

Espada in 1762

By 1762, Fray Francisco Ortiz had moved up in the Franciscan organization, and was the guardian at Santa Cruz de Querétaro. The Querétarans decided to use a different administrative method for the 1762 visitation, and appointed a missionary already in Texas as the *comisario visitador*. They chose Fray Dolores y Viana, Father President of the Querétaran missions of Texas and minister at Valero. He had the guardian of each mission prepare a standard visitation statement and submit it to him; Dolores y Viana compiled these individual reports, probably checked their accuracy, and sent the finished document on to Querétaro in March 1762. At Espada, padres Fray Jose Ygnacio Maria Alegre and Tomas Arcayos prepared the statment of the condition of the mission.

Alegre and Arcayos began their description of the physical structures of the mission with the statement that the principal church had not been completed "because of a lack of stone of good quality." No dimensions of the planned church were given in any of the references about it.[35] The two priests stated that the temporary church was a very capacious room with a choir loft—this was the space built as the sacristy for the principal church, continuing in use as the temporary church. In this church was a main altar table that does not appear to have been the one described in the earlier reports. In the nave, in addition to the baptismal font, there were now confessionals and benches.[36] There was still no separate sacristy; all the vestments and equipment were kept in a chest at the main altar—the description suggests that this may have been a new chest, rather than still in the drawers of the old altar table.[37]

The friary had reached its fullest extent in 1762. There were four cells on the second floor, and three ground-floor rooms, with corridors at both levels. The weaving workshop with its three looms continued in use in the south row, with *la urdidera*, the warping frame for measuring the correct length of warp thread; *peines*, the reeds; *lisos*, the heddle frames; *siguiñuelas*, probably spinning wheels; *cardas*, the carding combs; and other tools.

The original Tello stone troje still served, stocked with 1000 fanegas of maize and 70 fanegas of beans, as well as cotton, wool, chiles, and salt.[38] The pueblo enclosure had been finished between 1759 and 1762, and consisted of three rows of stone houses with

[35] Dolores y Viana, "*Relacion*," 1762, p. 258.

[36] Dolores y Viana, "*Relacion*," 1762, p. 258.

[37] Dolores y Viana, "*Relacion*," 1762, p. 258.

[38] Dolores y Viana, "*Relacion*," 1762, p. 259.

no arched porches on their fronts. The rebuilding and enclosure of the Indian pueblo in stone had been completed, and the report refers to two cannon for the defense of the mission, implying that gateway fortifications had been built by this time.[39]

During 1762 and 1763, Joseph Palafox and Don Ángel worked for ninety-eight days at Espada, probably building the new sacristy and its furnishings, and the new altar table and retablo in the church. With the departure of Ibarra, the Franciscans had given up on Tello's church, and were willing to accept that they could build over the site intended for the bell tower. They cut a door through the west wall of the church, at the right side of the altar (in the northwest corner of the church), into a new room they built as the sacristy for the temporary church. They built this into the space where the bell tower of the unfinished church had been intended to be built. The room was four varas (eleven feet) wide, five and one-half varas (15.1 feet) across, and five varas (13.7 feet) high, interior measurements. The missionaries, in anticipation of having this new space, ordered a large quantity of vestments in 1761.[40] After the sacristy had been completed, the masons extended celda 1 on the second floor to the north over it.[41]

The Inventory of 1772

With the expulsion of the Jesuits from western New Spain in 1767, the Querétarans were requested to cover the empty Jesuit missions of the Sonora area. In order to find the staff to accomplish this, they had to give their Texas missions to the college of Zacatecas. As part of the transfer, a detailed inventory was made of the missions. This inventory gives us our most complete look at the plan and contents of the mission buildings.

The Church

The principal church remained unfinished, and in 1772 was still only a partially completed outline of foundations.[42] The measurements of the sacristy serving as the church of the mission were given as about 38.4 feet long and 14.6 feet wide in 1772, virtually the same as the measurements of 1756, 38.4 feet by 13.7 feet.[43] The building was stated to be seven varas high, or about 19.2 feet. It is difficult to determine the actual height, but the original portion of the present facade wall extends to a height of about seventeen feet, and in ca. 1885 Father Bouchu indicated that the side walls, where they survived near the facade, stood to a height of fifteen feet on the south, and sixteen

[39] Dolores y Viana, "*Relacion*," 1762, p. 259.

[40] *Cuentas* Espada 1761 ff. 4666-67.

[41] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4198-4201.

[42] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4197.

[43] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4191.

feet on the north.[44] However, these measurements are of a building that had been renovated considerably since 1772. The height of about nineteen feet stated in 1772 should be accepted as the probable external height of the building at the time.

The church had two doors, one "*que sale para la Bivienda de los Religiosos*," that went out to the residence of the religious, "*y otra para el cruzero de la Yglesia que ha de ser…*" and the other into the transept of the church that was to be—the principal church still considered to be in some sense "under construction."[45] The inventory also mentioned a door going to the sacristy. The two main doors, the entrance and the door to the convento, had been there for the life of the building. The door to the convento probably opened through the south wall of the church into the arcaded corridor, and had undoubtedly been intended to be the principal access from the convento to the sacristy.

There were three bells in the church: one of nine arrobas and seven Spanish pounds (232 American pounds); one of seven arrobas and fourteen pounds (190 pounds); and one of five and one-half arrobas (137½ pounds). Unfortunately no statement is made as to where these bells were hanging.[46]

The roof of the church was of beams and mortar.[47] The roof beams were described as *labrada* in 1756, implying that they were carved or shaped in some way rather than simply round logs.[48] A small choir loft supported by corbels was in the sacristy, over the main entrance.[49]

The main altar described in 1762 apparently continued in use in the church. The altar stood on a platform of wood, covered with a carpet of heavily backed *tripe* (shag) with a printed pattern and a fringe of wool, 8.25 feet square. On the side walls of the church were two cupboards where items of silver were stored, and a copper font for holy water. At the front of the church was the little choir loft supported on corbels. In the choir loft was a *monacordio* (a small instrument like a one-string harpsicord) on a small bench that served as the organ for the church—someone was learning to play it, remarked the inventory. The large copper baptismal font was also in the nave, probably beneath the choir loft. The stations of the cross were along both walls. The inventory

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[44] Bouchu, "Espada."

[45] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4191.

[46] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4198. One arroba was made up of 25 Spanish pounds and was equal to about 25.4 American pounds; Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981), p. 73.

[47] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4191.

[48] Ortiz, "*Vissita*," 1756, 1:33.

[49] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4198.

says that it was made up of crosses and prints of the various images of the stations, spaced along the walls, beginning at the altar. It was walked, said the inventory, every Friday except during Lent when it was taken out to the pueblo.[50]

The Sacristy

The new sacristy had been completed in 1764. The inventory of the sacristy began with a description of the room: "*Al lado de la Epistola hay entrada a una pieza que suple de Sacristia de cinco varas y media de Largo quatro de ancha y cinco de Alta…"* On the Epistle side [of the altar, the right side as one faces it] there is an entrance to a room that serves as the sacristy, five and a half varas (fifteen feet) long, four (eleven feet) wide, and five (13.7 feet) high.[51] The sacristy had no doorway other than that from the temporary church. No windows were described, or the composition of the roof. The room had a complete altar with full equipment. This altar is the wooden table that had been in the church from 1745 through 1759, with its four drawers—in 1772 it was still being used to store vestments and altar furnishings, but was now in the sacristy. It stood on a wool carpet "worked in various figures and colors." There was a table at one side of the altar, five and one-half feet by two and three-quarter feet, for the use of the priest while putting on the vestments.[52]

The Convento

Between 1762 and 1772 the southernmost oficina on the ground floor had been divided into two rooms by filling the arch between the two halves of the room. This filled arch survives today. The inventorying friars began at the north end of the ground floor, next to the church, and walked south along the corridor, describing each room and its contents in turn. Their measurements were careful, and allow the reconstruction of the plan of the convento—and they match the measurements of the rooms today.

The ground floor corridor was twenty-eight varas (76.7 feet) long, three and one-quarter varas (8.9 feet) wide, and three and one-quarter varas (8.9 feet) high, interior measurements. The inventory described this corridor as made of stone, wood, and mortar, and said that it protected the entrances of the ground floor rooms. Neither the inventory nor any of the reports mentioned the number of arches along the east side of the corridor on either level, and no drawings or other images were made of them while they still stood. However, the sizes of the two corridors and the probable design of the arches indicates that there would have been four on the ground level and three on the upper level, each about two varas (five and one-half feet) wide and three and

[50] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4191-92, 4197-98.

[51] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4198.

[52] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4198-4201.

one-quarter varas (nine feet) high and separated by pillars about five varas (13.7 feet) wide.[53]

In 1772, after the arch across the southernmost room had been filled, dividing it into two rooms, there were four oficinas forming the ground floor, each with one door and one window. Each window had its frame and shutters, and each door had a lock and key. The room nearest the church was oficina 1, described as being "*contiguo a la que sirve de Yglesia*," adjoining the room which serves as the church. It was eight and one-half varas (23.3 feet) long and five and one-half varas (15.1 feet) wide—although no height was given for the room, it was undoubtedly five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) high, like all the others on the ground floor. Against one end wall was a set of shelves, and a series of benches lined the other walls. On these shelves and benches were a large quantity of items, meticulously listed and described by the inventory. The list makes it clear that this storeroom held supplies for the convento, rather than for the Indian pueblo. For example, one chest held forty-two plates, fifty cups, and twelve *pozuelos* from the ceramic workshops of Puebla, Mexico. A *pozuelo* was a cylindrical ceramic vessel like a narrow, handleless mug. The room held a quantity of dry food supplies like wheat flour, sugar, and chocolate (two varieties, fine and ordinary). There were also a number of spices, such as sugar, oregano and rosemary, and a number of extra cooking utensils, such as copper pots and cauldrons. A large quantity of wine was stored in this room, one case of twelve bottles and two barrels for Mass, and two cases of twelve bottles each for no specific purpose. There was also a large tub or wooden vat in which were stored extra carpenters tools for which there was no room in the carpenter's shop.[54]

The next room south was oficina 2. Although the inventory gave no size for this room, the dimensions of the second story room above it were the same, and tell us that it was six varas (16.4 feet) long and five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) wide. It was also undoubtedly five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) high. The room contained supplies that appeared to be for the Indian pueblo. For example, a large bin contained seventy-three fanegas of beans. Two large boxes held salt—one of them was five and one-half feet by 4.1 feet by about three feet, or almost sixty-eight cubic feet of salt. Another box held two arrobas (over fifty pounds) of soap for the Indians. There was also chiles, rice, garbanzo beans, and a large tub and three large *ollas* of lard.[55]

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[53] Dolores y Viana, "*Visita*," 1759, f. 1484; Dolores y Viana, "*Relacion*," 1762, p. 259; Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4213-15; Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas;" Harvey P. Smith, Jr. "Mission Espada: Research and Restoration," *La Tierra: Quarterly Journal of the Southern Texas Archaeological Association*, 7(1980)2:16.

[54] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4211-13.

[55] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4213-14.

Oficina 3, the next room south, was five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) long, five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) wide, and five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) high. This storeroom held items of general use in the mission, such as bags and rolls of burlap and other utility cloth, blankets for mules, a number of large copper vats and cauldrons, a small movable stepladder, and a large table, 6.9 feet long and 3.4 feet wide, possibly an old table from the refectory.[56]

Oficina 4, the southernmost room on the ground floor, was six varas (16.4 feet) long, five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) wide and five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) high. In it were a few carpenter's tools, twenty arrobas of wool stored here for use in the weaving workshop, about 200 squashes, and all the tools for a stonemason's workshop which had never been built, and never would be since the main church had been given up.[57] All of these storerooms apparently had ceilings of vigas supporting boards with a mortar surface above that.

At the south end of the friary was the stairway, consisting of two flights of stairs of stone which gave access to the second floor of the friary. The stairs survived up to 1955, when Harvey P. Smith, Sr., drew a plan of them as part of his preparation for remodeling the half-ruined convento into the present rectory of Espada. The stairs and surviving portion of the upper floor of the building were removed as part of this remodeling, producing the building as it is today.[58] They were built into an *ambito*, a space or small area, five and one-half varas (15.1 feet) by three varas (8.2 feet), with a roof of beams, mortar and tile. The stairs resembled those leading up to the Father President's office at Concepción, with the lower flight 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 "*dos hazientos dezentes, y onestos, para las Necesidades Comunes tapados con sus mantas de guangoche…"* two seats decent and honest, for the common necessities, concealed with their blankets of burlap—that is, a latrine with two good seats and curtains of coarse cloth.[59] Although the inventory does

[56] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4214-15.

[57] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4215.

[58] Smith, "Mission Espada," p. 17.

[59] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4215.

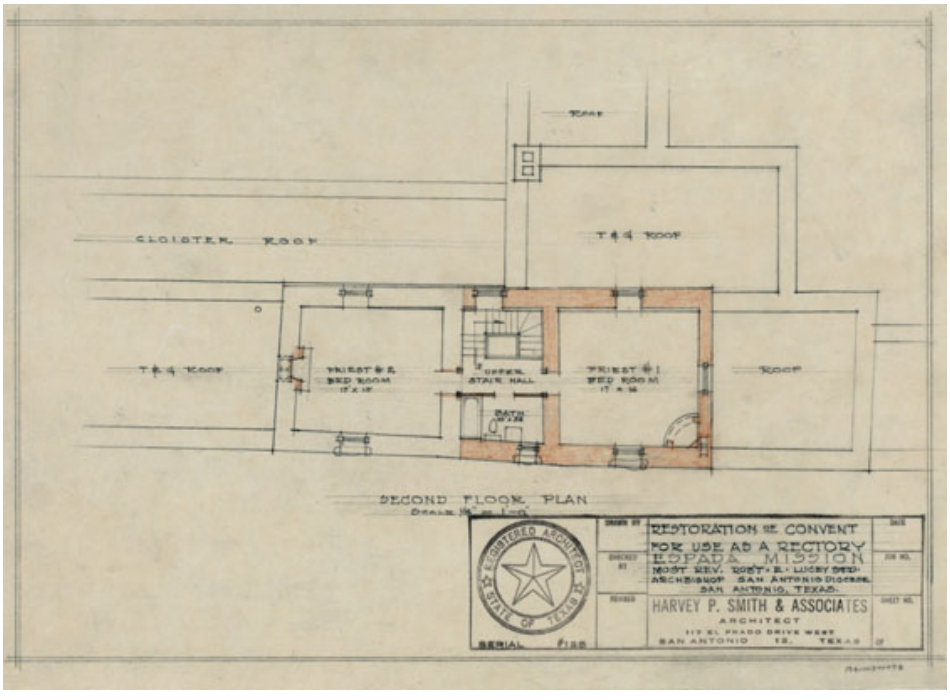


FIGURE 36: This Harvey P. Smith drawing from the 1950s, part of his preparation for for remodeling the half-ruined convento into the present rectory of Espada, indicates the presence of stairs. Image courtesy the Alexander Architectural Archives, Architecture and Planning Library, University of Texas Libraries.

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 convento patio well passing beneath the probable location of the privy in the convento rooms at San José.

The stairway went up to a small porch, six varas (16.4 feet) by three varas (8.2 feet), with a tile floor and a low parapet, the same one visible at the south end of the second floor in Harvey Smith's drawings and photographs taken of the surviving portion of the convento before 1955. The south porch opened onto a second tiled porch, over the south end of the first floor corredor. This porch had a stone parapet and a floor of tile.[60] Along the rest of the east side of the second floor was the portal, or corridor, of the second floor, three varas (8.25 feet) wide. The inventory gave no length for the corridor; Ibarra, however, had built it in 1756–1759 to protect the doorways into celdas 1, 2 and the original celda 3 (before it became the *alcova* to the new celda 3 after Ibarra's departure). It would therefore have ended at the corner of the alcove, which would have made it twenty-two and one-half varas (61.7 feet) long. It had a roof of beams and

[60] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4218.

mortar.[61] 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 was the residential area of the convento, and consisted, in order from the north end, 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. The doors of these two cells opened into the corredor.[62] Celda 1 had two windows and a door, and was thirteen and one-half (thirty-seven feet) long, five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) wide, and five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) high. The windows in celda 1 probably opened through the west and north walls. This cell was set up as a simple residential space, with a bed, a large table with a cloth, three armchairs and four regular chairs. A stack of paper (eight quires, or 200 sheets) and an inkwell and *salvadera* (a small bowl or box holding sand to sprinkle on the wet ink of freshly written documents) were on this table. A cabinet stood at one side, holding several books and a vara-stick for measuring. There was a cabinet with medicines in a number of small glass and ceramic jars, another cabinet with a number of little divisions in which were spoons, forks, packs of sewing needles, thread, silk cloth in small rolls, snuff, and a rolled painting of *Nuestra Señora del Refugio*. There was a large cedar chest containing sheets, shirts, spices such as pepper, cinnamon, cloves, cumin, saffron, oregano, and anis, and a large cupboard that was used for storing weapons; it held seven muskets and two fusil cannon.[63]

Celda 2, which served as the *huespedes*, or guest room, had one window and one door, six varas (16.4 feet) long, five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) wide and five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) high. The window of celda 2 probably looked west. It contained two beds, each with two mattresses, two pillows, and two blankets, and an armchair.[64]

The next rooms to the south were a suite consisting of a main cell and an alcove, as at the other four missions. This would have been the residence for the guardian, or senior Franciscan, at the mission. The alcove was north of *celda* 3, and had originally been built by Ibarra as the third cell, with a large tiled porch south of it. It was five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) long, five varas (13.7 feet) wide, and six varas (16.4 feet) high, and had a door which opened south into the celda and one window facing west. It would have originally had a doorway that opened east onto the second-story corridor, but this would have been filled when the doorway to the south into the new celda was cut; in the nineteenth century after the corridor collapsed it was opened again and made into a window. The contents show that, as in the similar suites at the other

[61] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4217.

[62] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4217.

[63] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4215.

[64] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4217.

missions, the alcove principally served as the friar's bedroom. It had a bed made of benches and boards, with a feather mattress and two pillows, a blanket, and a striped coverlet. The bed was enclosed—it had a *cielo*, a ceiling, of wood with a hanging curtain of heavy cloth. There was a second set of benches and boards in the room to put together for another bed for guests. An armchair was in the room, with a large table on which was the equipment for barbering, including a basin, cloths, and a razor box with twelve new razors, a sharpening stone, scissors, mirror, and a comb.[65]

Celda 3 itself had a roof of beams, mortar, and tile. It had been built onto the tiled porch on the roof of the southernmost rooms of the first floor, and was seven varas (19.2 feet) by five and thre-quarter varas by six varas (16.4 feet) high. It had a tile floor (that had originally been the surface of the tiled porch), a tiled roof, a door opening south onto the porch, and one window probably opening west. It was used as the office for the guardian friar of the mission. It was furnished with a large table covered with a cotton cloth, three armchairs and two regular chairs, a couch or settee two and one-quarter varas (6.2 feet) long, and a bench three varas (8.2 feet) long. On the table were an inkwell and salvadera, and a pair of scissors for cutting paper. For cold weather, there were two copper braziers, with tongs and a small hand bellows. On a small bench was a water jug. Decorating the office were two paintings, each about a vara square, one of San Francisco and the other of Santo Domingo. There was also a painting on copper of the *Dolores*, one quarter of a vara (eight and one-quarter inches) square, with a frame and glass.[66]

We know where the doors and windows of the first and second floor rooms on the south end of the convento were located because both stories survived at this end of the building until 1955, and photographs and measured drawings of the building were made before the second story room was demolished by Harvey Smith, Sr., because he thought it was an addition made after the colonial period. As we have seen, these rooms were indeed added to those of the first floor, but this was done during the ongoing construction in the eighteenth century. Oficina 4, the latrine, and the stairs to the upper floor all survived on the ground floor, and celda 3 and the porch on the second floor. During the 1955 renovation that removed the second story, the stairs were removed from the ambito containing the latrine, and the room was converted to the rectory kitchen.[67]

The row of rooms along the south side of the convento compound contained the work rooms and auxiliary rooms of the convento. According to the 1772 inventory, the cocina and the antecocina were adjacent to the stairs and the end of the corredor and ran west to east from there. The antecocina was a food preparation area, seven and one-

[65] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4217-18.

[66] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4218-19.

[67] Smith, "Mission Espada," p. 17.

half varas (20.6 feet) by five varas by five varas high, with a roof of vigas, *mezcla* and tiles. The inventory mentioned no contents for this room.[68] The kitchen had the same roof structure, and was ten and three-quarter varas (twenty-nine and one-half feet) long, a little more than five varas wide, and four and one-half varas (12.3 feet) high. It had a hearth and chimney in the northeastern corner of the room, and a selection of utensils and containers for cooking, including a fire-shovel of iron, several large caldrons and vats of copper, and several frying pans. Also listed was a machete, used for slicing cheese. The inventory did not include a description of doors or windows for these rooms, but the antecocina still has a doorway with an arched top opening north into the corridor, and a window opening east into the area just south of the kitchen. The kitchen had a door to the north, opening onto the patio, and a window to the south, looking into the second courtyard.[69]

That both these rooms had flat roofs of beams and mortar, with the upper surface covered with tiles, together with the adjacent tiled roofs of the south end of the friary, suggests that they were built this way when they were completed about 1756. The chimneys of the kitchen and blacksmith shop together at this corner area may have prompted the Franciscans to tile the roof surfaces as to protect them from fire as a result of sparks.

The next room to the east was the obraje, seventeen varas (46.6 feet) long, five varas wide and five varas high, with a roof of beams, concrete and mortar and a floor of tile. Today only faint traces of the foundations of this room survive. The first reference to an obraje with three looms occurred in 1756. That it was in a room of stone is mentioned in 1762. The 1772 inventory gives us a much more detailed look at the room. In that year it had a door, probably in about the center of the north wall, and a window, probably looking south, with wooden bars. The interior had a wooden partition with a loft built behind 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. The loft had a door through the partition wall, with a key, and was divided into two storage bins, one for wool and the other for cotton, probably one on each side of the doorway. Inside the partitioned room below the loft were two large chests, one of them a vara and a half (four feet) long, three-quarter vara (two feet) wide and deep, or about sixteen cubic feet, and the other a little smaller, where a large quantity, perhaps thirty cubic feet, of "*las tareas Yladas,*" the quotas of yarn or thread from the Indians assigned to spin, was stored, waiting to be used on the looms. Here also were several devices for weighing: two balance scales with a *marco*, or tray, of weights amounting to four pounds, and various other loose weights. There was also a steelyard with its pillar for weighing large objects. It could be arranged for large weights up to nine *arrobas*, or 225 pounds, or for

[68] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4219.

[69] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4219.

smaller weights up to two and a half arrobas, or sixty-two and one-half pounds. The partitioned room had a door with a lock and key like the upstairs section.[70]

In the main area of the obraje opposite the loft were two looms and their associated equipment. This included two looms, probably two-shaft looms with foot pedals, equipped with heddle shafts and reeds, and extras for *manta*, *sayal*, y *fresadas*. There were also four *tornos*, spinning wheels for the weft, and one *malacate para urdir*, a spinning device for the warp. Here also was a small loom (probably a narrow table loom) for making ribbon, probably the third loom mentioned in all the previous reports.[71] Such small looms were frequently used to train beginners before they were introduced to the large two-shaft loom.

East of the obraje was a room with no specified use, five and three-quarter varas (15.8 feet) long, five varas wide and five varas high, with a roof of beams, mortar and flagstone and a tiled floor. This room had one door, probably opening north, and a barred window perhaps facing south. It was virtually empty, having only a new middle-sized table, an armchair, a flour sieve of horsehair and another of silk, and a trough for bread dough—apparently an area for making bread.[72] Like the similar room at San Juan, this had probably been the refectory in earlier years, although such a room was never named in the Espada reports.

The Granary and Church

From sometime before 1745 through 1762 Espada had a stone granary, presumably another of the granaries the master mason Antonio Tello began at the missions. It was large enough to hold at least fifty tons of corn and thirty-five tons of beans, as well as cotton, wool, chiles and salt.[73] It had become too old to use by the late 1760s, probably because of deterioration through age, and a large *palisado* structure with a roof of *tule*, or thatch, was built to be the temporary storage space. Its location is presently unknown. About 1770 construction began on a new granary, probably designed and the construction directed by the new master mason in town, Antonio Salazar, whose arrival is discussed in his own section below.

The 1772 inventory locates the new troje east of and adjoining the bread-making room. The measurements of the various rooms, including the granary, makes it clear that this building stood on the foundations traditionally said to have been that of the main church of Espada. In fact, it was just that, and was the shortest-lived church of the San

[70] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4219–20.

[71] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4220.

[72] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4220.

[73] Dolores y Viana, "*Relacion*," 1762, p. 259.

Antonio missions, as discussed below under the heading of the visit of Fray Juan Morfí in 1768.

In 1772, however, this building was just being finished as a granary. It was a very substantial structure, about thirty-one varas (84.9 feet) long, eight and one-quarter varas (22.6 feet) wide, and eight varas (21.9 feet) high, interior measurements. The length of eighty-five feet was divided by five equally-spaced arches or ribs of brick, centered 14.2 feet apart, and supported by buttresses of stone one vara (2.7 feet) square on the outside of the building. The roof was a vault *de media punto* (semicircular in cross-section). It was made of wood in the form of thick beams running lengthwise between and supported by the brick arches or ribs. Above was a layer of concrete made of lime mortar and stones to secure the wooden vault, and the roof was surfaced with more brick. The building had *canals*, roof drains, each carved of a single piece of stone. It had more than one door and window, but the actual number was not specified. In December 1772, when the inventory was made, the door and window frames had not yet been installed because the interior of the granary was about to be plastered.[74]

The new granary completed the south row of structures forming the convento compound. A wall enclosing the east side of the patio had probably been built, although no mention of it is made in the 1772 inventory. However, during his excavation of the structures in the 1930s, Harvey P. Smith found a wall foundation running north from the center of the north wall of the troje, ending in a T-intersection at a distance from the front of and slightly north of the church.[75]

The Second Courtyard

The inventory included a long list of buildings used for various purposes outside the main convento compound. Some of these were certainly located in the second compound south of the convento enclosure. 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.[76] In 1772, the blacksmith shop was of stone, with a thatched roof, containing a small hearth and a bellows. The inventory includes a list of smithing tools in this building,

[74] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4220; Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas."

[75] Smith, "Mission Espada;" Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas."

[76] Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas."

discussed in Chapter 3.[77] 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.[78] Three palisados with thatched roofs, each about forty-two feet long, were being used as storerooms for lumber. One of these served as the carpenter's shop. The inventory includes a list of carpentry tools in the shop, again discussed in Chapter 3.[79]

The available information is too limited to even tentatively locate the structures other than the blacksmith shop 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 (discussed in Chapters 9 and 10), and their presence has confused the evidence to the point that no detailed assessment can be made without archaeological investigation. However, we can guess that the traces of a foundation about sixteen feet inside the west wall of the second courtyard was probably part of the original construction in this area, because of the width, although we can't tell which workshop it was for.[80]

Auxiliary Buildings

Other buildings listed in the 1772 inventory could have been anywhere in or adjacent to the mission. Presently there is no evidence to suggest these locations—future archaeological investigations may well identify them:

- An oven of mortar and brick for baking bread, probably near the bread-making room.
- Four other small ovens in the pueblo for its needs.[81]
- A threshing-yard enclosed in stone with a flagstone floor, for threshing beans and removing corn from the cob.[82]
- A chicken house of stone with a roof of mortar and tile, with a door.[83]

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[77] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4221.

[78] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4221.

[79] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4221-22.

[80] HABS, Works Progress Administration, "Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas."

[81] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4220.

[82] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4222.

[83] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4220–21.

- A corral of wood with a watering trough for fattening pigs.[84]

- A stone kiln with a stone stairway for the firing of lime, which when full produced "*seis zientas fanegas*," six hundred fanegas, about thirty tons of lime.[85]

- A room of stone roofed with thatch for the storage of lime. It contained about five tons.[86]

- A kiln for baking *valdosas*, floor tile, enclosed by a thatched palisado fifty-eight feet long. This building had a door, and 300 fired floor tiles and 10,000 fired bricks were stored here.[87]

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, so 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 ruins of a series of lime-kilns have been found just northeast of the mission enclosure on the slopes of the old river bank. Most of these are small, and probably date from the earliest days of construction at the mission, perhaps 1731 to 1750.[88] 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. Toward the east end of the row, however, the kilns are larger, but none are of the size and design described in 1772. That kiln was probably in the same area, and may have been destroyed by the channelization of the San Antonio River in the 1960s. 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 location of the lime-storage vats has been found, either in archaeological investigations or historical documents.

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. Most of the brickwork visible today in the 1772 granary, the bell tower and the arches of the rooms near the bastion, undoubtedly came from the Espada brick kiln. This brick-firing oven is of great interest, because it was a permanent kiln inside a building. Such a kiln could

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[84] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4221.

[85] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4221.

[86] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4221.

[87] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4222.

[88] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Recommendations: Mission Espada, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park* (San Antonio: National Park Service, 1990), pp. 12, 36.

also be used to fire pottery, and could be the source of Valero ware, a type of wheel-turned earthenware made at the San Antonio missions from 1730 to 1760 and perhaps later. A variety of "lead-glazed utility ware" was also made at the missions, perhaps in this kiln. Fragments of kiln furniture were found during the excavations of Santiago Escobedo in 1985 under the rooms adjacent to the bastion at the southeast corner of the present mission plan, and may indicate that this kiln stood at or near that location in the 1760s or 1770s, before the construction of the eastern half of the pueblo compound.[89] In 1998, archaeology found a kiln 425 feet northwest of the west gate of the mission[90]

The Pueblo

The walled compound of the pueblo of Espada, two-thirds done in 1762, had been finished in the ten years since then. 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. As at San Juan, these were built after 1772 as part of the same response to the requirements of Bourbon reforms seen at the other missions. The pueblo of 1772 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.[91]

The inventory described the pueblo as consisting of twenty houses of stone with roofs of wood, mortar and flagstones, each from fourteen to seventeen feet long, about thirteen feet wide and sixteen feet high. Each had a fireplace, and was mortared and plastered inside and outside. Each house had a door facing onto the mission plaza, and a window opening outward through the enclosing wall. Eight additional houses of stone had thatched roofs, and were of the same size as the preceding. There were also four wooden palisados with thatched roofs, for which no size was given. All of these enclosed 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.[92]

Espada had a stronger set of fortifications than those mentioned at the other missions, except perhaps San José. This may have been because of its exposed location far to the

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[89] James T. Escobedo, "The Bastion and Adjoining Rooms: An Excavation Report. Prestabilization Archeology at Mission Espada, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park," manuscript in the files of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, 1985.

[90] Diane A. Cargill et al., *San Antonio Mission Trails Statewide Transportation Enhancement Project*, vol. 1, *Construction Package 1: Archeological Investigations at Mission San Francisco de la Espada (41BX4), City of San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas*, Archeological Survey Report 308 (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, Center for Archeological Research, 2004), pp. 23-26, 103-104, 108.

[91] Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas."

[92] Saenz de Gumiel, "Certificacion, e Ymbentario," 1772, f. 4210.

south along the river, well away from the presidio in downtown San Antonio. The 1772 inventory says that adjacent to the main gateway of the mission was:

> *un castillo de seis varas de Alto de Piedra con su punta de diamante y troneras a los lados, para que en caso de imbacion contener al enemigo; asi con escopetas o fuciles como con dos cañones que estan en el; el uno en su curena y el otro de pie firme tienen su atacador y Sacatrapos.*

> . . . . a fortification, six varas [seventeen 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, with guns or muskets and two cannon 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].[93]

Smith's excavations located two foundation groups which appear to have been intended for gateway fortifications. The inventory shows that only one of these had been completed by 1772, but fails to say which one.[94] 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 fortification at the west gateway was apparently built after the construction of the eastern pueblo houses and the removal of the old east gate fortifications. There is no description of this fortification as a completed structure. The visible walls are restorations built above the foundations in the 1950s, and archaeology suggests that a similar structure was built on the south side of the western gate.[95]

The Acequia

The stone *presa* (dam) designed to make the water of the San Antonio River flow into the acequias was 131 feet long, six feet thick, and eight feet high. Today, Espada Dam looks to be only about 100 feet long, but the northern end seems to have been buried

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[93] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4211.

[94] Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas."

[95] Cargill, *Mission Trails*, pp. 30-60, 105.

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.[96] So the acequia could cross a *cañada* (small creek) without decreasing the flow of water, a forty-four-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, seventeen feet high, with a *punta de diamante* (a cutwater in this context);[97] and two *ojos* ("eyes," or arches) which permitted the water to pass and supported the canal.[98] 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 enclosing walls of the mission, the route of the acequia was changed to pass along the north and west sides of the mission.

Outside the walls of the mission and the irrigated fields, but in the immediate area nearby, the Franciscans had established pens and corrals for some of their stock: "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."[99]

The mission had several other corrals, perhaps in the same area. 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 manger, and a palisado of posts with a thatched roof and a door, containing various pack-saddles for the supply train of mules that annually brought mission supplies from Mexico.[100] There was also "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."[101]

Beyond the local corrals, the mission ran cattle on a huge tract of land toward the south, across the Medina River, with a fortified ranching headquarters at Rancho de Las

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[96] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4223.

[97] This component is called a *tajamar* in Secretario del Patrimonio Nacional, ed., *Vocabulario Arquitectonico Ilustrado* (Mexico City: Secretario del Patrimonio Nacional, 1975), p. 404; see also fig. 460, a photo of a structure located at El Sitio, Mexico that looks very much like the aqueduct over Piedras Creek.

[98] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4223.

[99] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4221.

[100] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4221.

[101] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, ff. 4220-4221.

Cabras, on the west side of the San Antonio River near present Floresville.[102] The inventory adds that the number of cattle owned by Espada, as estimated by those knowledgeable in this matter, "should be something more than three thousand head."[103] A total of all the figures from the various listings gives 733 horses, 99 mules, twenty-seven burros, thirty-four pigs, 2,621 sheep, ninety goats, eighty-eight oxen, and an estimated 3,000 plus cattle held by Espada.

The Master Mason Antonio Salazar

Antonio Salazar was described variously as an Indian, *mestizo*, or *criollo* (a Spaniard born in the New World), and was born about 1733 in Zacatecas. He apparently trained in Zacatecas, and may have designed and carved the side portal of the church of San Agustín in that city. He probably arrived in San Antonio about 1773, but he does not appear in the known records until 1779.[104] Antonio Salazar's presence at the San Antonio missions can be proven only after 1779. Schuetz-Miller speculates that he was the designer of San José and therefore arrived in San Fernando in ca. 1765, but the structural and historical evidence makes it more likely that Estevan Losoya was the designer of the baroque church of San José in 1765, and that Salazar was brought in to take over from Dionicio Gonzales in ca. 1773.

Salazar lived and worked at San José through at least mid-1801, when he was in his seventies. Beginning in the mid-1770s, the missionaries started planning for the secularization of the missions, with the necessary cutbacks on expenditures on mission structures. Salazar had a strong influence on this era of mission architecture in the San Antonio area. His contributions probably include the incomplete church at San Juan, with its octagonal sacristy.[105]

Salazar probably designed and built the renovations at Espada's Rancho de las Cabras, near Floresville, about 1780–1785. Excavations there found that the fortified building had an earlier and a later plan. As of 1772 the ranch headquarters was hexagonal in plan, 314 feet by 233 feet, and enclosed by a stone wall eight and one-quarter feet high and two and three-quarter feet thick, with a number of palisado buildings along the inside of the walls—the excavations located this plan and several of the palisado structures. The 1772 inventory stated that the ranch building had a circumference of

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[102] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4224.

[103] Saenz de Gumiel, "*Certificacion, e Ymbentario*," 1772, f. 4225.

[104] Mardith Schuetz, "Professional Artisans in the Hispanic Southwest," *The Americas* 40, no. 1 (1983), pp. 31–32.

[105] Salazar could also have been the designer of the church at Rosario with its strange arch, built in the 1790s.

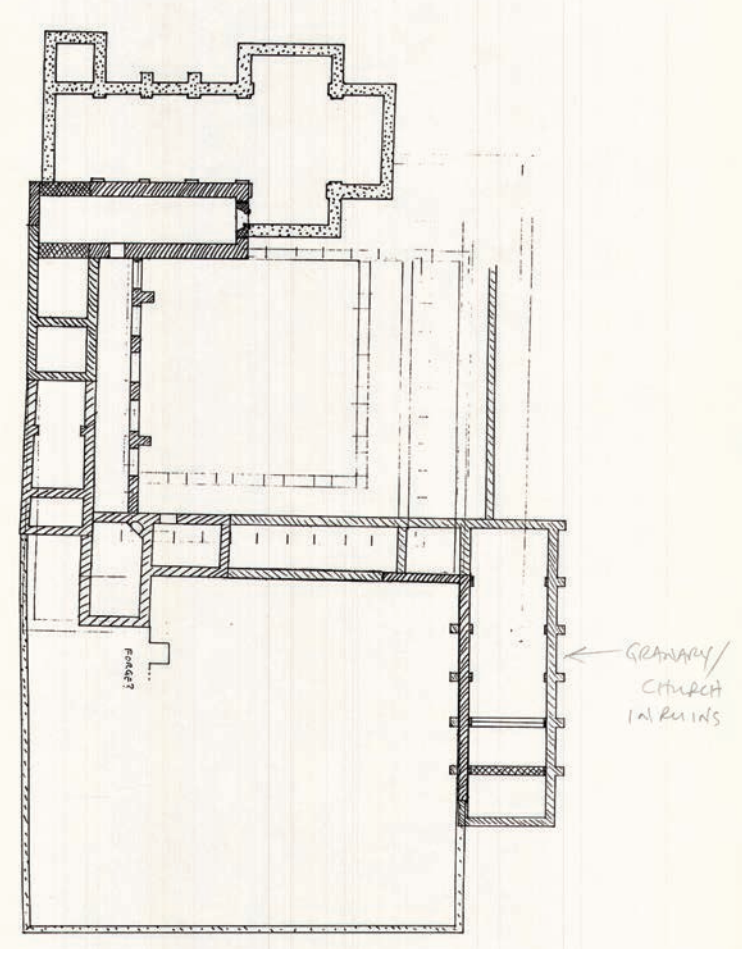


FIGURE 37: Conjectural plan of Antonio Salazar's rebuild of Espada, ca. 1776. Drawing by James E. Ivey, for the National Park Service.

158 varas, or about 432.9 feet; the structure as traced by archaeology was 439.2 feet in circumference on the interior, or about 160 varas. Sometime after 1772, a redesign and reconstruction reduced the fortification walls to an irregular quadrilateral with octagonal bastions at the northwest and southeast corners. A chapel built at the same time had a half-octagonal apse (which also served as a bastion for the northeast corner of the compound). Four rooms of stone were built against the north wall of the compound. The archaeological evidence indicates that these rooms were never completed.[106]

[106] James E. Ivey, *Archaeological Testing at Rancho De Las Cabras, 41 WN 30, Wilson County, Texas: Second Season*, Archaeological Survey Report no. 121, (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas, 1983).

Salazar was apparently the designer and the builder of the new granary with its wooden vault at Espada, beginning about 1770. As discussed above, this granary was in the last stages of completion in December 1772, when it was described in the 1772 inventory. The building did not remain a church for long—Salazar was soon remodeling it to be the new permanent church of Espada.

The Visit of Fray Juan Morfí

In the first few days of January 1778 Fray Agustín de Morfí 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 low-ceilinged room, spacious and well-decorated, with quite decent sacred vessels and vestments.[107]

Between 1772 and l778 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 down.

Had Tello's principal church been 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 for the honor of the shortest-lived church at the San Antonio missions? In fact, we do. In 1890 William Corner indicated on his map of

[107] Fr. Juan Agustín Morfí, Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrua e Hijos, 1935), p. 228.

Espada the place where tradition located the "approximate site of an old church,"[108] and stated that some foundations could still be seen in this area.

Juan Casillias had bought this lot between 1824 and 1827. In the 1827 summary it was described as "*un terreno con doce v[ara]s de frente y veinte y tres de fondo de Juan Casillas, linda por el norte con la Plaza, por el Sur con Don José Ant[oni]o de la Garza, por el poniente con afinado Rafael Casillas y por el Oriente con la Plaza*," a plot of land with twelve varas front and twenty-three varas in depth belonging to Juan Casillas, bounded on the north by the Plaza, on the south with Don José Antonio de la Garza, on the west with the late Rafael Casillas and on the east with the Plaza.[109] The size of this *terreno*, or tract, was 32.9 feet east to west by sixty-three feet north to south. Rafael Casillas had bought the antecocina and cocina buildings of the convento, the land just to the west of this tract. 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 foundation of the granary of 1772. Since the inventory of 1772 was not available until 1975 or so, 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, with a doorway at its west end. To the north of this partition wall, a bricked platform filled the space to the next pair of pilasters, where extending the entire width of the building were two steps down to the original floor level. Obviously, Smith had found a church without transepts, with a sacristy on the south end, and the sanctuary platform just north of the sacristy. The main doorway was probably on the east wall near the north end, rather like the present church at San Juan.

This clearly indicates that the granary being completed by Salazar in 1772 was converted to a church soon after its completion, probably in 1773, becoming the structure that Morfí described as having been torn down before his visit in the first few days of 1778—the tradition mentioned by Corner, that this location was that of "an old church," was correct. In fact, the time schedule is very tight. The building still needed interior plastering, doors and windows as of the end of December 1772. Between that month and January 1778, a period of only five years, a number of things had to happen. First, the building had to be finished, plastered, and its doors and windows installed. Then probably sometime in 1773, the Franciscans made the decision to convert this fine, vaulted granary to a church. Then the structural additions and changes were carried out. Within the walls of the granary, the missionaries added a partition wall across the building under the southernmost brick rib; this divided the sacristy from the body of the church. Against the north side of this wall, they built a bricked platform

[108] Corner, San Antonio de Bexar, map of Espada mission between pages 16 and 17.

[109] "Noticia a las Casas y Solares que ocupan los naturales e hijos de estos, y los antiguos Vecinos, residentes en la extinguida Mision de San Fran[cis]co de la Espada," July 24, 1827, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 65FE, pp. 5–6.

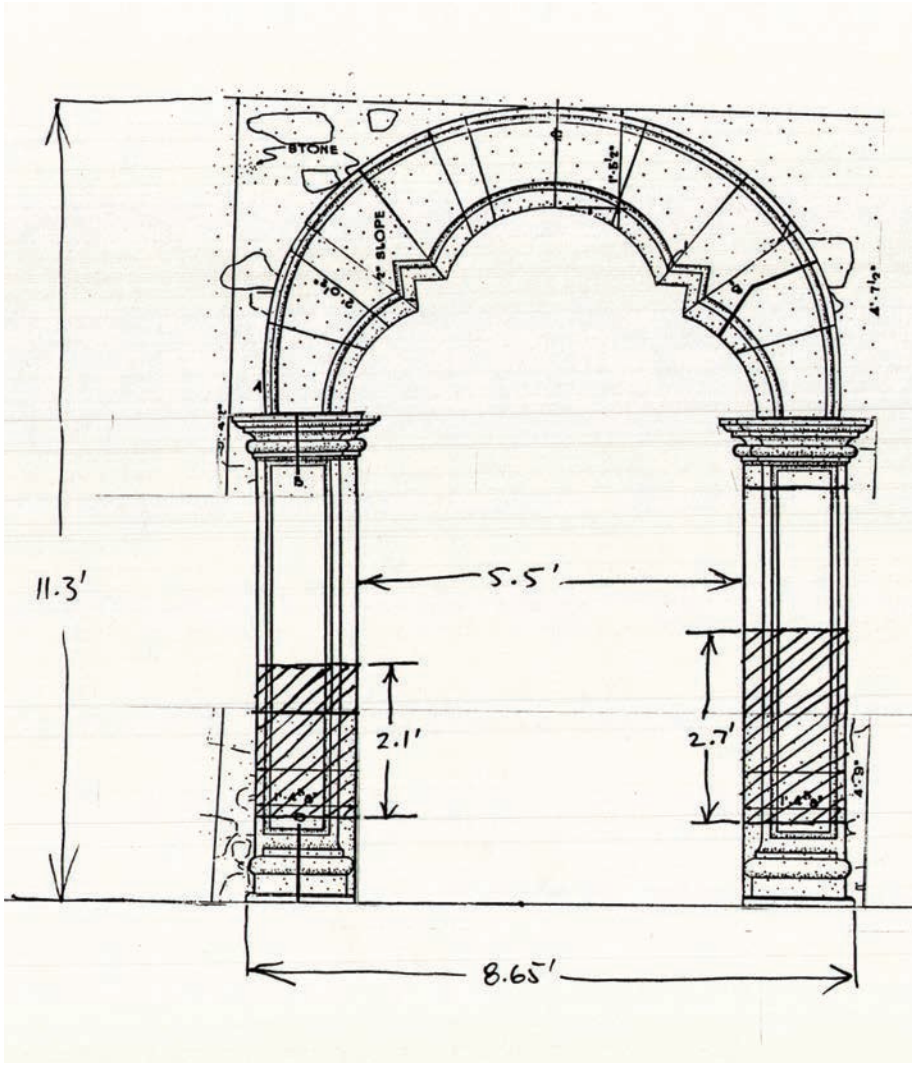


FIGURE 38: Architect Antonio Salazar used the unfinished Espada doorway carved by Antonio Tello and kept in storage since 1744, but Salazar rearranged the stones so that the opening was two feet lower and almost two feet narrower, in order to keep the doorway low enough to avoid having to disturb the choir loft. Salazar built up a section of the north door column with fired brick cut to the appropriate outline. He then covered this substituted section with a coat of plaster so that it was indistinguishable from the rest of the doorframe. Drawing by James E. Ivey, for the National Park Service.

filling the space to the next rib, with two steps down to the original floor level; this was the sanctuary platform on which the altar stood. Because the church existed such a short time, it never received a description in a visitation report, so we don't know how it was arranged inside. It is very likely, however, that the entire arrangement described in the temporary church in 1772 was simply transferred to the new building—this would give us some idea about the appearance of the church. Apparently the building never had a choir loft during its brief period of use.

The changes were probably completed by 1774, depending on when the decision was made to convert the building. Soon afterward, some sort of structural problem was discovered, or some disaster, such as a fire, occurred, and the entire building was torn down, perhaps in 1775 or 1776. At the same time as the demolition, services were shifted to a "low-ceilinged room" which was serving as the church in 1778.

The "low-ceilinged room" serving as the church in 1778 was clearly the first church, remodeled and returned to service 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.

The changes were extensive. On the west end of the building, Salazar tore down the old sacristy, the north end of oficina 1, and all of celda 1 above it on the second floor, and extended the church to the west wall of the convento, converting the space that had been occupied by the old temporary sacristy to the altar area of the new church. That part of oficina 1 left south of the new extension of the church was closed by a new wall only three feet thick, and converted to a new sacristy.[110]

Salazar made a large hole in the center of the east wall that removed the old doorway and the traces of the wall stub of the south wall of the transept of the full-sized church. Into this hole he assembled the unfinished doorway carved by Tello and kept in storage since 1744, but he rearranged the stones so that the opening was two feet lower and almost two feet narrower, in order to keep the doorway low enough to avoid having to disturb the choir loft. Because the two side columns of the doorway were not cut symmetrically, and it was not possible to shorten them by the same amount by leaving out stones, he built up a section of the north door column with fired brick cut to the appropriate outline. He then covered this substituted section with a coat of plaster so that it was indistinguishable from the rest of the doorframe.[111]

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[110] Bouchu, "Espada;" Fr. Juan Agustín Morfí, Diario y Derrotero, 1777–1781 (Monterrey: Edición de Eugenio del Hoyo y Malcolm D. McLean y Escuela de Verano, 1967), p. 98; Morfí, Viaje, p. 228; Bachillor Francisco Maynes and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon, "Inventario general y particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la ciudad de Bexar de la Provincia de Texas, llamadas San Jose de Aguayo; La Purisima Concepcion de Acuna; San Juan de Capistrano; y San Francisco de Asis (vulg[aremente] de la Espada)," February 29, 1824, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 4, f. 5579.

[111] This probable original plan of the Espada doorway has been suggested by several earlier researchers: Will N. Noonan, "The Espada Doorway: Yesterday and Today," *San Antonio Express*, February 5, 1933, p. C5; Ernest Allen Connally, *The Ecclesiastical and Military Architecture of the Spanish Province of Texas*, dissertation, Harvard University, 1955., pp. 528–529 and figure 128; Jon Thompson, associate professor in the Department of Architecture at the University of Texas, personal communication to Jacinto Quirarte, 2000, as discussed in Jacinto Quirarte, *The Art and Architecture of the Texas Missions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), pp. 193–194.

Salazar added the fired brick rectangular window opening onto the choir loft above the main door, probably using some of the large quantity stored at the mission. A few years later, about 1790, Salazar added the *campañario* to the top of the church, almost identical to the campañario he constructed on the new church at San Juan about the same time.

Celda 1, on the second story above the old sacristy and oficina 1, was 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 northernmost arch of the second story corridor and the east wall of celda 1 were probably removed to parapet height, as well as the west wall of celda 1 south of the line of the southern church wall, so that their tops were about twelve feet above ground.

Morfí tells us that the old temporary church was already back in use before he arrived in the first week of January 1778, so the remodeling must have been finished before the end of 1777. Considering the number of structural changes and additions, this must have been begun at least a year earlier, if not more. From the completion of work to convert the granary to a church sometime during 1774, to its demolition and the beginning of the conversion of the old church to a new version sometime in 1776, gives the granary church a lifespan of about two years. 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 they were beginning to plan for secularization. They felt that it was time to cut their losses, in the same way as can be seen at the other missions during this period.

As part of the same series of changes, the mission built another granary to replace the granary of 1772. This new granary had probably been built between 1772 and 1777, at the same time that the troje of 1772 was converted to a church, and was constructed on the south side of the second courtyard, extending south from the south wall, where Corner shows it.[112] The granary still existed as ruins in 1824, when it was appraised and sold along with the other buildings of Espada.[113] It is visible today as the long rectangular foundation extending south from the southern wall of the mission, capped and raised above grade by Harvey Smith, Sr., in the 1950s. It was ninety feet seven inches long, exactly two feet shorter than the granary of 1772, and twenty-two feet seven inches wide, compared to twenty-eight feet four inches for the exterior width of the other. This width of twenty-two feet seven inches is about the same as that of the

[112] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, map of Espada mission between pages 16 and 17.

[113] Jose Antonio Saucedo, "*Abaluo de las casas y muralla de la Mision de S[a]n Francisco de la Espada*," February 12, 1824, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records no. 64, p. 2; Mexican Government to Bentura de la Garza, December 21, 1824, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records no. 58; Miguel Arciniega, "*Noticia de las casas y solares que ocupan los naturales e hijos de estos, y los antiguas Vecinos residentes en la extinguida Mision de San Fran[cis]co de la Espada . . .*" July 24, 1827, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records no. 65, p. 5.

old church (the present Espada chapel), and indicates that the new granary of about 1773 certainly had a flat roof of vigas and mortar, rather than the more daring (and ultimately unsuccessful) brick ribs and wooden vault of the granary of 1772.

The López Report and the Enlargement of the Espada Compound

The last report available to us during the eighteenth century was the report prepared by Fr. José Francisco López in 1786. It 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, forman 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 pesos. 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.[114]

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.

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[114] Fray José Francisco López, "*Razon e Ynforme que el Padre Presidente de las Misiones de la Provincia de Texas, o Nuevas Filipinas, remite al Yll[ustrissi]ma S[eñ]or D[on] Fr[ay] Rafael José Verger, del consejo de S[u] M[agestad] Obispo del Nuevo Reyno de Leon*," May 5, 1786, copy made by Josef Sanchez de Luque in 1789 from the original in Archivo de Secretaria Episcopal, Monterrey, Mexico (photostat in Barker Texas History Center, Austin), ff. 5v-6.

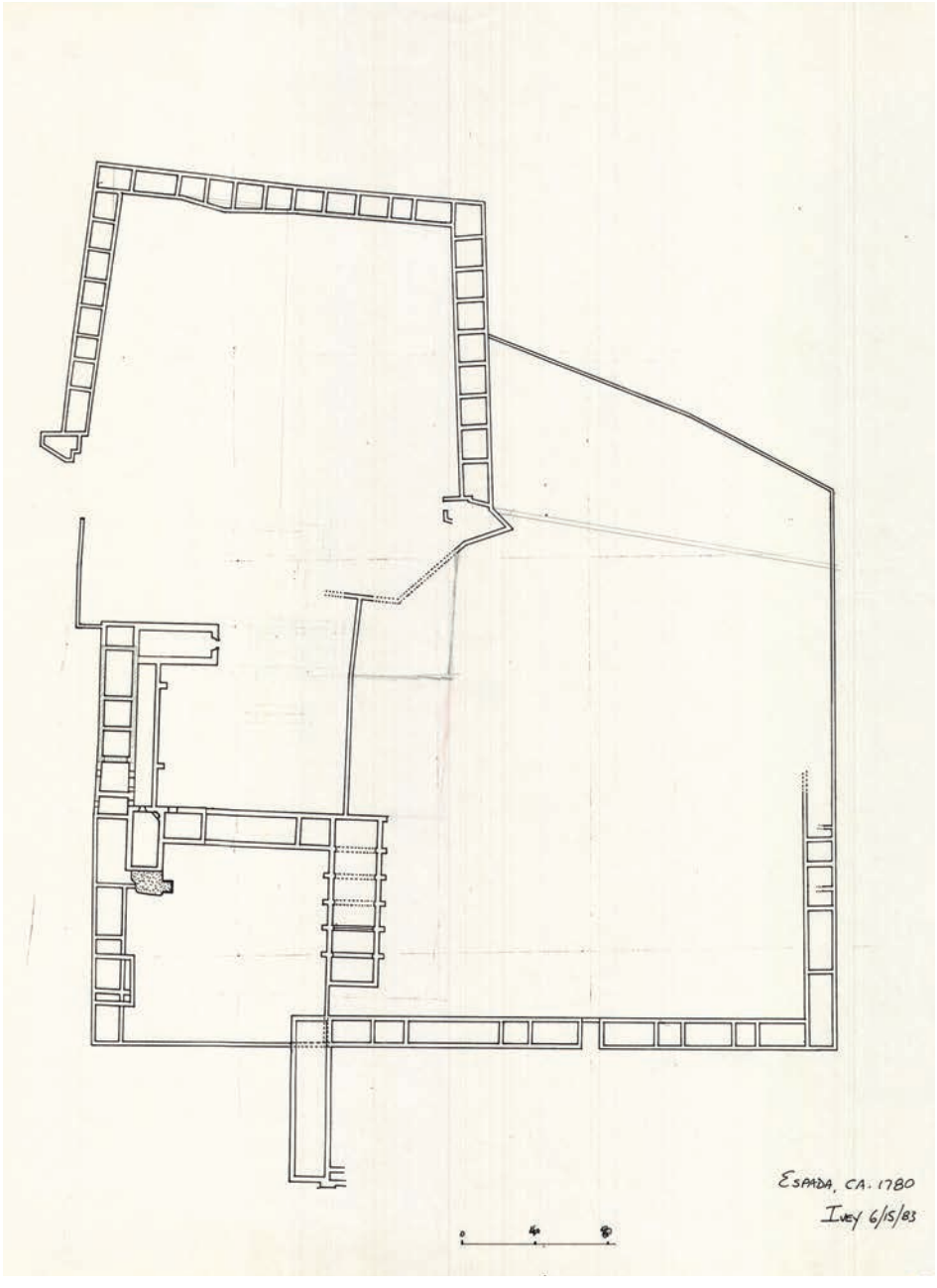


FIGURE 39: Conjectural drawing of Espada ca. 1780. In the eight years between 1778 and 1786, Espada's pueblo doubled in size. Drawing by James E. Ivey, for the National Park Service.

The statements that the church and convento form the middle of the west wall indicates that a major change to the plan of the mission, the extension of the pueblo compound to the east, had been carried out by 1786. If the plan of 1772 had been 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.

The extension of the pueblo compound to the east, undertaken, during the eight years from 1778 to 1786, effectively doubled its size. The change in design of the newer houses, to a two-room layout with more dwelling space, indicates that they were intended for people with a differing lifestyle than those for whom the original houses were built. The extension of the pueblo and the change in house plan seems to 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 Fray Morfí remarked that Espada's population consisted of 133 Indians and forty citizens, or non-Indians.[115] In 1786 López counted fifty-seven Indians in the mission.[116] 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 forty-six Indians of all ages who were still considered mission Indians, and ninety-four persons (not including children) of various ethnicities who were not.[117] This would imply that in about 1785 the number of mission Indians would have roughly equaled the number of citizens. The most likely time for the construction of the new plaza was 1778–1785.

Soon after 1780 the decision was made to expand the enclosure, and the new houses, with their two-room design, seemingly intended for the new Hispanic settlers at the mission. First, the original east wall, its row of Indian quarters, the east gate, and its fortified bastion were all torn down. The new series of houses were then built along the south and east sides of this muralla. The new design incorporates a series of two-room houses rather like those described earlier at San José, with a principal room about twenty-five feet long and a kitchen about eleven feet long, interior measurements. The width continued the standard of about eleven 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. Archaeology has shown that at least stone foundations along the east wall[118] extended somewhat farther north than the buildings recorded in 1824, but whether these were built before or after the final secularization is not known; only that they were not standing during the appraisals in the mid-1820s. This suggests that the influx of new residents at Espada never reached the number expected—but *palisado* houses could have filled the now empty spaces along the new walls. Meanwhile, most or all of the houses along the west and north walls of the older section of the pueblo continued in use.[119] All of this construction implies a great deal more change, activity, and

[115] Morfí, *Diario y Derrotero, 1777–1781*, p. 98; Morfí, *Viaje de Indios*, p. 228.

[116] López, "*Razon e Ynforme*," p. 6.

[117] Espada census, 1790, BAM.

[118] HABS, Works Progress Administration, "Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas."

[119] Saucedo, "*Abaluo de las casas y muralla de la Mision de S[a]n Francisco de la Espada*," BAM, 1824.

construction than we would expect from the traditional descriptions of the missions after 1770 as deteriorating, almost empty shells.

Partial Secularization in 1794

As we have seen at the other missions that gave up the temporalities in 1794, the inventory completed at that time 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 the evidence from the distribution of 1824 suggests that no such documents were prepared.

The distribution was concerned with making a clear record of which properties were no longer the responsibility of the Franciscans. As at San Juan, the Espada distribution was much less detailed than those for San José and Concepción. Most of the Espada documentation dealt with the ranchlands and their herds, and the farmlands.

In addition to the farmlands, the partial secularization resulted in the distribution of the tools and supplies of the blacksmith shop, carpenter's shop, weaving workshop, the weapons to defend the pueblo, and all the livestock, including eight yoke of oxen with all their equipment and eleven plows, three horses, one *yegua*, three mules with their pack-saddles and other equipment, one cow with a calf, seven pigs, 1,550 head of sheep, including 188 mutton (sheep for eating) of three years and 19 lambs, all in the care of the shepherd Joaquin Lerma.

Finally, the Indians received "*todos los bienes de temporalidades, ó comunidad* [all of the temporal or community properties]." This general phrase passed the houses to the Indian families living in them, as well as all the workshops—only the church, sacristy, and oficinas and celdas of the convento remained in the hands of the Franciscan missionaries.[120] The inventory did not include a description of any of these properties, but subsequent records, especially those of the secularization appraisal of 1824, tell us something about what happened to them in the years following the partial secularization.

[120] Manuel Muñoz and fray Pedro Noreña, "*Ynventario de los bienes de Temporalidad de la Mision de S[a]n Fran[cis]co de la Espada, Provincia de los Texas*," July 2–12, 1794, TGLO, box 122, folder 29, pp. 29–40v; a copy is in the Saltillo Archives photostats, vols. 1–7, ff. 1535–40, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas.

Chapter 9
Giving up the Temporalities at the San Antonio Missions, 1794–1824

Introduction

As the frontier became more settled in the last years of the eighteenth century, the goals and intents, and even the needs, of the missions changed. Because of the operational necessities of the mission itself, increasing numbers of Hispanic settlers began to live in the missions.[1] This increased the pressure to end the privileged condition of the missions and make them into parishes like the other small towns of the north. The first step in this normalization was the surrendering of the temporalities of the missions.

Historians have characterized the major change in management of the missions of the eastern *Provincias Internas* as a "partial secularization." Marion Habig was the first to use the phrase in connection with Texas, but Hubert Bancroft originated it when he used "partial secularization" to describe the California "emancipation" decree of 1826, when the Franciscans surrendered the temporalities of some of the California missions.[2] This, however, is poor historical methodology: using the term "partial secularization" is prejudging—it assumes that the giving up of the temporalities was being carried out as the first step toward making the mission a secular town and curacy. In reality, that the next step would be this final secularization was not a foregone conclusion. This is demonstrated by examples of "partial secularization" in 1767 and 1794 in northern Mexico that were subsequently reversed. In these cases, the missions temporalities were given up and the missions became doctrinas, but they did not then automatically become secularized a short time later. The use of a term such as "partial secularization" that suggests that the surrender of the temporalities was merely a phase of final secularization distorts our understanding of the process of mission development on the northern frontier. I have tried to avoid the phrase in this study.

Giving up the temporalities of a mission as part of its development was a common event that happened a number of times all across the northern frontier in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but for some reason it is rarely or never discussed as a recognized part of the missionization process. The Franciscans gave lip service, at least, to the step, because it allowed them to step away from the mundane world and more closely fulfill their vows of poverty, something very difficult to do when operating the "*hacienda*," the production center that was a frontier mission. The

[1] Gilberto M. Hinojosa, "The Religious-Indian Communities: The Goals of the Friars," in Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, eds., *Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), pp. 79, 80.

[2] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*:26, 66; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California, vol. 3. 1825–1840 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), p. 103.

surrender of the temporalities allowed them to withdraw from the daily management of the farms, workshops, mission trade and shipping, and the complex web of financial obligations that were so critical to a mission's operation, and focus more on ministering to the spiritual needs of their charges.[3] When this administrative step was completed, a mission was no longer a "conversión," but instead had become a "doctrina," in which the missionary was responsible only for the continued indoctrination of his community into the spiritualities, and not the temporal or secular affairs of a Hispanicized community. The movement to give up the temporalities could take either of two paths, one within the Franciscans and the other in the civil government. At various times during the late eighteenth century, the goals of both groups coincided.

There were two kinds of doctrina, the secular doctrina and the regular doctrina. In the secular doctrina, the missionaries passed the church to the ownership of the secular hierarchy, and a secular priest became the *doctrinero.* Such a doctrina was usually not considered a parish, or *cura*, although it was on the way to becoming one. Adding to the confusion, when a secular priest was not available, a regular could become the doctrinero, so that in some cases there were secular doctrinas with regular missionaries acting as the priest. A "typical" secular doctrina had these minimum characteristics:

a. The church and parish house was under the supervision of the bishop of the area;

b. Either a secular or a regular could serve as its priest;

c. The priest was not responsible for the temporalities of the settlement;

d. The individual houses, land, tools, and other property of the settlement were divided among the *vecinos* (residents) of the settlement who were considered capable of managing such properties themselves, and the excess became the property of the government.

e. The pueblo had not yet been designated a parish, and the church was not a parish church.

In the regular doctrina, one where the church remained under the control of a religious order, the missionary's responsibility was limited to "spiritual ministration."[4] That is,

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[3] For a contemporaneous discussion of this debate, see Fray José Rafael Oliva, *Management of the Missions in Texas: Fr. Jose Rafael Oliva's Views concerning the Problem of the Temporalities in 1788*, Fray Benedict Leutenegger, O.F.M., tr., Fray Marion Habig, O.F.M, ed. (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1977).

[4] Fray Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas, *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796–97*, translated and edited by Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), p. 14.

when a mission became a regular doctrina, the missionary gave up the temporalities: he surrendered the administration of the daily lives of the neophytes of a mission. In application, this meant that the houses, fields, tools, and other goods of the mission were divided up among the qualified Indians, with the excess left as community or government property, and usually a government official was given oversight of the management of this community property in place of the missionary. The church and its contents, however, remained under the administration of the regulars, rather than being turned over to the local bishop. A "typical" missionary doctrina had these characteristics:

a. It was administered by a regular order rather than by the local bishop, although the bishop assumed some supervisory powers in some cases, such as the right to visit and inspect the regular doctrina;

b. A regular rather than a secular served as its priest;

c. The priest was not responsible for the temporalities of the settlement;

d. The individual houses, land, tools, and other property of the settlement were divided among the vecinos of the settlement who were considered capable of managing such properties themselves, and the excess became the property of the government.

e. The pueblo had not yet been designated a parish, and the church was not a parish church.

Note that the significant difference was whether the regular order or the secular church administered the church of the settlement. If the church remained the responsibility of an order, rather than being turned over to the local bishop, it was a regular doctrina regardless of who served as the priest. Susan Deeds, for example, indicates this condition: "many doctrinas were secularized under the regulars who were willing to submit to episcopal control"—that is, doctrinas in the hands of the regulars were not under the control of bishops.[5]

The giving up of the temporalities of a mission was the critical and necessary step that changed a conversión to a doctrina. In Baja California and Sonora/Arizona when the Jesuits were expelled in 1767, the missions were reorganized into regular doctrinas. Matson and Fontana specifically state that in Sonora, and by extension in Baja California, the "Jesuit fathers would be replaced by doctrineros" who would be Franciscan missionaries, and the Franciscans would "administer the churches as doctrinas rather than as conversiones."[6] The missions were not given to the secular church at any point in the shifting administrative structure. This effort was a failure,

[5] Susan Deeds, "Rendering Unto Caesar: The Secularization of Jesuit Missions in Mid-Eighteenth Century Durango," PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 1981, pp. 35–37.

[6] Bringas, *Friar Bringas Reports*, pp. 18–19.

and the missions were soon returned to the status of conversiónes—the missionaries became responsible for the temporalities again.

In each of these cases, the missionary gave up control of the temporalities of the mission and the land, houses and tools of the mission were distributed among the Indians, but the mission remained the administrative responsibility of the Franciscan order. However, in most missions those Indians thought to be unready for self-determination were left under the control of the missionary, who continued to manage their individual temporalities—that is, it was common for the surrender of the temporalities at a given mission to be less than complete.

Hispanics in the Missions

One factor strongly influencing the movement of the missions toward a more secular position was the increasing Hispanic presence in the missions. After the colonization of Nuevo Santander by José de Escandon in 1750, his vision of the missions in close proximity to Spanish settlements for the benefit of both led to a revision of ideas about the separation of the "Republic" of Indians and that of the *gente de razon*, resulting in calls for the integration of Indian and Hispanic societies in a new approach to the mission—an early expression of the Humanistic ideals of the Bourbon royalty of Spain. As a result, by 1772, Luis Antonio Menchaca, commander of the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar, was recommending that towns of citizens be set up next to the missions of San Antonio.[7] This recommendation was apparently accepted by the new Commandant General of the Internal Provinces soon after the establishment of this office in 1776; by the 1780s, in the *Instruccion para el Ministro de la Mision de la Purísima Concepción*, it is stated that "[d]ealing and communications between the Indians and the Spaniards are not only allowed but are commanded by the Commandant General."[8] In 1793 the viceroy Revillagigedo recommended that families of gente de razon be introduced into every mission to help in the instruction of the Indians, through example and other means, so long as they be industrious, honest, and well-behaved.

These ideas led to conflicts about mission management between government officials and the missions in California in the 1770s and 1780s, and to the establishment of the missions to the Yuma, which resulted in the rebellion of 1781 and the destruction of these experimental missions. In San Fernando, Texas, it clearly was the impetus for the placing of Hispanic settlers in the missions.[9]

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[7] Hinojosa, "The Goals of the Friars," pp. 79–80.

[8] *Instruccion para el Ministro de la Mision de la Purísima Concepción*, p. 48.

[9] Francis F. Guest, *Hispanic California Revisited: Essays by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M.* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1996), p. 95, 96; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 257–58, 261; Mark

Hispanics residing in the missions increased from 1772, but Gilberto Hinojosa sees them as primarily hired people with craft skills, outsiders working at the missions "in order to keep them economically viable." Hinojosa said that "while the friars had at first insisted on segregation, in time they increasingly brought into the missions more soldiers and townspeople who unavoidably acted as agents of acculturation for the mission residents, and by the end of the century the once-Indian pueblos came to resemble Hispanic villas in practically everything save legal status." Hinojosa described the situation in Texas very much like Californian historians do that state: "these economically depressed and demographically small communities continued to control immense properties, resources that the town dwellers and the soldiers quite naturally wished to exploit. To achieve that goal, the latter urged the government to end the corporate privileges of the missions and allow them (the settlers) to exploit the lands and herds used by so few residents who were only technically 'Indian.'"[10] This pressure toward privatizing the mission lands, very like the situation in California in the early nineteenth century, eventually contributed to the movement to surrender the temporalities of the Texas missions.

The Movement to Surrender the Temporalities in Texas Missions

Curiously, the various governmental designs for the "partial secularization" or surrendering of the temporalities of the Texas missions all seem to have originated with one man, the Asesor General Pedro Galindo Navarro, over the period from the first suggestion to secularize Valero in 1778, through the actual secularization of Valero in 1793 and the giving up of the temporalities of the other missions of Texas in 1794.

Galindo Navarro, in 1776 a lawyer newly arrived from Spain, had been appointed asesor by the Caballero Teodoro de Croix as one of Croix's first actions upon taking the position of Comandante General of the Provincias Internas, a military command independent of the viceroy that was responsible for the protection of the entire northern frontier.[11] Galindo Navarro accompanied Croix on his inspection tour of the frontier. They visited San Antonio in December 1777, through January 1778. While Croix was there, the outgoing governor Ripperdá raised the question of what to do about the Los Adaes refugees. Los Adaes, the original capital of Texas, had been established as a presidio in 1721. Over the next fifty years, a civil community of perhaps 500 people grew up around the presidio, as usually happened in New Spain. Spain acquired the Louisiana Territory in 1764, rendering the Presidio de los Adaes useless as a bastion of the frontier. In 1772, the viceroy ordered the closing of Presidio de los Adaes and the transfer of its inhabitants to San Fernando. In January 1778, these

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Santiago, *Massacre at the Yuma Crossing: Spanish Relations with the Quechans, 1779–1782* (Tucson: the University of Arizona Press, 1998).

[10] Hinojosa, "The Goals of the Friars," pp. 79–82.

[11] Max L. Moorhead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), p. 77.

refugees presented a formal petition to governor Ripperdá to be granted land of their own to replace the land the government had deprived them of at Los Adaes.[12]

Commandante General Croix and his associates considered several alternatives, one of which was the possibility of secularizing Valero and giving some of the mission farm land and houses to the Los Adaes refugees. A formal set of recommendations from the new governor, Domingo Cabello (who took over from Ripperdá about February 1778, and who was also undoubtedly in the gathering), was sent to Croix in June 1778, after Croix had left Texas. These recommendations undoubtedly were those roughed out during the gathering. Croix sent the recommendations on to Galindo Navarro for his evaluation.[13]

A year later, in June 1779, Galindo Navarro presented his evaluation of the recommendations. He stated that the best solution seemed to be the secularization of Valero and the settling of those Los Adaes refugees still remaining in San Antonio on the excess lands of the mission. Galindo Navarro then outlined a procedure by which Valero would be secularized, and the principal points that should be provided for in the secularization orders. Galindo Navarro proposed that governor Cabello be instructed to inventory the mission property, order the withdrawal of the two missionaries, and join the remaining Indians to the parish of the Villa de San Fernando. The lands of Valero would be surveyed and made a part of the jurisdiction of the villa by formal proclamation, divided into plats, and distributed—first among the Indians, then among the Adaesanos. The pastures and ranchlands would also be distributed, but a portion would be kept for the Villa de San Fernando.[14] Most of these points were included in the final secularization and distribution of Valero property in 1793, and we may presume that Galindo Navarro's recommendations were used as the basis for the actual secularization order when it was eventually promulgated.[15]

Galindo Navarro's recommendations were accepted by Croix, and immediately the Comandante General ordered governor Cabello to put Galindo Navarro's plan to secularize Valero into effect. Cabello, for reasons that are unclear, did not carry out the

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[12] Gerald E. Poyo, "Immigrants and Integration in Late Eighteenth-Century Bexar," in Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, eds., *Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), pp. 96, 103.

[13] Castañeda, Carlos E. *The Mission Era: The Passing of the Missions, 1762–1782, vol. 4, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1939), pp. 352–54.

[14] Castañeda, *The Passing of the Missions*, pp. 352–53.

[15] Castañeda, *The Passing of the Missions*, pp. 352–354; Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Mission Era: The End of the Spanish Regime, 1780–1810, vol. 5, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1942), pp. 40–46; Jesús F. de la Teja*, San Antonio De Bexar, a Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), pp. 85–86; Manuel Muñoz, "Autos del Governador Manuel Muñoz," February 23–April 24, 1793, Saltillo Archives, vol. 5, pp. 227–54.

secularization. Carlos Castañeda suggests that Cabello felt that "so radical and sweeping an innovation should come from the king."[16]

Croix sent a second order to Cabello in March 1781 to carry out the secularization plan as he had been commanded. Again, nothing happened. In August 1781, Croix asked the king for approval of the secularization, and in May 1782 was notified that the king had given his approval. Nevertheless, the secularization was not carried out until eleven years later, in 1793.[17]

Meanwhile, both the Querétarans and Zacatecans had been arguing among themselves for some time about the surrender of the temporalities of some of the Texas missions.[18] The Querétarans had proposed as early as 1759 to release the temporalities of their Texas missions, and had repeated this offer in 1762.[19] Ultimately, they took over the ex-Jesuit missions of Sonora and Arizona in 1768, and passed the Texas missions to the Zacatecans in 1772.[20] Soon after inheriting the Querétaran missions of Texas, the Zacatecans began pushing for surrendering the temporalities, as well.

In July 1779, the college of Zacatecas indicated their agreement with the determination of Asesor Galindo Navarro and Commandante Croix that Valero should be secularized. They petitioned Croix that this be done, and the number of missionaries at the other missions be reduced in order to open new missions to the Tarahumara.[21] Following the logic of these decisions to their obvious conclusions, in January 7, 1780, the college asked Croix that they be relieved of the temporalities of the Texas

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[16] Castañeda, *The Passing of the Missions*, pp. 354–56.

[17] Castañeda, *The Passing of the Missions*, p. 356.

[18] Castañeda, *The End of the Spanish Regime*, p. 25.

[19] Jackson, Jack *Los Mesteños: Spanish Ranching in Texas, 1721–1821* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986), pp. 99–100; Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, *"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,"* in *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas o Nueva Philipinas, 1720–1779*, ed. José Porrua Turanzas (Madrid: *Coleccion Chimalistic de Libros y Documentos Acerca de la Nueva Espana*, 1961), p. 272.

[20] John L. Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier, 1767–1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), pp. 17-25, 85, 101; Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, Inventory of the Mission San Antonio De Valero: 1772, Fray Benedict Leutenegger, ed. and trans., Office of the State Archeologist Special Report No. 23 (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1977), p. 3.

[21] Leutenegger, Fray Benedict, and Fray Marion A. Habig, *The Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas, 1716–1834: Excerpts from the Libros De Los Decretos of the Missionary College of Zacatecas, 1701–1828,* Office of the State Archeologist Report, no. 23 (Austin: Texas Historical Survey Committee, 1973), p. 30.

missions.[22] A remark in the Zacatecan council records in 1782 indicates that the closing of Valero and the freeing of missionaries that would be used to set up new missions to the Tarahumara was stopped by a Texas governor, referring to Cabello's refusal to carry out the secularization of Valero.[23]

The effort lapsed, and no further reference was made to the secularization of missions in Texas until November 1788, when a debate again began at Zacatecas over Texas mission secularization, specifically returning to the proposal for the secularization of Valero and the reducing of the other four missions to two, combining Concepción with San Juan under one missionary, and Espada with San José under another.[24] The debate continued into January of 1789, and was ultimately referred to the Father President of Texas, Fray José Rafael Oliva, who was requested to consider the matter and inform the board at Zacatecas of his recommendations.[25] Oliva sent three major letters to Zacatecas discussing the problem of the temporalities in Texas, ultimately indicating his approval for the surrender of the temporalities of the Texas missions.[26]

As the result of this debate, in January 1792, the council at Zacatecas authorized Fray Manuel Silva, Prefect of the College of Zacatecas, to again propose to civil authorities the secularizing of Valero, and the consolidation of the other four missions of San Antonio into two missions where the missionaries no longer had to tend the temporalities of the residents.[27] Castañeda describes Silva's offer to secularize the San Antonio missions as based on his urge to establish new missions to the Karankawa, Tawakoni, and Taovayas Indians of Texas away from the Hispanic settlements.[28] The suppression of Valero and reducing the four remaining missions to two would supply him with the personnel and finances necessary to establish missions to these groups. This was approved in September 1792 by the acting governor of Texas, Manuel Ignacio

[22] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, p. 31.

[23] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, p. 38; Castañeda, *The Passing of the Missions*, p. 356.

[24] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, p. 54.

[25] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, pp. 56, 137; Fray José Rafael Oliva, *Management of the Missions in Texas: Fray José Oliva's Views Concerning the Problem of the Temporalities in 1788, Documentary Series, vol. 2* (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1977), p. 5.

[26] Oliva, *Management*.

[27] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, p. 73.

[28] Castañeda, *The End of the Spanish Regime*, p. 36.

de Escandón y Llera, the second Conde de Sierra Gorda, who in his assessment referred to the earlier attempt to secularize Valero.[29]

However, the Count confused the earlier events: he said that governor Hugo Oconor (1767–1770) had ordered the distribution of Valero's land, and his successor governor Ripperdá (1770–1778) had appointed Simón de Arocha to carry out the secularization. There was an episode when governor Oconor ordered that the lands of Valero be surveyed, and governor Ripperdá ordered Simón de Arocha to submit a survey of the lands of Valero, among others, for the consideration of the viceroy, but this was not part of the steps taken to secularize Valero in 1778–1781, in which Ripperdá had been involved in the last days of his appointment. Rather, these events took place during a major lawsuit over the ranching property of the missions in 1768–1772. In January 1770, Oconor had appointed Simón de Arocha as his subdelegate in San Fernando to carry out the survey and collection of testimony on the boundaries and use of mission lands, including that of Valero, and governor Ripperdá, who had taken over from Interim Governor Hugo Oconor in February or March 1770, received the order to stop the survey and submit the results in September.[30] The count of Sierra Gorda obviously heard of this episode, and somehow confused it with Ripperdá's involvement with the movement to secularize Valero beginning in 1778.

The Count outlined a process for the secularization of Valero that he appears to have taken from the plan first recommended by Galindo Navarro in 1779. Viceroy Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco sent the count's report and the proposal to a Junta superior, which evaluated the plan and gave its approval. The viceroy then issued final orders to carry it out in January 1793, and in February, Governor Manuel Muñoz commanded that the secularization of Valero be carried out according to the orders of the viceroy.[31]

Carlos Castañeda, in his description of this sequence of events, says that the viceroy's orders were construed beyond their original intent, resulting in the secularization of all the Texas missions over the next year.[32] However, this was not the case—a misunderstanding of the difference between surrendering the temporalities and secularization led Castañeda astray. For one thing, only the secularization of Valero

[29] Manuel Ignacio de Escandón y Llera, Conde de Sierra Gorda, was the son of the first Conde de Sierra Gorda, José de Escandón y Elguera, the colonizer of Nuevo Santander.

[30] Cornide y Saavedra, "Expediente," June 12, 1770, with acknowledgement by Ripperdá dated September 2, 1770, Texas General Land Office, Spanish Archives (TGLOSA), box 122, folder 3, pp. 25–28v; petition of Martin de la Peña, July 4, 1770, TGLOSA, box 121, folder 26, p. 85.

[31] Castañeda, *The End of the Spanish Regime*, pp. 39–40; Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 85; Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 66.

[32] Castañeda, *The End of the Spanish Regime*, p. 40. Felix Almaraz, in *The San Antonio Missions and their System of Land Tenure* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), follows Castañeda's characterization of this episode as a "secularization," p. 18.

was authorized by the order of the viceroy, and this was the only secularization carried out. The Provincias Internas had just gone through a period where their supervision had been in the hands of the viceroy, from 1786 to early 1793. The order from the viceroy to secularize Valero had arrived just before the end of this period of viceregal command, but did not include any determination about the other San Antonio missions. After about the end of February 1793, the authority to determine the fate of the missions passed from the viceroy and returned to the Comandante General. Giving up the temporalities of the other missions of San Antonio in 1794, although requested in the same petitions from the Zacatecan *discretorio* as the proposal to secularize Valero, was carried out not as the result of the viceroy's order for secularization of Valero, but as the result of a separate sequence of administrative decisions by assessor Galindo Navarro under the authority of the Commandante General.

Earlier, as the first decision to secularize Valero was being delayed in San Antonio in 1780, King Carlos III had issued an order for the viceroy to prepare a new set of regulations for the administration of the missions. When Teodoro de Croix, Comandante General of the Provincias Internas and independent of the viceroy, received a copy of the order for enactment in the Provincias Internas, the offer from the Zacatecan Discretorio for the secularization of Valero and the surrendering of the temporalities of the other four missions of San Antonio had just arrived as well. A significant part of the new regulations were to deal with the administration of the temporal property of the missions. Croix requested Galindo Navarro to give the order some consideration. Galindo Navarro's immediate opinion was that the question required some study because the decision would apply to all the Provincias Internas, and the Zacatecans' offer to surrender the temporalities of the missions other than Valero should not be accepted until that study had been complete.[33] No further reference to this study is available, but the continued lack of action on the repeated Zacatecan offers to surrender the temporalities of the San Antonio missions suggests that it was not completed during the decade of the 1780s.

Although presently we do not have Galindo Navarro's final conclusion, we can see something of its characteristics: on October 8, 1793, he issued an opinion to Pedro de Nava, Comandante General from 1788 to 1802, that the property of the missions of the Tarahumara and Tepehuana that had been placed in the General Fund of the Temporalities, originally maintained by the expelled Jesuits, should be returned to the natives. This opinion apparently included a number of recommendations for the revision of the method of management of missions on the northern frontier. Nava incorporated Galindo Navarro's judgment into a new set of requirements for the

[33] Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, revised ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), pp. 1617; Moorhead, *The Presidio*, 76–94; Castañeda, *The End of the Spanish Regime*, pp. 26–27; Royal Cédula of June 14, 1780, in Galindo Navarro to Croix, July 20, 1781, Saltillo Archives, vol. 5, pp. 5–6.

administration of the temporalities in all the missions under his jurisdiction in the Provincias Internas.[34]

As a result, on April 10, 1794, Nava sent his decree of management reform to the governors of his provinces, for all the missions in his jurisdiction more than ten years old.[35] At the time, his jurisdiction included Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Mexico, Coahuila, and Texas, but not California.[36] The decree began:

> In accordance with that [opinion] the Lord Asesor [Galindo Navarro] of this Comandancia General presented in the judgment of October 8 of the year [1793] just past, concerning the crucial *expediente* in which was decreed the restitution to the missions of the two Tarahumaras and Tepehuanes of their funds that had been taken into the Fondo General de Temporalidades of the expelled Jesuits, among other things the following has resulted . . .[37]

In the decree, Nava made a number of provisions, based on Galindo Navarro's recommendations and citing some regulations of the *Leyes de las Indias* and the *Real Ordenanza de Yntendencias.*[38] His first item was the simple statement that the "old method of community life which had been observed and followed in the administration of the temporal possessions" of the missions was "immediately revoked

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[34] Pedro de Nava, "*Conformándome con lo que expuso el S[eño]r Asesor de esta comandancia General en dictamen de 8 de octubre del año último . . . ,*" in *"Ynventario de los Bienes de Temporalidad de la Mision de S[eñor] S[an] José,"* April 10, 1794, San José Papers, Part II: August 1791–June 1809 (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1983), pp. 93–108.

[35] Mardith K. Schuetz,"The Indians of the San Antonio Missions 1718–1821," dissertation, University of Texas, 1980, p. 313

[36] Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981) p. 64; Gerhard, *The Northern Frontier of New Spain*, pp. 16–17. At this time, the Californias were no longer under the authority of the Commandant General, but directly under the management of the viceroy.

[37] Manuel Muñoz and Fray Josef Maria de Jesus Camarena, *"Ynventario de los bienes de Temporalidad de la Mission de la Purisima Concepcion, Entregados á los Yndios de ella consiguiente á orden del Señor Comandante G[ene]ral Brig[adi]er D[o]n Pedro de Nava de 10 de Abril de este corriente año comunicada al Governador de esta Provincia de los Texas Th[enient]e Cor[one]l D[o]n Manuel Muñoz,"* April 10, 1794, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records no. 28, pp. 1–8

[38] Nava, *"Conformándome,"* pp. 93–108; Schuetz, "Indians," pp. 314–15; Castañeda, *The End of the Spanish Regime,* pp. 46–47.

and abolished."[39] The Indians were guaranteed their freedom to manage their livestock, operate their fields, and care for their families. Each Indian was to receive a specific portion of the mission fields, sufficient for his family needs but not in excess of those needs. Another portion of the fields was to be held as communal lands. Pasturage and ranch lands at a distance from the missions could be used by the Indians for their livestock, or leased to non-Indians. Lands granted to individual Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; if it was abandoned for more than two years it would be forfeited and granted to someone more deserving. All Indians were required to work in the communal fields. A *juez español* or alcalde would be appointed to act as the manager of the mission for the king. Subsequently all unapportioned mission houses and land were available to be granted to others. Finally, "the religious who administer missions, and those secular ecclesiastics who are parish doctrineros of the Indians, are released from the care and management of the temporalities of their pueblos that have been in their charge until now ..."[40] When this decree was applied to the Texas missions, the Franciscans gave up control of the temporalities of the mission, but retained the mission church and the administration of the spiritualities as the responsibility of their order. The missions were changed from conversiónes to doctrinas.

The similarity with the earlier Jesuit expulsion and its aftermath in Baja California and Sonora is clear. Matson and Fontana referred to Nava's 1794 event in the same terms as they describe the Baja California administrative change: they said that by Nava's order, "the doctrinas [of Baja California and Sonora] were being proposed all over again." John Kessell agreed: Nava's decree would cause the "missions [of Arizona to] be turned into doctrinas." In Arizona, the missionaries appealed and Nava's order was suspended in that province. The same thing happened again in Arizona in 1828, but this time no appeal was filed and the missions became doctrinas.[41]

The Discretorio of Zacatecas considered Nava's order to be giving them what they had asked for. On May 30, 1794, they stated, for the record, "We read a letter from the commandant general, Don Pedro de Nava, in which he says that he has resolved to relieve the religious missionaries of the provinces under his command from the care of temporalities of the missions, giving it to the royal judges; this decision was accepted with good grace."[42] By their own remarks, the Zacatecan Discretorio made it clear that this was only a change in administration—the surrendering of the temporalities—not a secularization. For example, in June 1798, the council remarked that the mission of Refugio was "under the fr. President of Texas, just as the other missions and their

[39] Nava, "Conformándome," p. 94.

[40] Castañeda, *The End of the Spanish Regime*, p. 48; Nava, "Conformándome," p. 107.

[41] Bringas, *Friar Bringas Reports*, p. 22; Kessell, *Friars,* pp. 182, 270–71, 277–80, 297, 301, 311.

[42] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, p. 87. The terms of this statement indicate the Discretorio had received a copy of Nava's order of April 10, 1794.

missionaries,"[43] making it clear that although the missionaries no longer controlled the temporalities of the missions, they continued in the hands of the missionary college of Zacatecas.

As we have seen, Carlos Castañeda considered the 1794 surrender of the temporalities to have been a full, not a partial, secularization. However, the Zacatecan records and the Comandante General's order leaves no doubt that only the temporalities were being removed from the hands of the missionaries; the missions continued under their management. Although at two of the missions, San Juan and Concepción, the conventos were made available for use by the community (Espada's convento followed about 1815), no inventory of the church and its contents, sacred vestments, or vessels was ordered, made or transferred in any way to secular authorities, while the fields, tools, cattle and houses were divided among the Indians of the mission.

No secular religious of any sort took part in the transfer, or received any part of the mission for the Ordinary. This is very different from the documentation of the Valero transfer of 1793, which included a detailed inventory of the church, its vestments and other religious items, and the specific transfer of the church and sacristy to the secular church. And it is different from the secularization of the other four San Antonio missions in 1824, which includes the same documentation and transfer for the four remaining mission churches and sacristies. At the same time, although the transfer of the temporalities in 1794 changed the missions to doctrinas, the missionaries remained responsible for the temporalities of a few Indians at each mission, ruled to be not yet ready for emancipation. They continued managing the lives and property of these Indians as they had done before.

As a result of this sequence of administrative decisions, Valero was completely secularized in 1793, while the other missions became doctrinas in 1794, remained doctrinas for the next thirty years, and were secularized in 1824.[44] The 1793 secularization of Valero will be discussed in Chapter 10, while the surrender of the temporalities of the other four missions in 1794 is discussed here.

The period from 1794 to 1824 is very poorly known, although well-documented, and only a brief sketch is offered here. Part of the problem is that after the surrender of the temporalities, the mission lands were owned by individual occupants, and rather than being a matter of church record, after this date many property transfers were recorded in the San Antonio civil records, although frequently as inclusions in other, later deeds. Because the centralized mission authority no longer extended over the houses and

[43] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, p. 97.

[44] Mission Concepción is an odd case within this broad outline of events—it was abandoned as a mission visita about 1813 and was apparently no longer an operating doctrina after about that date. It was, however, secularized along with the other missions in 1824.

lands of the individual missions, such transfers are the only source of descriptions of these areas, and would be a good topic for a future research project on mission lands.

San José After 1794

Because of the simplification of the duties of a missionary in a doctrina, the burden of operating an individual mission was considerably lessened. As a result, the council of Zacatecas had intended to combine several of the new doctrinas under single missionaries from the beginning of the movement to surrender the temporalities of the Texas missions, but never settled on a specific set of combinations.[45] Finally, with the surrender of the temporalities, San Juan became a visita of Espada, and Concepción a visita of San José—that is, the missionaries at San Juan and San José ministered to both their own congregations and the congregations of Espada and Concepción as well.[46] About 1813, the missions were reduced further, and the three southernmost missions all became visitas of San José, with a single missionary ministering to all four.[47]

The Church and Sacristy at San José

As of 1794, the retablo remained in place over the main altar, with all of its statues and other images, but no mention was made of the two side altars.[48] The sacristy was divided into two rooms by a wall across it just west of the doorway into the church; a doorway through this wall gave access to the west half of the room. In the sacristy were the vestments for San José, as well as all the vestments and altar furnishings for Concepción after about 1815, kept at San José when services were discontinued at Concepción.[49]

Convento

Because San José had become the primary mission of San Antonio and the others reduced to its visitas, the San José convento continued in use throughout the period from 1794 to 1824. As a result, unlike the other mission conventos, the convento of San José was kept up during these years, and was not divided among private owners. The resident missionary lived in the western rooms, and the eastern rooms fell into ruin.

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[45] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, pp. 73, 87, 89.

[46] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, pp. 142, 219–20.

[47] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, pp. 104, 107, 142, 178, 180, 220–21.

[48] Bachillor Francisco Maynes, and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario general y particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la ciudad de Bexar de la Provincia de Texas, llamadas San José de Aguayo; La Purisima Concepcion de Acuna; San Juan de Capistrano; y San Francisco de Asis (vulg[Aremente] de la Espada),"* February 29, 1824, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 4, f. 5571.

[49] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 5576.

The distribution of the lands of San José in 1794 gives us a little more information about the size of the area that could be cultivated and the actual area under cultivation in the last decade of the mission under the direct administration of the Franciscans. Thirty *suertes* (lots), each 300 by 200 varas, or 309 acres of farmland, were distributed among the thirty Indian families, and an additional eight suertes, 400 by 200 varas, or 110 acres, were allotted as common lands for the pueblo, for a total of about 420 acres of land that could be cultivated. The distribution document remarked that more land was available, but there were not enough people at the mission to use it. Furthermore, the document indicated that the acequia system and *cortadores*, the secondary channels of the ditches, already existed in these fields: "there are also lands that in the times that the number of Indians increases, this mission might plow and plant them, the acequias and side channels of which are also assured, and only at the cost of clearing it and cleaning the said acequias."[50]

A little more than four and one-half fanegas de mais, more than forty acres of the fields, were planted in corn.[51] The fields also contained 207,186 *cañas de castilla*, sugarcane plants from Spain, planted in 186 rows, occupying four *tablas*. The word tabla was used throughout the inventories to indicate an area of ground that seems to have been a standard amount. This informal term has no generally accepted definition, but the information in the 1794 San José inventory allows us to make a rough calculation of how much acreage this was. The numbers give us 1,114 plants per row. Assuming a row spacing of about three feet and a plant spacing of about three feet, the total area is 558 feet by 3,342 feet, or 204 by 1,220 varas, about 42.8 acres. Note that this is the same as four of the standard 200 by 300 vara suertes end to end, if we changed the spacing slightly from three feet to 2.96 feet, or 1.08 varas. In other words, with these assumptions, each of the four tablas of cane would have been a standard suerte in size, or about 10.3 acres in area. It is probable, then, that one tabla was one planted suerte, and usually equal to one of the smaller, 200 by 300 vara suertes. There are references to a "large tabla," as for example in 1757;[52] this was probably a planted suerte of the larger 200 by 400 vara size used for the establishment of community farmlands. The inventory added that one additional tabla, presumably the standard 10.3 acres, was planted in a *quartilla* (1/48 of a fanega, or a little less than a tenth of a bushel) of cotton.

The list of names in the 1794 inventory and subsequent censuses tell us who was living at the mission, but not where. Through the thirty years that the mission was a doctrina,

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[50] Manuel Muñoz and Fray José Manuel Pedrajo, *"Ynventario de los bienes de temporalidad de la Mision de S[eñor] S[an] José, Provincia de Texas,"* July 30, 1794, TGLO, box 122, folder 8, pp. 104v–105.

[51] Muñoz and Pedrajo, *"Ynventario de los bienes . . . S[eñor] S[an] José,"* 1794, pp. 104v–105.

[52] Fray Yldephonso Marmolejo, *"Ymbentario y aumentos que hizo en la Mission de S[eño]r S[a]n J[ose]ph, siendo en ella M[i]n[is]tro, el R[everendo] P[adre] ex Guardian Fr[ay] Yldephonso Marmolejo,"* August, 1757, OSMHRL, Celaya Archives microfilm, roll 8, f. 5254.

the number of houses slowly declined. By the early 1820s, three houses remained on the north wall, only two of which had roofs; six houses still stood along the east wall, none of which had roofs; two houses survived on the south wall, and of these, only one had a roof, covering half of the house. Most of the occupants of the mission lived on the west wall during these years. Here, eight houses survived to the 1820s, of which seven were roofed. The majority of the houses still owned and occupied at the time of the 1824 appraisal were on the west wall. At the northwest corner, José Antonio Bustillos, the alcalde español of Espada, granted the granary to José Antonio Huizar as a dwelling on July 22, 1815.[53]

Concepción After the Surrender of the Temporalities in 1794

Because our knowledge of what happened at the missions after the distribution of 1794 largely comes from the 1824 secularization inventory and appraisal, and because Concepción was abandoned about 1813 with the result that there was no final detailed inventory, at least that has been located so far, we know less about Concepción's land use during these years.

With the surrender of the temporalities, Concepción became a visita of San José.[54] The community of Concepción deteriorated after the partition of 1794. By 1809 there were twenty-one Indians living in the old houses around the plaza, and thirty-two Spaniards living either within the plaza or in houses on the labores of the mission.[55] The turmoil of the revolutionary period from 1811 to about 1821 caused many changes in the population both of the missions and of the town. 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. The army of Bernardo Gutiérrez captured the mission and used it as headquarters during the siege of San Antonio in 1813.[56] After relative peace was restored, a few families returned, and by 1815 there were sixteen Indians and twenty Spanish settlers living in the mission. In that year the Franciscans stopped holding services at Concepción, and from that time on, burials of mission citizens were carried out at San José.

By the time of Mexican Independence in 1821, the Indian quarters had almost entirely collapsed, and the acequia system had silted up to uselessness. A few Hispanic families were attempting to dry-farm, with some success, while virtually all of the Indian

[53] José Antonio Bustillos, to José Antonio Huizar, July 22, 1815, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. J-1, pp. 94–98; José Antonio Bustillos, to José Antonio Huizar, July 22, 1815, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 71, Spanish transcript, p. 7.

[54] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 142.

[55] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 143.

[56] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 144.

families had moved away.[57] By 1822, an investigation by Fray José Antonio Diaz de Leon was able to locate only thirteen natives of the mission, none of whom actually lived at the mission or used their land.[58] By the time the mission was secularized in 1824, most of the Indian quarters had been abandoned for some time, and most of them had collapsed.[59]

The Church and Sacristy

In the period between 1806 and 1813 was the *Insurgencia*, the rebellion against the Spanish crown controlled by Napoleon of France, which culminated in 1813. 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 in use in the parish church of San Fernando, while one medium-sized bell "made in one casting," and one small bell remained at Concepción.[60] In storage at San José were the remains of a fourth bell, consisting of the "round," or rim, and some other fragments, which had been broken up to be used for making cannister shot for the cannons of the town during the "recent troubles" (probably in 1813).[61] All the vestments and altar furnishings for Concepción were kept at San José after services were discontinued at Concepción about 1815.[62] Some of the religious equipment from Concepción had been loaned to the parish church of San Fernando in San Antonio by Fray Francisco Frexes about 1818 rather than being stored at San José.[63]

The Convento

The Concepción convento was empty after the 1794 surrender of the temporalities, because Concepción had no resident missionary after that date. However, there is no indication that the building was used by private owners during this period. When it was sold to Ramón Músquiz in 1824, there was no suggestion that there had been any prior occupants.

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[57] Rosalind Z. Rock, Archival Research Project on the San Antonio Missions During the Mexican Period, 1821–1836, (San Antonio: National Park Service, 1982), pp. 20–23.

[58] Rock, Archival Research, pp. 21, 22.

[59] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, pp. 141–146.

[60] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5575.

[61] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, ff. 5577, 5575.

[62] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 145; Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5576.

[63] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5575.

At some time after 1794 but before 1806, a room was constructed on the southern end of the granary; the granary and probably the room at its south end were already in ruins by the time José Antonio Huizar petitioned to be granted the structures in 1806. The room at the south end of the granary probably housed the carpenter's shop, for which tools had been stored since the first years of the mission. The room was not described in any mission inventory or report; its outline was found by archaeological reports in 1980–1981. It was of substantial stone construction, and was built across the foundations of the east end of the early convento's north wing.[64]

The sale by the Spanish government of the granary and its associated rooms to José Antonio Huizar in 1806 was one of the earliest sales of a building of the mission to a non-Indian. Unfortunately, the documents recording this sale have been misread in one twentieth-century study by Felix Almaráz.[65] In 1989 Almaráz published *The San Antonio Missions and their System of Land Tenure*, a short study of the history of ownership and use of San Antonio mission land.[66] Almaráz examined deed records, archival materials, and archaeological reports to prepare a narrative of the changes in administration and method of land tenure at the missions. In general, the work is a short, concise summary of the fate of mission lands. In discussing the principal buildings of each mission, Almaráz described the location and ownership history of the granary at Mission Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Acuña. He said that there was a "modest controversy concerning its exact location," and offered his interpretation of that location and the granary's ownership history.[67] His research, however, contained a serious error that resulted in the mistaken placement of the granary at the northwest corner of the mission compound, and Almaráz's conclusion that it had probably been destroyed by road construction.

Almaráz had good cause to take the position he did. He found documentary evidence that appeared to both contradict the conclusions reached by my archaeological investigations, and to be quite clear in its statements about ownership and location of the granary. Essentially, he had to decide whether to trust the documents or the archaeological reports, and chose to trust the documents. This is good policy; whenever

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[64] James E. Ivey, "Excavations at Mission Concepción," in Archeological Investigations at Mission Concepción and Mission Parkway, Archeological Survey Report (San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas, 1999), pp. 10–15, 49.

[65] Almaráz*, Land Tenure*, pp. 34–36.

[66] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, pp. 34–36.

[67] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, p. 34. Dr. Almaráz did not indicate that it was my work he was questioning, or cite the report containing the conclusions he disagreed with, Ivey, "Mission Concepción." Such an approach gives no opportunity for other historians and archaeologists to look more deeply into the questions Almaráz raised. Almaráz's argument is reviewed here in order to allow such an appraisal.

there is a conflict between pieces of evidence in historical research, trust the source that experience tells you is more dependable. In this case, however, Almaráz should have mistrusted the documents, and examined them more closely.

In the Bexar County Archives are a collection of documents called the Mission Records. They are a random group of letters, deeds, and official communications that had been considered to pertain more to county records than to the records of the city and Presidio de Béjar, and were left in San Antonio when the Bexar Archives were separated out and moved to the University of Texas.

Mission Records documents MR-70 and MR-71 record the grant of a mission granary to José Antonio Huizar.[68] It is these two documents that prompted Almaráz to decide that the granary of Mission Concepción was at the northwest corner of the compound.[69] MR-70 is a certified copy, while MR-71 is the original expediente. MR-71 was prepared on July 22, 1815, as Huizar's copy of the proceedings, and contains several details about subsequent transactions not in the original.[70]

The Huizar grant is a confused document, dealing with land at both Mission Concepción and Mission San José. In the original petition, Huizar requested that he be granted a tract of land in the labores of Concepción that his family had been cultivating for many years. He described the land as being bounded by the road to San José, the river, and the acequia that flowed out from the mission. Almaráz translates the petition as saying that this was the acequia "which has its source at the first mission [Concepción]."[71] The brackets are Almaráz's. The petition reads: *"un pedazo de tierra contiguo a la incinuada Mision de la Concepcion de acuña, cito entre el camino que sigue*

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[68] José Antonio Huizar, *"DoNación de Tierra y Troje a Jose Antonio Huizar,"* July 22, 1822, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records (BCAMR), no. 70; Jose Antonio Bustillos, *"Año de 1815 – Mision de S[eno]r S[a]n Jose de Aguayo – Diligencias practicadas de posecion de casa y tierra de labor a favor de don Ant[oni]o Huizar,"* July 22, 1815, BCAMR:71.

[69] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, pp. 34–36 and note 8. Almaráz does not identify MR-70 and MR-71, but states only that he is using pp. 62–70 of the Mission Records. However, the mission records are numbered by document and then by page within the document. The English typescript of MR-70, for example, is numbered pp. 1–13, and the Spanish pp. 1–11. Almaráz's citation is not sufficient to relocate the document he used for this section of *Tenure*.

[70] Several pages added to the end of MR-70 are not in the original grant (MR-71). They were added as the result of a petition by Huizar in 1823. The pages indicate that in the petition, presently unavailable, Huizar claimed that the grant of San José land was not sufficient to clear a debt owed him by Mission Concepción. He requested an additional payment of 125 pesos to balance the accounts. The city council (*sala capitular*) of San Fernando ruled that the land was compensation enough, and his claim denied. Huizar, "DoNación," 1822, MR-70, pp. 13–14.

[71] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, pp. 34–35.

para la de Señor San José, este Rio, y la Ascequia que sale de la primera y desemboca en el referido Rio," a piece of land adjacent to the indicated mission of Concepción de Acuña, situated between the road which runs to that mission of Señor San José, this river, and the acequia that comes out from the first and flows into the said river.[72] The phrase *que sale de la primera* in this context means "that flows out from the first-mentioned mission of Concepción." This refers to the *desagle*, or "drain," that flowed from the Acequia Madre of Concepción through the mission pueblo and westward to the river—it provided water for the pueblo and convento. Theo Road was built along the north side of this ditch, following its meanders. Taken with the other two boundaries, this indicates that the Huizars had been farming and ranching, probably since the 1794 change of the mission to a doctrina, on the large triangle of land extending from present Theo Road southward between Mission Road and the San Antonio River to the Mission Road bridge. Huizar's next sentence mentions *"este terreno, potrero, ó rinconada* [this land, pasture, or corner] . . . ." as a general description. Almaráz translates this text as referring to "this land, pasture, and corner [rincón] . . . ,"[73] a minor change, but one that becomes important later. Again, the brackets are Almaráz's. At the same time, Huizar requested that the granary at Concepción be granted to him.

The events that followed are as Almaráz described them up to July 15, 1815: the governor of Texas approved the grant of the granary in 1806, but because of the illness of the proper officials, the period of unrest and rebellion that followed, and the abandonment of Concepción in 1815, Huizar never received full title. In 1815, Huizar reapplied for the granting of a house and labor, but changed his mind about the location. The language of this request is poorly translated in the Mission Records, but the original reads: *"se vé presisado a suplicar a V.S. que la grasia que se le hasia, en la mencionada mision de la Concepción, se le haga en esta de Señor San José de Aguayo, mandando se le dé en posecion la troge que esta al frente de la Yglesia que de muchos años a esta parte esta avandonada..."* he is obliged to request of your Lordship that the said grant, which had been made in the above-mentioned mission of Concepción, might be made in this [mission] of Señor San José de Aguayo, ordering that he be placed in possession of the granary that is at the front of the church, an area that for many years has been abandoned.[74] This phrase made it clear that Huizar had changed his mind by 1815, and now wanted to receive a grant of lands from San José rather than the original tracts at Concepción. Was he actually granted land in San José? Yes, he was[75]—and the remainder of the expediente makes this clear. However, the translation of Huizar's copy of the expediente in the Bexar County Archives confuses the structure

[72] Huizar, "DoNación" 1822.

[73] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, p. 35.

[74] Bustillos, "Diligencias," 1815, p. 5.

[75] In fact, there is no record of the Huisar family ever owning any land at Concepción, and a long and clear record of the family owning the granary at San José.

of the original grant, and the poorly-chosen English words dilute the clarity of the Spanish. The transfer of attention from Concepción to San José, so direct in the Spanish text itself, becomes ambiguous in the English typescript.

Fortunately, the next document in the Bexar County Archives, MR-71, contains the original papers of the expediente. They leave no doubt that the land being granted to Huizar was in San José. For example, the title page of the expediente reads *"Año de 1815—Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Jose de Aguayo—Diligencias practicadas de posecion de casa y tierra de labor a favor de don Ant[oni]o Huizar."*[76] On pages 7 and 8 of the expediente, José Antonio Bustillos, the alcalde español of Espada who had been assigned by the governor of the province of Texas to handle the grant, began the paperwork with the statement that he was carrying out the grant in the mission of San José:

> *"En la Mision de S[eño]r S[a]n Jose de Aguayo a los viente y un dias del mes de Julio del año de mil ochosientos quinse Yo D[o]n Jose Antonio Bustillos Alcalde de la Micion de S[a]n Fran[cis]co de la Espada, y Jues Comicionado de el S[eñ]or Gov[ernado]r de esta Prov[inci]a Coron[e]l D[o]n Benito Armiñan, en complim[ien]to de la or[de]n y providencias q[u]e antesede //8 de d[ic]ho S[eñ]or Gov[ernad]or a fin de q[u]e proseder a dar posesion al vesino D[o]n Jose*
>
> *Ant[oni]o Huisar de la Casa o troxe, y labor q[u]e solicita. . . Jose Antonio Bustillos (rubric)."*

> In the mission of Señor San José de Aguayo on the twenty-first day of the month of July of the year 1815, I, don José Antonio Bustillos, alcalde of the Mission of San Francisco de la Espada, and Judge Commissioner of the lord governor of this province, Colonel don Benito Armiñan, in compliance with the order and provisions above from the said lord governor to the end of proceeding to give possession to the citizen don José Antonio Huisar of the house or granary, and the labor that he requests. . . José Antonio Bustillos (rubric)."[77]

The subsequent documents all begin with the phrase, "in the said mission," i. e., in San José—Concepción is never mentioned. In other words, the entire granting procedure took place in San José, not Concepción. On July 22, 1815, Bustillos granted Huizar the

[76] Bustillos, "*Diligencias*," 1815, p. 5.

[77] Bustillos, *"Diligencias,"* 1815, pp. 7–8.

granary and the labor called "El Rincon" of Mission San José.[78] The Huizar family owned the granary at San José through the early decades of the twentieth century. Almaráz attempted to suggest that the "*rinconada*" used as a descriptive term in 1806 became the name "El Rincón" in 1815, but this was not the case.[79]

Almaráz assumed that the use of the descriptive word "rincon" (actually "rinconada" in the original document) for the property petitioned for at Concepción made it the same as the tract named "El Rincón" mentioned in the second part of the expediente. This was the section that he considered to be a new request for Huizar's original grant at Concepción, but which was instead a petition for land at San José. Almaráz then construed this name to refer to "an acknowledged location of a corner point in the mission plaza [of Concepción], most likely in either the southwestern or the northwestern sectors."[80] However, in the petition, quoted by Almaráz himself on page 35, "El Rincón" was clearly stated to be the name of a labor at mission San José, not the *solar*, or lot: *"En la mencionada mision a los veinte y dos dias de mes de Julio de mil ochocientos quinse. Yo el referido Jues comisionado, en vista el Auto ... que antesede, me constitui en el paraje citio de casa y labor nombrada el rincon . . ."* in the above-mentioned mission on the 21st day of the month of July of 1815. I the stated judge commissioner, in view of the preceding ... order, I presented myself at the place [the mission of San José], site of the house and the labor named "El Rincon". . . .[81] The labor was so called because it formed a corner between the acequia and the San Antonio River: *". . . con agrego de otro pedaso de tierra a modo de rincon,"* with the attachment of another piece of land in the form of a corner."[82] On the various maps showing original landowners of Mission lands, José Antonio Huizar is shown as the original grantee of a tract at the north end of the San José labores. This area, between the San José acequia and the river, was "El Rincon." In fact, Almaráz unknowingly illustrated "El Rincon" in the San José labores on his Map 5.[83] This section of the labores of San José is shown divided among the heirs of José Antonio Huizar; the family still owned the property as of 1882 when the plat was surveyed.

Other details in the grant were similarly misconstrued. The "little plaza" situated "in front of the chapel cemetery" referred, not to the plaza and cemetary at Concepción, but to the small area between the San José granary and the walled cemetery area in

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[78] José Antonio Bustillos, to José Antonio Huizar, July 22, 1815, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. J-1, pp. 94–98; José Antonio Bustillos, to José Antonio Huizar, July 22, 1815, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 71, Spanish transcript, p. 7.

[79] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, p. 35

[80] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, p. 35

[81] Bustillos, *"Diligencias,"* 1815, p. 8.

[82] Bustillos, *"Diligencias,"* 1815, p. 10.

[83] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, p. 43, map 5.

front of the San José church. "Furthermore," said Almaráz, "in both the 1772 and 1794 inventory documents there is corroboration about the existence of 'two sections,' and 'dos naves,' in the granary." This conclusion that the dos tramos, two sections, of the Concepción granary in 1772 and the dos naves, two naves, in 1794 were referring to the same partitioning of the building is correct, but requires a little more description.[84] The first of these statements is in the 1772 inventory of Mission Concepción. The inventory reads, "una troje de veinte varas de largo en lo ancho tiene dos tramos, y cada tramo es de cinco varas," a granary of twenty varas (54.8 feet) in length; in the width it has two sections, and each section is of five varas (13.7 feet) [wide].[85] This sounds as though it was indicating that the width of the granary was divided into two halves by a partition wall or low retaining wall down the center of the granary, but archaeology has shown that the building was about 55 feet long by 14.3 feet wide on the interior, or 20 varas by 5.2 varas, matching the 1772 description. The 1794 inventory says "una troxe de tapia de Piedra de dos Naves y veinte y un varas de largo, y nueve de ancho,"[86] a granary with walls of stone of two naves, twenty-one varas (57.5 feet) in length and nine (24.7 feet) in width, exterior measurements – the actual exterior measurements are 62.5 feet (23 varas) long and 22.5 feet (8.2 varas) wide. The "dos naves," or two naves, actually means "two bays," as in the sections of a nave divided one from the next down its length by pilasters on the walls – this was a common usage in Spanish colonial documents.[87] This indicates that the interior of the granary had pilasters on the walls opposite the buttresses on the exterior, dividing the length of the building into two equal parts, and the archaeology suggests a dividing wall was built across the center at this point. Almaráz correctly decided that each tramo included the full width of the building, five varas in 1772. Since the 1794 inventory explicitly stated that the granary was nine varas wide, Almaráz surmised a series of possible structural additions or

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[84] Almaráz, *Land Tenure*, pp. 35–36.

[85] Fray Juan Jose Saenz de Gumiel, *"Certificac[io]n, e Ymbentario de la Mis[io]n de la Puriss[i]ma Concepc[io]n,"* December 16, 1772, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 10, f. 4260.

[86] Muñoz and Camarena, "Ynventario . . . Concepcion," 1794, p. 18.

[87] For example, Fray Morfí, in his history of Texas, described both the granary and the church at San José to have been composed of multiple naves: the granary with three naves, Fry Juan Agustín Morfí, *History of Texas, 1673–1779,* trans. Carlos E. Castañeda (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1935), p. 95, and the church with three "vaulted naves," p. 96. Morfí's description that the church had three naves came from his diary description of his visit in 1778: *"tres bóvedas,"* three vaults, Fr. Juan Agustín Morfí, *Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico* (Mexico City: *Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrua e Hijos, 1935*), p. 227, and Fr. Juan Agustín Morfí, *Diario y Derrotero, 1777–1781* (Monterrey: *Edición de Eugenio del Hoyo y Malcolm D. McLean y Escuela de Verano, 1967*), p. 103; while the description of the granary has having *"tres cañones,"* three naves, came from Fray Solís' diary of 1768 Fray Gaspar Jose Solís, "Report on Mission San José in the Diary of Fr. Gaspar Jose Solis," in *The San José Papers: Edited Manuscript Sources for the History of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo* (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at Mission San José, 1768), p. 144.

surveying events to explain the change, rather than realizing that one measurement was on the interior of the building, and the other on the exterior. Almaráz then compares these statements in the inventory with the description of the San José granary in the Huizar grant, which he presumes to be actually a description of the Concepción granary. Here, the granary is stated to have a fortyvara (111.11 foot) front. This is the length of the San José granary given in the inventories of 1785 and later,[88] and is within a foot of the present exterior length, but about twice the length of the Concepción granary given in its inventories, and as found in the ground by archaeology. Again, Almaráz offers a speculative explanation for the difference, suggesting that Bustillos doubled the size of the lot at Concepción because the building was in ruins. But these speculations are all baseless and misleading, and become unnecessary when it is realized that Huizár switched his petition from Concepción to San José.

As a result of his speculative interpretation of a faulty document pertaining to the history of ownership of the granary of Mission Concepción, Almaráz confused and distorted the plan, the architectural history, and the land-tenure history of both Mission Concepción and Mission San José.

The Pueblo

The distribution of the lands of Concepción in 1794 gives us some information about the size of the area that could be cultivated and the actual area under cultivation in the last decade of the mission under the direct administration of the Franciscans. Eight suertes, or tracts of farmland, each 400 x 200 varas (1096 x 548 feet) and totaling 110 acres, were allotted as common lands for the pueblo, and 18 suertes, each 300 x 200 varas (822 x 548 feet) and totaling 186 acres of farmland, were distributed among the 18 Indian families, for a total of 296 acres of land that could be cultivated.[89] The extent of the land granted in 1794 to the Indians of Concepción indicates that the fields were larger than they had been in 1772, when the area under cultivation was 214 acres. In these available fields were planted four fanegas (35 acres) of maize, as well as two tablas (approximately 20.6 acres) of cotton and ten almudes (12 acres) of beans.[90]

Of the eighteen fields distributed, thirteen went to the families, and another three were assigned to the wives of three men who were absent at the time of the distribution. The usufruct of the seventeenth field was assigned, with the agreement of the Indian governor, to Xabier Longorio, who had been mayordomo of the mission, as compensation for his supervision of the planting of the fields. The eighteenth was

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[88] See, for example Muñoz and Pedrajo, *"Ynventario de los bienes . . . S[eñor] S[an] José,"* 1794, page 107. The granary was shorter in earlier inventories made before the addition of the fourth bay on the south end of the building sometime between 1768 and 1785, probably by Antonio Salazar.

[89] Muñoz and Camarena, *"Ynventario . . . Concepcion,"* 1794, p. 13-14.

[90] Muñoz and Camarena, *"Ynventario . . . Concepcion,"* 1794, p. 15.

assigned to the alcalde Español—its produce, or its rent to a third party would be his compensation for being the Spanish alcalde of the mission pueblo.[91]

In 1794, the Indian quarters and the protective wall around the pueblo had been described as "damaged by water."[92] The actual number of houses in use was not mentioned in the inventory. In 1772 the mission had had twenty-four houses completed, and two more being built. By 1786 there were twenty-three houses, some of which needed rebuilding. It is likely that by 1794 there were fewer than twenty-three houses standing and in use, and some of these were in poor condition. This trend continued, until in 1822 the wall and Indian quarters were in ruins and the well and acequia were in need of cleaning and repair. The last resident Indians had left some years earlier, and only the fields and pastures were being used, by local Hispanic families. By 1824, after the mission had been abandoned for some years, the entire compound was sold for only the value of its stone as a single item.[93]

San Juan

With the distribution of the temporalities of Mission San Juan, the pueblo and plaza took on their own life. Soon after their change to doctrinas, San Juan became a sub-mission of Espada.[94] As a visita, the mission had no resident missionary, and an increasing number of Hispanic occupants quickly changed the nature of the community.

Church and Sacristy

Although San Juan was a visita of Espada after about 1794, the mission church continued in use. The altars and their retablos, statues, and other images remained effectively unchanged, and all the vestments remained in the sacristy.[95] Burials continued in the cemetery, and the books of birth, death, and marriage continued to be maintained.

[91] Muñoz and Camarena, "Ynventario . . . Concepcion," 1794, p. 15.

[92] Muñoz and Camarena, "Ynventario . . . Concepcion," 1794, p. 18.

[93] Ramón Músquiz to Rt. Rev. John M. Odin, October 23, 1860, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. S1, p. 480; Ramón Músquiz to E. C. Dewey, October 2, 1857, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. H2, p. 250.

[94] Carlos Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936, vol. 6, Fight for Freedom (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Co., 1950), pp. 321-24, 348-49; Habig, Alamo Chain of Missions, pp. 178, 180.

[95] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5578.

Convento

Because San Juan, like Concepción, had no resident missionary after 1794, the convento became available for use by the residents of the mission.

Pueblo

Twelve families of Indians received their houses and land during the surrender of the temporalities of 1794. In the fields, eight suertes, 400 varas (1,096 feet) long and 200 varas (548 feet) wide, or 13.8 acres each, were assigned as community land in the labor principal, the main field, for a total of 110.4 acres. The Indians received twelve suertes 400 varas (1,096 feet) long and 100 varas (274 feet) wide as their family lots "from the land remaining" in the labor principal. These were each 6.9 acres, so that 82.8 acres of the main field were divided into the individual lots, for a total of 193.2 acres of land distributed from the labor principal. The labor segundo, the second field, was listed as three suertes of the same size, 400 by 100 varas, or 6.9 acres that "are in the plowed lands that are separate from the labor principal."[96] Here were planted 47 surcos of caña de castilla, each 100 varas long, or about a 1-acre field, to be divided among the 12 Indians. In the main field,1 fanega and 11 almudes of maize or 16.8 acres, were actually planted and soon to be harvested.[97]

Over the next thirty years, most of the twelve families died or left San Juan, and only four or five families remained at the final secularization in 1823–1824.[98]

Hispanic occupants increased in the mission after the distribution of the temporalities of 1794. For example, the rancher Ignacio Calvillo and his extended family had lived in San Fernando de Béjar until 1790, and moved to San Juan in that year.[99] His daughter Maria Calvillo and her husband Gavino Delgado continued to live on the family's large property on the west bank of San Pedro Creek in San Antonio through 1804, but about

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[96] Manuel Muñoz and Fray Jose Cardenas, "Ynventario de los bienes de Temporalidad de la Mision de S[a]n Juan Capistrano," July 14, 1794, BCAMR:4, pp. 11-12.

[97] Muñoz and Cardenas, "Ynventario . . . San Juan Capistrano," pp. 11-15.

[98] Mardith K. Schuetz, The History and Archeology of Mission San Juan Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas, Vol. 1: Historical Documentation and Description of the Structures, Archeology Program Report 10 (Austin: State Building Commission, 1968), pp. 58-59.

[99] 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; *"Año de 1790: Padron General,"* [December 31], 1790, BAM 21, f. 70; J[ose]ph Phelipe Menchaca, "*Provin[ci]a de los Texas, y villa de San Fernando; Relacion, Yndibidual de las familias, que tiene esta d[ic]ha Villa, con expresion de su calidad, Patria, edad de cada uno . . . ,"* December 31, 1795, BAM 26, ff. 111, 113, 114; Thomas de Arocha and Manuel Barrera, *"Paddron de las familias que hay en Esta Villa de San Fernando y Press[idi]o de Bexar Echo por los dos Alcaldes, Año de 1804,"* [December 31], 1804, BAM 32, ff. 839, 847.

1808 they moved into a house in Mission San Juan. In 1809 they were both living at her father's ranch, where they continued through late 1810.[100]

At the end of 1810 or the first month of 1811, Gavino and Maria moved back to San Fernando, and lived either on the Calvillo estate in town or at their house at Mission San Juan. Gavino became a city councilor, and on January 22, 1811, was caught up in the currents of revolution that began sweeping through Texas.[101] Maria returned to her father's ranch. After Ignacio's death in 1814, Maria returned to San Juan, where she remained for the next fifteen years. In 1823 she received title to her solar in Mission San Juan.[102]

Espada

The missionary at Espada was placed in charge of San Juan as a visita soon after the 1794 change of the missions to doctrinas.[103] By 1813 or 1814, Espada was combined with San José, and after that one missionary tended to all four missions from San José.[104]

Church and Sacristy

After it was remodeled by Salazar just before the distribution of the temporalities in 1794, the church continued to be kept up through most of this thirty-year period, but in the last years, when only one missionary served all four missions from San José, and Espada had become a visita, the roofs of the church and sacristy began to decay. The

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[100] J[ose]ph Phelipe Menchaca, *"Provin[ci]a de los Texas, y villa de San Fernando; Relacion, Yndibidual de las familias, que tiene esta d[ic]ha Villa, con expresion de su calidad, Patria, edad de cada uno . . . ,"* December 31, 1795, BAM 26:111, 113, 114; Thomas de Arocha and Manuel Barrera, *"Paddron de las familias que hay en Esta Villa de San Fernando y Press[idi]o de Bexar Echo por los dos Alcaldes, Año de 1804,"* [December 31], 1804, BAM 32:839, 847. Gavino Delgado, *"Notizia de los ranchos q[u]e hay en el Rio de Bejar . . . ,"* November 13, 1809, BAM 43, ff. 339-340; Jones and Fox, Testing at Las Cabras, p. 6; Mexican Government to Maria Calvillo, December 27, 1823, BCAMR, no. 6; *"Padron de los Ranchos Comprendidos en la Jurisdicion del Sindico D[o]n Bisente Gortari,"* December 31, 1810, BAM 47, f. 696; *"Padron de los Ranchos Comprehendidos en la jurisdiccion del Sindico D[o]n Ygnacio de Arocha,"* January 10, 1811, BAM, 47:805.

[101] June 26, 1833, TGLOSA, box 31, folder 75; Jones and Fox, Testing at Rancho de las Cabras, p. 7; San Fernando Archives, Camposanto Burial Records, 1825, #1252, transcript in the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library at the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas.

[102] Mexican Government to Maria Calvillo, August 28, 1828, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. 2, pp. 375-78.

[103] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 220.

[104] Habig, Alamo Chain of Missions, p. 220.

altar remained in place with all its statues and images.[105] The roof of the sacristy was beginning to fall in, but all the vestments and other church equipment stored there remained.[106]

Convento

Because Espada was the *cabecera* for the Espada-San Juan pair of southern missions, its convento remained in use until the consolidation of all the southern missions under San José about 1815. However, the resident missionary used only one room of the convento, leaving the rest available for use by occupants of the mission. The physical evidence suggests that he lived in the southernmost celda on the second floor, because it, the ground floor room beneath it, the latrine, and the staircase survived in fair condition in 1824, although the roofs and floors were in bad shape. The roofs and floors of the rooms north of these had deteriorated and the walls had begun to collapse, until by the 1820s no second-floor rooms survived north of the southernmost room. The second floor corridor fell in, taking the ground-floor corridor with it, but the southernmost arch, with no second level, survived this collapse.

Rafael Casillas moved into the empty cocina and antecocina rooms in 1799. He had lived in the mission since 1779, which suggests that he was not an Indian of the mission, but a Hispanic settler. Probably because of his occupation, the antecocina and kitchen survived with their roofs, although the antecocina roof began to leak badly and Casillas had to add a pitched roof of thatch above the flat roof. The rooms east of the antecocina collapsed into rubble during these years.

Pueblo

The distribution of the farmlands followed the same method we have already seen at San José, Concepción, and San Juan, with the land being surveyed and then divided among the Indian population of the pueblo. At Espada, the community land was *"ocho suertes destinadas para la comunidad de quatro cientas varas de largo cada uno y doscientas de ancho,"* eight suertes assigned to the community, each one of four hundred varas in length and two hundred in width. Each of these suertes amounted to 13.8 acres, and eight of them totaled 110.4 acres. The suertes distributed among the fifteen Indian families were 300 varas (822 feet) long and 200 varas (548 feet) wide, giving each suerte 10.3 acres. Fifteen of these came to 154.5 acres.[107]

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[105] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, ff. 5579-80.

[106] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, ff. 5580.

[107] Manuel Muñoz and Fray Pedro Noreña, *"Ynventario de los bienes de Temporalidad de la Mision de S[a]n Fran[cis]co de la Espada, Provincia de los Texas,"* July 2–12, 1794, TGLO, box 122, folder 29, pp. 38v–39; a copy is in the Saltillo Archives photostats, vols. 1–7, ff. 1535–40, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas.

The inventory said that the family suertes *"se midieron y señalaron del Resto de las tierras labradas,"* were measured and marked out from the remaining plowed fields, indicating that both the family suertes and the community lands were in already cleared and plowed lands. The fields of Espada transferred to individual Indian ownership or to the community as a whole covered a total of 264.9 acres in 1794, an increase of 37% over the 192.5 acres under cultivation in 1772. A subsequent remark, however, tells us that this was not all of the land available. The mission had a larger area of land than the Indians could use, some of it already cleared, plowed and under irrigation:

> *... todo lo sobrante que no pudiesen labrar por si lo Arrendaren á los Españoles ó Gente de razon con anuencia del Justicia Español D.n Jose Lazaro de los Santos, como tambien las de mas tierras que sin labrar y baxo de regadillo tienen.*
>
> ... all of the surplus which they were unable to cultivate themselves they might lease to the Spaniards or gente de razón with the consent of the Spanish magistrate don José Lazaro de los Santos, as likewise the rest of the additional lands they have that are not cultivated or under irrigation.[108]

This indicates that the land of the ejido of the mission that was not indicated specifically as the community fields, or those of individual Indian families, still remained as part of the property of the mission, available to be rented to others for community income in the same way as the unused ranch lands could be rented out.

One piece of land, however, received special attention. This was the property called the *jardin*, or garden:

> *Quedando tambien advertidos que el pedaso de tierra que se nombra Jardin queda destinado para ortaliza al Padre Ministro que los assista el que deve cultivar a sus expensas.*[109]

[108] Muñoz and Noreña, *"Ynventario,"* 1794, p. 39.

[109] Muñoz and Noreña, *"Ynventario,"* 1794, p. 40.

> It is also stated that the piece of land called Jardin is assigned as the garden to the father minister so that he might attend them [the residents of Espada], that he should cultivate at their expense.

This was undoubtedly the same garden mentioned in 1745, 1756, and 1772, the 43.75 acre area that was a subdivision of the labor grande and that had regularly been used as an area to grow melons and squash or corn during those years.[110]

The condition of the houses at the end of this thirty-year period suggests a general pattern to the occupation. Espada had essentially divided into two communities, the Indian families in the northwest, north of the church, and the military and Hispanic settlers in the southeast, around the southeast corner. The few remaining Indian families continued to live in the old part of the compound, in their old houses along the north and northwest walls. As their numbers declined, only the north row remained in use as houses. North of the church, the west wall of the old compound was not occupied for any length of time, and all ten rooms were roofless and in ruins. Because the old north rooms were in better repair, as the Indian families died or moved away, Hispanic settlers occupied the empty spaces. For example, Nicholas Paez y Colomo, alcalde in 1823, had lived in room 6 since 1798. The Indian Clemente Tejada apparently had always lived in room 7, and was probably the son of Juan or José Tejada, both heads of family during the distribution of 1794. Manuel and Salvador Diaz may have been the sons of Mariano Diaz, an Indian of the mission. Martina Zerna lived in room 22b for many years before 1825.[111]

Meanwhile, the military occupied and rebuilt the southeast corner and the rooms on either side of it. We have no direct evidence yet for when the southeast corner of the Espada compound was rebuilt into a military complex, but it was before the secularization of 1824. What evidence is available suggests that during the increased

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[110] Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, *"Visita de las Missiones hecha de orden de H. M. P[adre] Comm[isari]o G[ene]ral Fr[ay] Juan Fogueras, por el P[adre] Fr[ay] Fran[cis]co Xavier Ortiz, en el año de 1745,"* OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 9, f.1271; Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, *"Vissita de la Mission de N[uestra] P[adr]e S[a]n Fran[cis]co de la Espada [May 29, 1756],"* in *Razon de la Viss[i]ta de las Missiones de San Xavier y de las de S[a]n Antonio de Valero en la Provincia y GoverNación de Texas, Maio de 1756*, ed. Vargas Rea (Mexico City: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanes, 1955), vol. 1, p. 41; Fray Juan José Saenz de Gumiel, *"Certificacion, e Ymbentario de la Mision de la Espada,"* December 15, 1772, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas (hereafter "Celaya microfilm"), ff. 4222-23.

[111] Nicolas Paez y Colomo, petition, 1823, BCA, MR no. 49; Mexican Government to Josef Nicolas Paez y Colomo, December 20, 1824, BCA, MR no. 53; Clemente Tejada, petition, 1823, BCA, MR no. 42; Manuel Diaz, petition and grant, February 21, 1825, BCA, MR no. 62; Martina Cerna, petition and grant, February 21, 1825, BCA, MR no. 61.

provisions for the defense of the southern missions in the late 1810s and early 1820s, a military garrison occupied several of the southeast corner rooms. Originally the 12th Infantry Battalion was stationed at San José, San Juan, and Espada. They rebuilt the southeast corner rooms, 13–21, at Espada, with arches in the fronts of the rooms, suggesting that they were used as stables. These troops apparently added the torreon to the southeast corner itself during this period. After the secularization in 1824, the troop of the 9th Cavalry began using the quarters and facilities built by the 12th Infantry.[112]

A few of the Indian families and some Hispanic settlers lived in other rooms along the south wall; for example, rooms 20 and 21 had originally been occupied by the Indian Crestina, then by 1821 by the Indian Resendes and his son. [113] Neither of these people are recognizable in the list of individuals given in the record of the distribution of the temporalities. Most of these houses were unroofed and in ruins by 1824. The last granary of Espada was in this section, and was also largely collapsed. None of the workshops survived west of the granary, and this area was sold for the stone in its walls.

In general, the thirty years of the administration of the temporalities by civil administrators left the missions in poor condition, half abandoned and falling into ruin—results very similar to those that had happened in other missions since the 1750s and the beginning of the strong movement toward making older missions into doctrinas. How much of this was the result of the extreme political disruptions of the Revolutionary years of 1810–1821 is unclear, but undoubtedly they caused at least some of the decay of the missions.

[112] Mateo Ahumada to José Antonio Saucedo, March 10, 1826, BAM 90:396-97; Rock, Archival Research, p. 45.

[113] José Ramón Leal, petition, 1821, BCAMR no. 38; José Ramón Leal, petition, 1823, BCAMR no. 47.

Chapter 10
The Secularization of the San Antonio Missions, 1793 and 1824
The Northern Missions, San Antonio de Valero and Concepción

Introduction

After thirty years as doctrinas, the four southern missions were finally secularized, made into parish communities, in 1823–1824, as part of the repercussions of the formation of the independent nation of Mexico from the old Spanish colony of New Spain. Valero had been secularized in 1793, and was long since a neighborhood of San Antonio and a military post, rather than a mission. Secularization itself was a difficult process, and historians have frequently blurred the effects of this step on the mission community. The question of the presence and participation of the original Indian families of a mission in the secularization process is generally the most confused.

The Secularization of Valero, 1793

In 1793 San Antonio de Valero was secularized,[1] and the property outside the walls was divided among the mission Indians and a group of refugees from the Presidio de los Adaes and its associated missions in East Texas, which had been closed in 1772. Many Adaesanos, as the refugees from the closed-down presidio and ex-capitol of Texas, Los Adaes, were called, settled at the missions of San Antonio. In 1778, Fray Pedro Ramírez de Arellano formally offered to allow Adaesanos to operate farms at the missions, "but most did not want to improve lands that were not their own and feared that acceptance of the friar's offer would delay acquisition of grants." However, twenty found employment at the missions and continued to live there. Ultimately, when Valero was secularized, much of its land was distributed to the Adaesanos.[2]

The property within the walls of the mission remained nominally in the hands of the Catholic Church, although the Spanish government exercised considerable control over it. *The Segunda Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras del Alamo*, a company

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[1] Fray Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), p. 66.

[2] Gerald E. Poyo, "Immigrants and Integration in Late Eighteenth-Century Béxar," in Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, eds., *Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), pp. 97–98, 100. A detailed discussion of the distribution of the houses along the south side of the Plaza de Valero is outside the scope of this study, and will be addressed elsewhere.

of Spanish light cavalry, arrived in San Antonio on December 29, 1802.[3] The Governor of Texas, Juan Bautista Elguezábal, reported their arrival in a letter to the Comandante General, Nemesio Salcedo, on January 5, 1803. He said that he had assigned them to the Mission of San Antonio de Valero because of the limited housing in the Villa de Béjar. He considered the mission to be a very appropriate location for the Compañía, with various buildings that were still in reasonable condition. Because there were not enough houses for all the families, the troops were building jacales for those families that would not fit in the existing buildings. The Compañía Volante occupied the mission intermittently from 1801 until 1836. In fact, on June 4, 1836, Lieutenant Colonel Juan Seguín accepted the surrender of San Antonio from the last commander of the Compañía Volante at the Alamo, Lieutenant Francisco Castañeda.[4]

Little is presently known about changes to the Alamo buildings introduced by the Compañía Volante. The available evidence indicates they were probably housed in the old Indian quarters. That the structure along the south side of the Alamo compound, now called the "low barracks," was built during this time is likely. The presence of the Compañía Volante prompted the Spanish government to establish a military hospital on the Alamo grounds in 1805 in one "partly ruined chamber in the secularized Mission of Valero."[5] This was one of the rooms of the convento. In 1806 the facilities of the small hospital were improved and, in 1807, two rooms were constructed or rebuilt to serve as a pharmacy for the hospital.[6]

By 1809, if the hospital was to survive, the Alamo buildings needed extensive renovation. Three local masons examined the convento structure and made estimates of the necessary repairs, materials, and costs. The majority of the flat cement roofs had to be replaced; most of the walls had to be patched, plastered, and white-washed; many of the floors needed to be rebuilt; and two areas where walls were about to fall had to be reconstructed. Most of the roofing beams and roof drains were rotten and needed to be replaced.[7] The work took almost a year to complete and cost about 6,000 pesos.[8] This was apparently the last major repair and construction on the Alamo buildings

[3] Juan Elguezábal, letterbook, Dec. 29, 1802, Bexar Archives Microfilm (BAM), roll 30, frames 947-949.

[4] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions,* p. 71; Juan N. Seguin, *A Revolution Remembered: The Memoirs and Selected Correspondence of Juan N. Seguin*, edited by Jesús F. de la Teja (Austin: State House Press, 1991), pp. 85, 141.

[5] P. I. Nixon, *A Century of Medicine in San Antonio* (San Antonio: P. I. Nixon, 1936), p. 17.

[6] Nixon, *Medicine*, p. 17.

[7] Mariano Varela, May 2, 1809, BAM, roll 41, f. 205.

[8] Nixon, *Medicine,* p. 27–28.

until 1835. The hospital was closed around 1812 as the financial and political problems of Spain in Texas increased.[9]

From 1812 until about 1820, revolution and unrest kept the Compañía Volante away from the Alamo most of the time. During this period the abandoned convento buildings deteriorated, and roofs and walls began to decay and collapse again. By about 1825, soldiers and local citizens began to petition the Mexican government for the right to purchase the Indian quarters and other land belonging to the Alamo outside the convento and church; during the late 1820s, the Mexican government consented.[10]

With the onset of hostilities between Anglo-American Texans and the Mexican government in 1835, General Perfecto de Cós, commander of the Mexican forces in Texas, began to fortify San Antonio and the Alamo. Most of the fortifications were built under Cós' command in 1835, rather than by the Texans in 1836. Walter Lord, in *A Time To Stand*, presents the view that the majority of the defenses were built by the Texans,[11] but this was not the case. According to the journal of Samuel A. Maverick, an early Anglo settler who was held prisoner in San Antonio during most of the siege of Bexar (October–December 1835),[12] Cós arrived in San Antonio on October 8. Texan troops marching on San Antonio from Gonzales began to be reported on October 12; on that date Cós ordered the fortification of the Alamo to begin: "Timbers & c. taken to El Alamo to fortify the Quartel."[13]

The ribs were removed during the fortification of the mission—the vaulting over the sanctuary had fallen in by 1810. Maverick described how the Mexican army "threw down the arches [ribs] of the church . . . in order to make an inclined plane to haul cannon on top of the church."[14] However, this left the *"salmeres, y de primera, y segunda"* still in place above most of the pilasters, including the one nearest the front that would have held up the choir loft, and most of these lowest parts of the ribs are still in place today at the bases of the ribs of the concrete vault.[15]

By October 18, 300 cavalry and 200 infantry were stationed in the Alamo and available to be used as workforce. The Texan troops crossed Salado Creek and reached the

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[9] Nixon, *Medicine,* p. 28.

[10] Jose Maria Viesca to Ramón Musquiz, March 13, 1829, BAM, roll 120, f. 728.

[11] Walter Lord*, A Time To Stand* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), pp. 60, 77.

[12] Rena Maverick Green, *Samuel Maverick, Texan: 1803–1870* (San Antonio: Rena Maverick Green, 1952), p. 28.

[13] Green, *Samuel Maverick*, p. 29.

[14] Samuel Maverick to Captain S. M. Howe, July 3, 1847, in Rena Maverick Green, *Memoirs of Mary A. Maverick* (San Antonio: Alamo Printing Co., 1921), pp. 133–34.

[15] Edward Everett, "Interior of the Alamo," 1847, in Alhborn, Edward Everett, p. 12 pl. 2.

immediate area of San Antonio on October 21. A series of small actions began between the Mexican and Texan forces, but never escalated into a full-scale battle.

On October 26, 1835, Maverick noted, "an 18 pounder just mounted. Was carried by to the Alamo."[16] He added this made seven cannons mounted in the Alamo, "of which one, the 18 pounder, is on the top of the old church of San Antonio."[17] By November 3, Maverick stated, "the quartel in the Alamo is very strongly fortified."[18] After that date he made no further references to fortification work at the Alamo. Throughout November 1835, Maverick observed repeated instances of exchanges of cannon, musket, and rifle fire between the Mexican troops within the Alamo and the Texan forces besieging San Antonio. Throughout the fortification and siege, Maverick indicated that Colonel Domingo de Ugartechea was in command of the fortification and defense of the Alamo, while Cós commanded the defenses built around Military Plaza in San Antonio.

On December 1, Maverick left San Antonio and joined the Texan forces. The Texan Army began a major assault on San Antonio on December 5, and fighting continued until December 10 when Cós surrendered.[19] Maverick's information specifically relates that forces under Cós constructed fortifications at the Alamo from October 12 until about November 3 and that, by October 26, the engineers had built a large ramp and platform inside the nave of the church. Maverick gives no detailed description of the defenses built by Cós, but several Mexican officers present at the battle of the Alamo did so; these leave no doubt that virtually all ditches and gun positions in use during the battle were built by the engineers of Col. Ugartechea by order of General Cós. Green Jameson, who acted as military engineer for the Texan troops stationed at the Alamo after the capture of San Antonio, is described by Lord as being a lawyer from San Felipe with no military background or practical experience.[20] He made extensive plans for new fortifications but apparently never had the time nor manpower to carry out any more than the movement of several cannon to defend against an attack from the direction of San Antonio rather than from the east and southeast, in the direction of Goliad and Gonzales. This included the movement of the 18-pounder from the top of the church in the southeastern corner of the Alamo to another platform in the southwest corner.

The actual plan of defense, as of February 1836, is another topic of historical debate. Until recently, the map generally cited by historians has been the plan drawn by Green

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[16] Green, *Samuel Maverick*, p. 32

[17] Green, *Samuel Maverick* , p. 32

[18] Green, *Samuel Maverick* , p. 35

[19] Green, *Samuel Maverick* , p. 43–44

[20] Green, *Samuel Maverick* , p. 43–44

Jameson in January 1836. The original of this map has disappeared, but the plan survives in several publications, apparently in very modified form. Two other maps, drawn in 1836 but relatively ignored, are those of Colonel Sanchez-Navarro, who returned with Santa Anna in February 1836 after retreating with Cós after the surrender of San Antonio in December 1835; and of Colonel Ygnacio de Labastida, the commander of engineers of the army of the north under Santa Anna. These maps agree well with the descriptions left by eyewitnesses Peña and Filisola.[21] Sanchez-Navarro includes a detailed index and discussion with his map. The maps agree, in general, on the location of the various buildings within the Alamo and the placement of the guns. Sanchez-Navarro's map, apparently drawn from memory and notes in mid-1836 after his second retreat from Texas, is more confused in terms of agreement of the details of his plans and discussion with known facts and with the other maps and narratives.

The 1836 maps show that no traces of the convento building east of those rooms facing onto the Main Plaza of the mission had survived the long neglect from about 1812 until the fortification in 1835. In fact, much of the ruins of these structures was probably used in construction of the gun platform in the Alamo church since, as stated earlier and contrary to tradition, the church was not full of the ruins of its vaults and towers, but only a little rubble from the ribs of the nave and the vault over the apse. In the north courtyard, these maps show a gun platform and ramp at the northeast corner of the walls and a trench along the interior of the walls. The map drawn by Sanchez-Navarro shows ditches along the north and east walls of the courtyard, while Labastida's map depicts a ditch along only the north wall. Both maps show the edge of the trench facing inward toward the courtyard as denticulate, the width of the ditch varying in rectangular zigzags. Labastida's map further indicates a circular ditch outside the northeast corner of this courtyard, protecting the gun platform. Adding together all the archaeological information gathered over the last twenty-five years, we find that a fairly complete plan of the defenses of the Alamo can be drawn, and that of all the

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[21] James E. Ivey, "Archaeological Evidence for the Defenses of the Alamo," *Journal of the Alamo*, 117 (June, 2000), pp. 1–8; José Enrique de la Peña, *With Santa Anna in Texas: A Personal Narrative of the Revolution*, translated by Carmen Perry (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975), pp. 45–52: Vicente Filisola, *Memoirs for the History of the War In Texas*, Wallace Woolsey, tr. (Austin: Eaking Press, 1987), vol. 2, p.:82–84; Ygnacio de Labastida, *"Plano de la Ciudad de S[a]n Antonio de Bejar y fortificacion del Alamo,"* Map Collection, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin; a good black and white reproduction is in Nelson, *Alamo*, pp. 23–24; José Juan Sanchez-Navarro, "*Ayudantía de Inspección de Nuevo León y Tamaulípas,"* 2 vols., with one plan of the Alamo, the *"Fuerte de S[a]n Antonio de Valero;"* José Juan Sánchez, the *"Plano Del Fuerte, Su Esplicacion i Algunas Notas,"* on the photostat of the *"Copia del Mapa ... sacada del original por José Juan Sánchez Estrada, Coronel de Ejercito ... 1840,"* cataloged as the *"Mapa de los Estados de Parras,"* Map M972.13 1828a2, in the Benson Latin American Collection (BLAC); for a good copy and a complete transcript and translation of the captions and indexes, see Jack Jackson and James Ivey, *"Mystery Artist of the Alamo: José Juan Sánchez," Southwest Historical Quarterly* 105 (October 2001) 2:207–253; also in Nelson, *Alamo*, pp. 21 (the Fuerte plan), 22 (the Plano and Vista).

available maps, only Labastida's map shows all of these defenses in roughly the layout that archaeology has shown.[22]

When the Alamo fell on March 6, 1836, the Mexican army reorganized and marched eastward, pursuing General Houston and the Texan forces. A garrison was left in San Antonio under the command of General Juan Andrade. Among other duties, Andrade was ordered to repair and improve the defenses of the A1amo. After the defeat of the Mexican army at San Jacinto on April 21, Andrade received orders to destroy the defenses of the Alamo and to retreat from Texas. Sometime between May 22 and 24, he carried out these orders. Peña says Andrade had worked his troops hard on repairs to the Alamo buildings, "he had labored to put the Alamo in the best possible condition for defense; this had already been improved when it became necessary to raze it; and few do not know the pain such an operation causes a soldier, a pain even greater to one who knows the duties of his profession well."[23] Dr. J. H. Barnard described the Alamo as he saw it on May 24 as the Mexican garrison was leaving town, "the Alamo was completely dismantled, the single walls were leveled, the fossee [probably fosses, defensive ditches] filled up, and the pickets torn up and burnt."[24]

After the War of Independence, families who owned various portions of the old Alamo buildings slowly moved back into the area. These included the Losoyas, Treviños, Castañedas, and Romanos. In 1841 Samuel Maverick, who had become a prominent businessman and land speculator, began to purchase property along the north side of the Alamo. He bought the north half of the western wall from Maria Castañeda, the wife of Lieutenant Francisco Castañeda who had commanded the Compañía Volante during the war. The Castañedas had lived in one of the reconditioned Indian houses of the old mission since at least 1825.[25] Lieutenant Castañeda commanded the small force sent to Gonzales to retrieve the cannon in the hands of the colonists, an incident which had triggered the active hostilities of the Texas Revolution.[26] In 1841, Castañeda himself was an officer in the Mexican Army—as commander of the Compañía Volante at the Alamo, he had surrendered the fort to Juan Seguin of the Army of the Republic of Texas on June 6, 1836, and left Texas with the last loyal members of the Compañía Volante. He was promoted to colonel, and in 1846 was commander of the Presidio San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande. As of 1841, Castañeda's wife was apparently selling

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[22] Ivey, "Defenses of the Alamo," p. 8.

[23] Peña, *With Santa Anna in Texas*, p. 188

[24] Joseph H. Barnard, *The Journal of J. H. Barnard: A Composite of Known Versions . . .* , Hobart Huson, ed. (Refugio, Texas: 1949), pp. 44–45.

[25] Maria Ignacia Ximenes y Castañeda to Samuel Maverick, 19 April 1841, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 415.

[26] Walter P. Webb, ed., *The Handbook of Texas*, 2 vols. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1952), vol. 1, p. 306.

his remaining property in San Antonio.[27] The Castañeda house became the residence of the Mavericks while Samuel built a new house on the northwest corner of Alamo Plaza.[28]

Maverick also purchased all the property along the north wall of the Alamo and the east side to the convento from Mariano Romano.[29] In the deed from Romano is a clear statement of the position and construction of the north wall of the north courtyard in 1841: the property line ran down the east side of Alamo Plaza to the northwestern corner of the old granary , now the Long Barracks, and then "eastward . . . on and along with an old stone fence to the corner of an enclosure where said fence stops and turns southward—thence the line turns southward, with said old stone fence and as far as said fence extended, and down to where this lot terminated, close to the church." This line was surveyed by Francois Giraud in 1849.[30] The property line as it runs east from the north end of the Long Barracks is the same line which forms the northern boundary of the Alamo property along Houston Street today.

The description "old stone fence" reveals the extent of the destruction of the Alamo defenses by the retreating Mexican Army. In 1841, less than six years after the battle of the Alamo, the remains of the northern and eastern walls which formed part of the defenses of the north courtyard must have looked like the remains of any other fallen stone wall, visible only as low ridges of stone rubble and earth.

Fallen rubble was still visible in September 1846 when Edward Everett, a member of the expedition of General John E. Wool to Parras, drew his plan of the Alamo

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[27] Maria Ignacia Ximenes y Castañeda to Samuel Maverick, 19 April 1841, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 415; Juan N. Seguin, *A Revoution Remembered: The Memoirs and Selected Correspondence of Juan N. Seguin*, Jesus F. de la Teja, ed. (Austin: State House Press, 1991), p. 141; Robert S. Weddle, San Juan Bautista, *Gateway to Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 406, 409; Josiah Gregg, *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg: Southwestern Enterprises, 1840–1847,* Maurice G. Fulton, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 259; Captain George W. Hughes, Memoir Descriptive of the March of Brigadier General John E. Wool from San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas, to Saltillo, in Mexico . . . 1846, Report of the Secretary of War, 31st Congress, 1st Session, Senate Executive Document, Vol. 10, No. 32 (serial 558), 1850, p. 22, where his name is given as "Castaneira."

[28] Green, *Samuel Maverick*, p. 349

[29] Mariano Romano to Samuel A. Maverick, July 27, 1841, BCDR, Vol. A2, p. 470.

[30] Francois Giraud, 1849, City Survey Book, vol. 1, Bexar County Courthouse Archives, pages 114–115; a copy of this plan is printed in Anne A. Fox, Ferris A. Bass, Jr., and Thomas R. Hester, *The Archaeology and History of Alamo Plaza*, Center for Archaeological Research Survey Report 16 (San Antonio: University of Texas, 1976), p. 19.

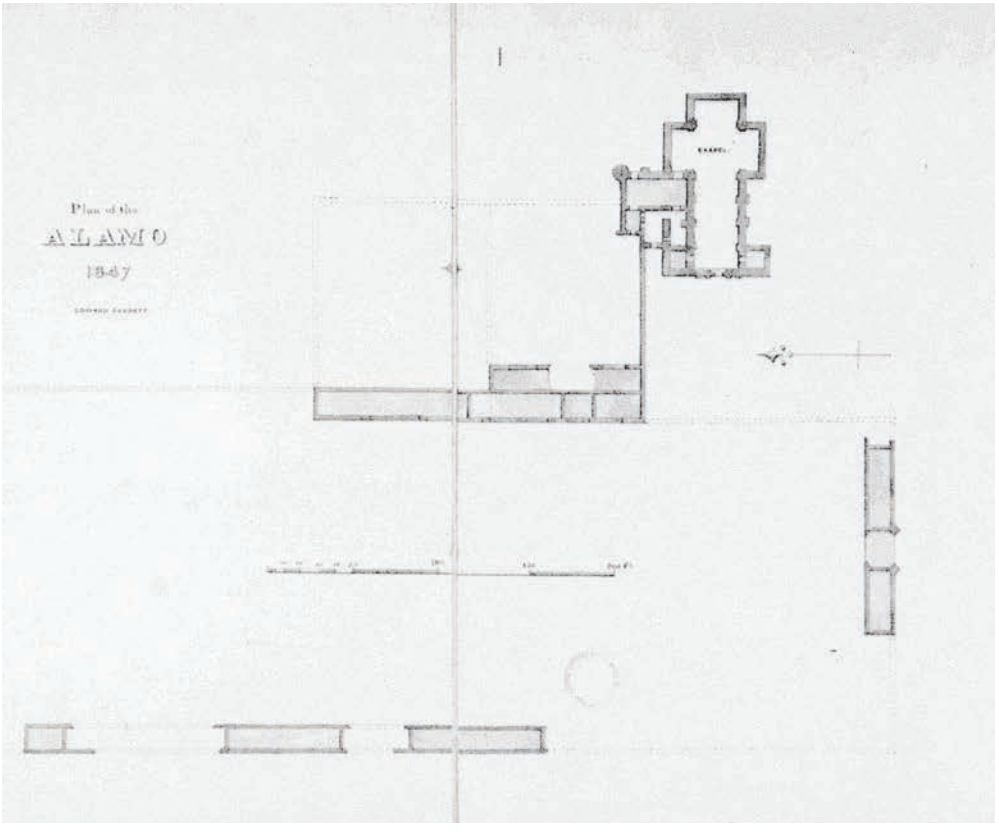


FIGURE 40: Plan of the Alamo drawn in 1847 by Edward Everett. Courtesy DRT Library.

grounds.[31] Everett found sufficient traces of a wall along the north and east sides of the north courtyard to show them with parallel dotted lines in the same manner as he indicated the main walls of the Alamo quadrangle.[32]

C. W. Thomas, Quartermaster for the Wool expedition, decided to establish a U.S. Army Quartermaster Depot in the ruins of the Alamo after suitable repairs had been made. The U.S. Army had already placed a blacksmith shop here, and Thomas "had several of the rooms cleaned out, and temporary roofs thrown over them and removed the saddlers and wheelwrights from the city into them. Leaving shortly after with General Wool's column, I left instructions with Captain William Wall, to have my plans carried into effect and to remove the whole depot, as soon as the repair could be made."[33]

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[31] O. B. Coquitt, Message of Governor O. B. Coquitt to the Thirty-Third Legislature Relating to the Alamo Property. Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1913, p. 114; Fox, Bass and Hester, *Alamo Plaza*, p. 16.

[32] Edward Everett, "Plan of the Ruins of the Alamo near San Antonio de Bexar, 1846," in George Nelson, *The Alamo, an Illustrated History* (Uvalde, Texas: Aldine Press, 1998), p. 61.

[33] Quartermaster C.W. Thomas, "Remarks," June 18, 1849, in Captain J. H. Ralston to Quartermaster General, February 10, 1849, Consolidated Correspondence File, 1794–1915,

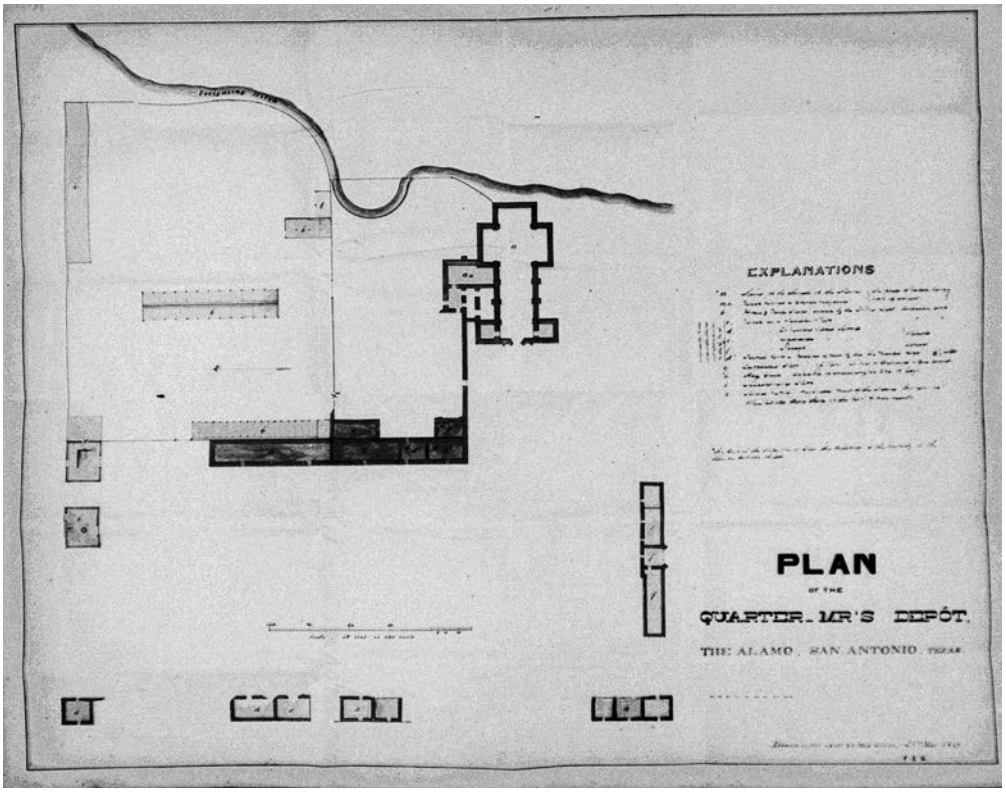


FIGURE 41: Plan of the Quartermaster's Depot, the Alamo, 1849. Courtesy DRT Library.

Captain J. H. Ralston assumed command of the U.S. Army Quartermaster Depot in January 1847, and began the job of converting the Alamo ruins into a storehouse. On February 20, 1847, Ralston estimated the roofing and repair of the Long Barracks would cost $1,555.90.[34] By March 19, he stated he had "made some repairs" to the old convento buildings, and was also speculating on the possibility of repairing the church for additional storage space.[35] On September 20 he reported, "by the end of the present month another part of the Alamo will be repaired for a Quartermaster's office and for storage of the residue of the Quartermaster's Stores."[36] Apparently the repairing and roofing of the convento was completed by the end of 1847. By mid-1848, according to

Alamo, Texas, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Entry 225, Record Group 92, U. S. National Archives, microfilm copy in the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library, the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas (hereafter NA, DRT microfilm).

[34] Edward Everett, "Plan of the Alamo. 1847. Edward Everett," in *Captain J. H. Ralston, A. Q. M. to General Thomas S. Jesup, Quartermaster General, February 20, 1847,*NA, DRT microfilm.

[35] Captain J. H. Ralston, A. Q. M. to General Thomas S. Jesup, Quartermaster General, March 19, 1847, NA, DRT microfilm.

[36] Captain J. H. Ralston, A. Q. M. to General Thomas S. Jesup, Quartermaster General, September 20, 1847, NA, DRT microfilm.

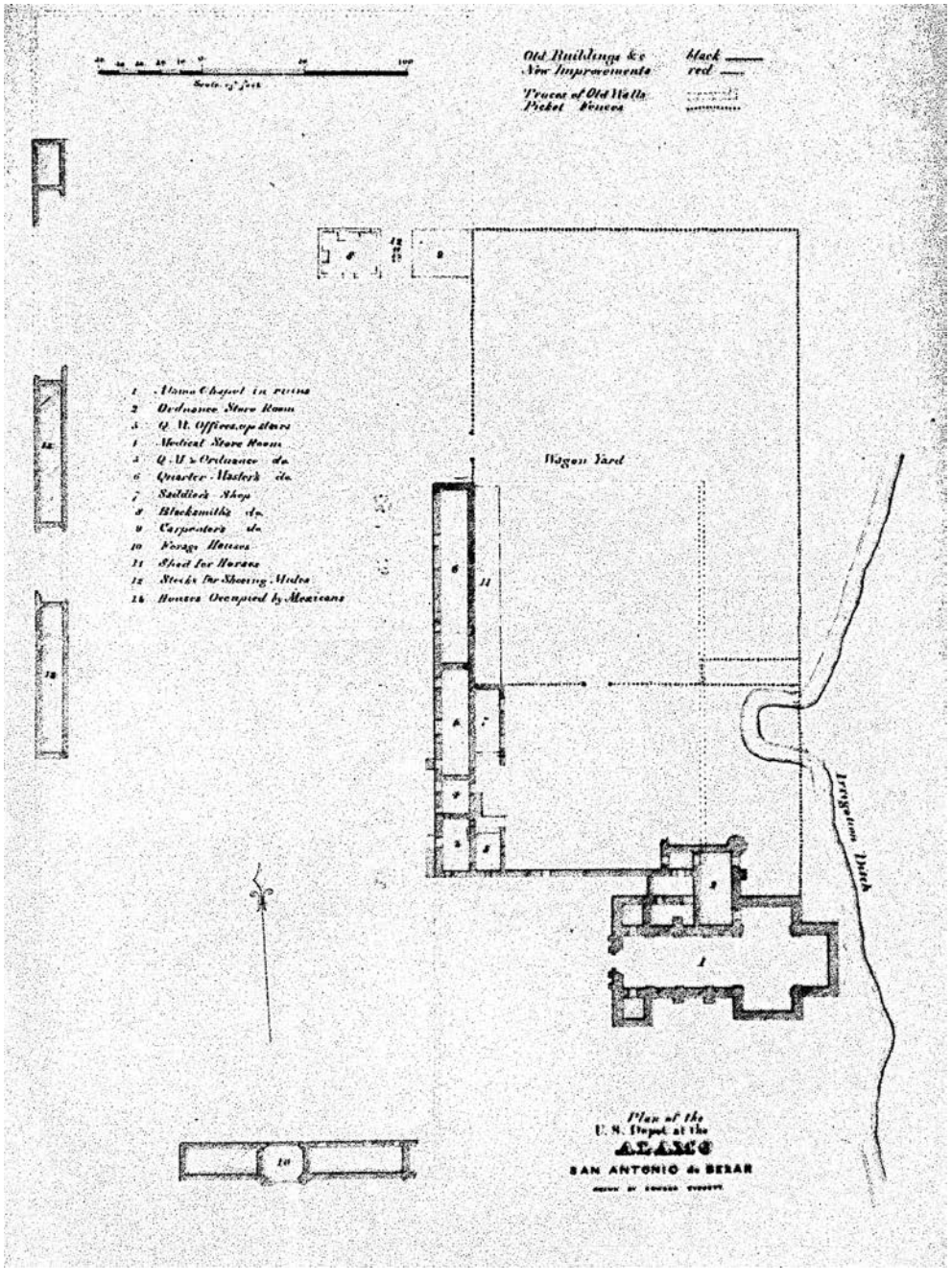


FIGURE 42: "Plan of the US Depot at the Alamo," drawn by Edward Everett in 1848. Courtesy DRT Library.

an updated version of Edward Everett's map included in Ralston's final report of February 10, 1849,[37] the Army had built a "horse shed" or stable along the east side of the old granary in the north courtyard. A picket fence had been built running east from the convento buildings to the acequia along the line where Everett showed a trace of a

[37] Edward Everett, "Plan of the US Depot at the Alamo, San Antonio de Bexar, 1848," February 10, 1849, in *Captain J. H. Ralston to Quartermaster General, February 10, 1849,* NA, DRT microfilm; copy in Nelson, Alamo, p. 62.

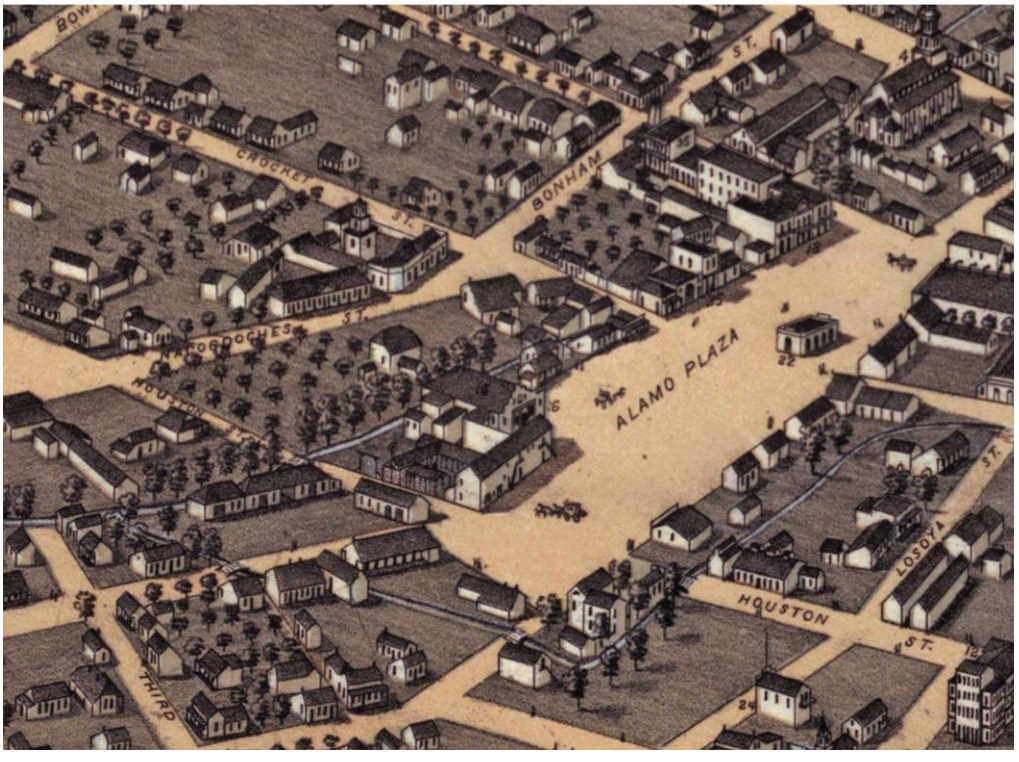


FIGURE 43: Alamo Plaza in 1873, from *Bird's Eye View of the City of San Antonio.*

wall dividing the north and south courtyards. This was twenty feet south of the line of the present wall between the courtyards.

In mid-May, 1849, a second Army map was made showing the stables against the east wall of the Long Barracks and a second stable along the line of the old east wall of the north courtyard, a wall line no longer marked on the map.[38] These stables extended north and east across the property line onto Samuel Maverick's land, indicating the army was already leasing this property from Maverick, although no official arrangement is mentioned before October 1851.

Captain Ralston had been relieved December 17, 1848, by Captain M. S. Miller who assumed the duties of assistant quartermaster.[39] In March 1849, the chief assistant quartermaster was Major E. B. Babbitt. Major Babbitt received permission from the army early in 1849 to proceed with plans to roof the church building. By mid-May, 1849, he reported, "I am now about to cover the Alamo Church," and said he had delayed until the question of who actually owned the land—the Catholic Cdhurch, the

[38] "Plan of the Quartermaster's Depot, the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas, May 21, 1849," by J.E.B., probably Lieutenant Jacob Edmund Blake, in Captain Morris S. Miller to Major E. B. Babbitt, Chief Army Quartermaster, June 10, 1849, NA, DRT microfilm; copy in Nelson, Alamo, p. 68.

[39] Captain Morris S. Miller to Major E. B. Babbitt, Chief Army Quartermaster, June 10, 1849, NA, DRT microfilm.

city of San Antonio, or the federal government—was reasonably settled.[40] The new top of the facade of the church building was designed by architect John Fries;[41] the whole renovation was probably completed by 1851.

By October 1851, as stated above, the army had officially leased the property from the east edge of the old courtyard complex to the acequia from the Maverick family.[42] At about the same time, old Rivas Street in downtown San Antonio was extended eastward to the San Antonio River, where a bridge was built connecting it with old Paseo Street on the west side of Alamo Plaza; Paseo Street was extended eastward across Alamo Plaza and the north end of the Long Barracks to the acequia. Both streets were then renamed Houston Street.[43] The result was that the army lost its corrals and stables north of Houston Street, which undoubtedly prompted further additions to the structures within the courtyard complex, producing a series of stables and sheds laid out around an inner yard approximately equivalent to the present north courtyard.[44]

Later, during the Civil War, the Alamo became a Confederate Army depot, then reverted to the U.S. Army at the end of the war. The army relinquished the property to the Catholic Church in late 1877. On November 30, 1877, the Alamo buildings were purchased from the Church by Honore Grenet who immediately began the work of converting the old convento buildings into a store and warehouse.[45]

Grenet removed the roof built by the army and tore down all the walls and floors east of the facade facing onto Alamo Plaza. On the south side he tore down the northern third of the sacristy of the Alamo church and several other walls of the church that extended across his property line. He added an eastward extension to the stone facade along Houston Street, which made the building about fifty-five feet wide east to west.[46] The facades to the west, north, and south had wooden galleries added, and the new line of the east wall was built of wood. Apparently the old army stables and sheds in the

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[40] Captain Morris S. Miller to Major E. B. Babbitt, Chief Army Quartermaster, June 10, 1849, NA, DRT microfilm.

[41] Cecilia Steinfeldt, *San Antonio Was: Seen Through a Magic Lantern; Views from the Slide Collection of Albert Steves, Sr.*, Lois Boyd, ed. (San Antonio: San Antonio Museum Association, 1978), p. 28.

[42] Fox, Bass and Hester, *Alamo Plaza*, p. 18.

[43] E. W. Heusinger, *A Chronology of Events in San Antonio* (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1951), p. 25.

[44] A. Koch, 1873, *Bird's Eye View of the City of San Antonio*, copy on file at the DRT Library, the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas.

[45] Bishop A. Dominic Pellicer to Honore Grenet, November 30, 1877, BCDR, vol. 7, p. 373,

[46] *Sanborn Map and Publishing* Company, Ltd. 1885, copy on file at the DRT Library, the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas.

courtyard complex were incorporated into this new building complex and continued to be used.[47] Gateways opened to the north onto Houston Street, south onto Alamo Plaza, and east into a smaller area in front of a line of hay sheds and produce storage buildings, some of which were probably also originally built by the army.[48] These major changes to the convento building were completed by 1878.

Upon Grenet's death in February 1882, George Kalteyer was appointed executor of the estate.[49] Kalteyer sold the Grenet Alamo store to Charles Hugo and Gustav Schmeltzer in December 1885.[50] Hugo and Schmeltzer continued the business as established by Grenet, the wholesale and retail sale of groceries, wines, and liquors. They apparently did little to alter the structure of the store.

The state of Texas purchased the old convento building from Hugo and Schmeltzer in January 1905.[51] The state had already bought the Alamo church building in 1883.[52] These two properties were entrusted to the DRT for restoration and curation. In 1911 the state appropriated $5,000 for the restoration of the Alamo buildings, and work began under the direction of Oscar B. Colquitt, governor of Texas. The galleries and other woodwork were removed and, by March 1912, the roofs, sheds, and all other recently added wooden structures had been demolished, leaving only the stone walls along the west and south sides of the building standing.[53] The old foundations of the eastern walls of the Long Barracks and some other convento buildings were traced by trenching and reconstruction of these walls began in 1913. By July 1913, the eastern walls of the present Long Barracks building stood to a height of about six feet.[54] The army maps and drawings of 1846–1849 were used as the basis for the restoration of doors and windows on the western facade of the convento, probably aided by visible traces of the old openings filled with more recent stonework.

Governor Colquitt had originally intended to restore the structures to their appearance in 1836, including the second stories of several convento buildings; however,

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[47] Colquitt, *Alamo Property*, pp. 104, 140.

[48] *Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, Ltd.* 1885.

[49] Colquitt, *Alamo Property*, p. 34.

[50] Colquitt, *Alamo Property*, p. 38.

[51] Colquitt, *Alamo Property*, p. 64.

[52] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 72.

[53] "Governor After Enlisting Aid of Presidents, Bishops, and Humble Adobe Occupants, Sticks to Original Plan," *San Antonio Express*, March 3, 1912.

[54] "Restoration of the Alamo From the Original Plans," *San Antonio Express*, July 1, 1913.

appropriations ran out before the job could be completed. All remaining masonry above the present wall top was removed around 1915.[55]

The renovation of 1905–1915 included the construction of a low wall along the south side of Houston Street. This wall was made of loose stone, much of it probably left over from the removal of the various unwanted portions of the Hugo and Schmeltzer store. In December 1926, this wall was replaced by a higher stone and cement wall.[56] The latter was in turn modified to some extent in the 1930s, and built to its present length around the Alamo Park as the remainder of the block was purchased by the DRT.

The Secularization of the Southern San Antonio Missions, 1823–1824

After the fairly successful secularization of Valero in 1793, the Zacatecans were a little more positive about the secularization process. In November, 1807, the council of Zacatecas began discussing the giving up of the missions of Texas to the Ordinary.[57]

In 1808 Napoleon had invaded Spain and replaced Ferdinand VII with Napoleon's brother Joseph. Spain responded by setting up a Cortes assigned to carry on the work of the Spanish government in the absence of any legitimate king. The exile of the king and the establishment of a French king and a Cortes of questionable legitimacy by 1810 resulted in an outbreak of revolution in the New World. The Cortes declared a new constitution in 1812, and continued the management of the Spanish Empire until 1814.[58]

During this period, the bishop-elect of Guiana, Don José Ventura Cabello, asked the Cortes to secularize certain missions in his diocese. On September 13, 1813, the Cortes ordered all missions that were more than ten years old in *Ultramar*, the New World, to

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[55] L. Robert Ables, "The Second Battle for the Alamo," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 70 (January, 1967) 3:411–12.

[56] *San Antonio Express*, December 8, 1926; *San Antonio Express*, December 19, 1926.

[57] Fray Benedict Leutenegger and Fray Marion A. Habig. *The Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas, 1716–1834: Excerpts from the Libros De Los Decretos of the Missionary College of Zacatecas, 1701–1828, Office of the State Archeologist Report no. 23,* (Austin: Texas Historical Survey Committee, 1973), p. 97.

[58] Gerald J. Geary, *The Secularization of the California Missions (1810–1846),* vol. 17 of *The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1934), pp. 55–56, 71; Castañeda, Carlos E. *The Mission Era: The End of the Spanish Regime, 1780–1810.* Vol. 5, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1942), pp. 337–38; Carlos E. Castañeda, *Transition Period: The Fight for Freedom, 1810–1836.* Vol. 6, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1950), p. 320; Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519–1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), pp. 217–22.

be secularized.[59] The secularization order stated that all reducciones and doctrinas older than ten years were to be turned over to the Ordinary immediately, without any excuse or pretext. The missions were to be made into curacies with secular clergy. The missionaries would go on to administer other missions where they were needed. Where necessary, missionaries could assist the secular clergy in the supervision of doctrinas and curacies, but they were to answer to the local bishop. The missionaries were to cease the managing of the affairs and property of the Indians immediately—the Indians were to elect their own government under the direction of the local Spanish political chief and the land was to be distributed among them.[60]

However, Ferdinand VII was returned to the throne of Spain in March 1814, after the reconquest of Spain by the British general Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, and declared the decrees of the Cortes invalid.[61] Political pressure forced the king to retract this invalidation, and on January 20, 1821, the viceroy announced that the secularization law was re-instituted in Nuevo España. However, Mexico was in the midst of a revolution, and Texas was caught up in a series of violent conflicts with invaders from the United States, and neither were concerned with minor details like mission secularization. As a result, along the northern borderlands of New Spain no secularizations were carried out at this time.

After the establishment of an independent Mexico, at the national Congress in June 1822, it was recommended that the missions of Mexico be closed, although this recommendation was not carried out in most of the northern states. On September 15, 1823, however, the Secretary of State of Mexico wrote the *Jefe Politico* of Bexar, in Texas, to inform him that in response to a petition by Padre Refugio de la Garza, the decree of the Spanish Cortes of September 13, 1813, was being invoked in Texas, requiring all missions of that state that had been in operation ten years or longer to be turned over to the Ordinary.[62] The *Diputación Provincial* thereupon ordered that the missions of Texas would be turned over to the Ordinary, and be divided among the citizens of the province that had no property.[63] As a result, on December 9, 1823, the Zacatecan missionary council received an order from the Supreme Executive Authority of Mexico, stating that Zacatecas was to "surrender the missions of the province of Texas with the exception of mission Refugio." The council accepted this order, and sent

[59] Geary, *Secularization*, p. 71.

[60] Lucas Aleman to Political Chief of Texas, September 15, 1823, including decree of Spanish Cortes of October 12, 1813, TGLO, box 122, folder 15, pp. 231–33.

[61] Geary, *Secularization*, p. 71.

[62] Castañeda, *Fight for Freedom*, pp. 319, 320; decree of Spanish Cortes, October 12, 1813, TGLO, box 122, folder 15, pp. 232–33.

[63] Decree of Spanish Cortes, October 12, 1813, TGLO, box 122, folder 15, p. 231v; Castañeda, *Fight for Freedom*, pp. 321–27.

a command to the missions of San Antonio to begin the final suppression of the missions.[64]

Although Castañeda characterized the push to secularize the missions of Texas as "greed prompting the move to secularize," the council at Zacatecas had been considering this move for some time, as outlined in Chapter 9, and in fact had been following a pattern of cutbacks that made it inevitable. Finally, on October 25, 1823, José Antonio Saucedo, the political chief of Texas, ordered a bando promulgated that the missions were suppressed and the land was available for sale to those who could show cause that they should receive it.[65]

On February 29, 1824, Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon, acting president of the missions of Texas, conducted the final inventory of the mission churches and conventos and signed them over to Presbyter Francisco Maynes, army chaplain of the Veteran Company of Bejar and the priest of the parish of Bexar. The official document was countersigned by the Vicar General of the bishopric of Nuevo Leon, don José Leon Lobo, and for the College of Zacatecas by Fray José María de Jesús Puelles.[66]

The Final Secularization of Concepción in 1824

As at the other missions, with final secularization the church, sacristy, and convento of the mission of Concepción passed out of the hands and the records of the Franciscans, and into that of the secular clergy. The lands of the mission, including the individual house lots, had become the responsibility of the Indian community of Concepción as of 1794, but in 1824 were completely reappraised. Few Indians continued to live in the Indian quarters along the compound wall after about 1815. By 1823 and the final secularization of the mission, none of the original Indian families remained. The mission properties were regranted to new owners.

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 wooden

[64] Leutenegger and Habig, *Zacatecan Missionaries*, p. 102.

[65] Jose Maria Hernandez, petition, December 27, 1823, TGLO, box 121, folder 45.

[66] Bachillor Francisco Maynes and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario general y particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la Ciudad de Bexar de la Provincia de Texas, llamadas San José de Aguayo; la Purisima Concepcion de Acuna; San Juan de Capistrano; y San Francisco de Asis (vulg[Aremente] de la Espada),"* February 29, 1824, OSMHRL, Celaya microfilm, roll 4, frame 5581.

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."[67]

The description of the interior of the church was brief. 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 bell tower 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 baptistry in the north tower still contained its baptismal font with its 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. Francisco Maynes and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon did not describe statues or other items; virtually everything movable was said to be stored at Mission San José, where it had been kept for many years.[68]

The sacristy was the same as described in 1772, except that, again, no movable 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, suggesting that the alcove and loft structures had been removed. Only the tribune still existed at this second level.[69] The roof of the room above the sacristy was made of vigas, and was partly in ruins, which may explain why the wooden loft structures were gone: water leakage had probably damaged and rotted these structures until they had to be removed.

The Convento

On the southeast, on August 14, 1824, Ramón Músquiz purchased the convento building and its adjoining lot extending south to the old mission wall along the north side of present Felisa Street. The vaulted convento was still in fairly good condition, although several small sections had collapsed. The rooms of the old convento had been removed.

The convento was not included in the 1824 appraisal of the church, because the rooms were to be sold along with the other secular buildings. The rooms were described in the appraisal of the secular buildings carried out in 1824 and since lost, but a description of the convento in these years, probably paraphrasing the missing 1824

[67] Maynes and de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 5575–76.

[68] Maynes and de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 5575–76.

[69] Maynes and de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 5576.

description, was recorded when Músquiz sold this property to Bishop J. M. Odin in 1860:

> . . . . 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 fifty feet] with two arches closed, to form a Kitchen . . . .[70]

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 guest room to make a kitchen. A chimney opening through the roof of the porch 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 first convento 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. 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 archaeological excavations in 1971–72, 1980–1981, 1982, and 1989–1990 began to sort out the episodes of construction.

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, Edward King "wandered through" the kitchen, "an old nook in the wall."[71] William 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.[72]

Strangely absent from the narratives is any description of the colonial polychrome painting on the ceiling of the room at the southeast corner of the convento, with

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[70] Ramón Músquiz to the Rt. Rv. John M. Odin, October 23, 1860, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. S1, p. 480, Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas (BCDR).

[71] Edward King, *The Great South* (Hartford: The American Publishing Co., 1875), p. 153.

[72] William Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar: A Guide and History* (San Antonio: Bainbridge and Corner, 1890), p. 16.

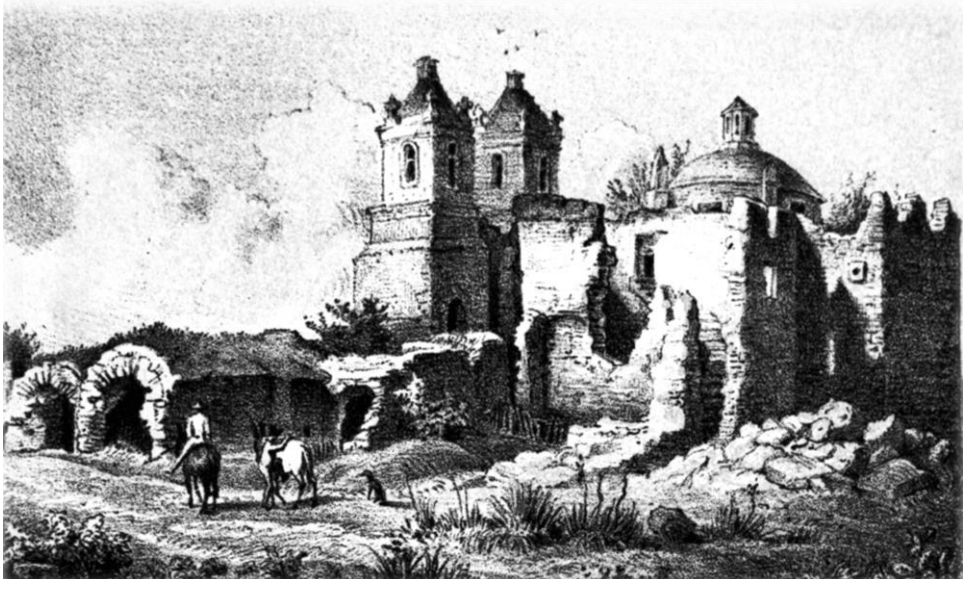


FIGURE 44: A lithograph by Hermann Lungkwitz shows Mission Concepción from the southwest in ca. 1850. The ruins of the granary are in the foreground, and the vaulted ruins of the convento at the left. Courtesy UTSA Special Collections.

polychrome decorations attributed to the colonial period. Even Corner, usually so thorough in his architectural description, omits mention of the room, although it is shown on his plan of the convento. 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.

The Granary and Workshop Rooms

East of the convento, the granary and the land in the corner between the acequia madre and the desagle, returned to the Spanish government by Antonio Huizar in 1815, had again been sold, this time to Manuel Yturri y Castillo on November 5, 1823.[73] The property acquired by Yturri y Castillo actually included both the granary and a workshop room added to its south end after 1772.

He probably had done some rebuilding of the granary, since it was apparently leaking so badly as to be useless in 1794. 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."[74]

[73] Manuel Yturri y Castillo to Mexican Government, "Petition of Manuel Yturri y Castillo for land south of Mission Concepcion," November 5, 1823, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 33.

[74] Manuel Yturri y Castillo and Josefa Rodriguez to Asa Mitchell, August 17, 1838, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 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.

The Concepción granary was granted to Manuel Yturri y Castillo in 1823. At the end of the copy of his petition for a tract of land in the labores of Concepción included in the deed to Mitchell, Yturri y Castillo concludes, *"otro si suplico á V.S. se digue concederme la pieza que servia de troxe a dicha mision su clase de arrendamiento á venta,"* also I request from your lordship that you grant me the room that serves as the granary of the said mission on condition of it being a rental to sell—that is, Yturri y Castillo was asking for a rental/purchase agreement.[75] The Yturri deeds indicate that the granary and the workshop were used as a dwelling from 1823 through about 1838, after which they were apparently unoccupied. Drawings made in the 1850s show that the building had collapsed to the point where it was only a vague outline of rubble and wall stubs.

Yturri y Castillo sold the granary and its associated lot to Asa Mitchell in 1838. This deed contained a detailed description of the house Yturri y Castillo had built from the ruins of the granary: the structure consisted of "three rooms, built of stone, and connected together in a row, which adjoins the church at its south-east corner."[76] The building was probably already in ruins by 1849, when it was surveyed for Mitchell. However, J. S. McDonald, the surveyor, did not see fit to mention that fact. He began at "the S. W. corner of an old house formerly occupied by Yturri; Thence N 5YE along the West wall of said house 32 varas [88.9 feet] to where said house joins the Concepción Mission."[77] This survey was used to guide the excavations at Mission Concepción by the CAR in 1980–1981 to relocate the granary, and proved to be quite accurate. The measurement of eighty-nine feet included both the granary and the room on its north end built after 1772.

A drawing by Lungkwitz in 1851 shows only low, ruined walls in the area,[78] as does a Pentenrieder drawing printed in 1856.[79] Much of 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

[75] Mexican Government to Manuel Yturri y Castillo, November 5, 1823, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 77.

[76] Manuel Yturri y Castillo and Josefa Rodriguez to Asa Mitchell, August 17, 1838, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 73.

[77] Survey of Concepción Mission tract for Asa Mitchell, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 430, March 16, 1849, with plat; a second copy of the survey and plat are in J. S. McDonald, "Field notes of a Survey of 349 1/2 Acres of Land made for Asa Mitchell," Bexar County Archives, District Surveyor's Book, volume F1, pp. 32-33, March 16, 1849.

[78] Pauline A. Pinckney, *Painting in Texas: The Nineteenth Century* (Austin: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, University of Texas Press, 1976), p. 87.

[79] Pinckney, *Painting in Texas*, p. 150, figure 26.



FIGURE 45: 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 two feet. Courtesy Bouchu Collection, Texas Catholic Archives.

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.[80]

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. The Father President's Office

Photographic evidence shows the Father President's Office above the sacristy to have been one of the earliest rooms renovated at Concepción. Following their arrival, the

[80] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 16.

Brothers of Mary reroofed the building with a shed roof and installed new windows and doors. Figure 45 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."[81]

The Mission Compound

By 1824 the Indian quarters were in such bad repair that none were sold. 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 can probably be attributed to the effective abandonment of Mission Concepción after 1813. 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.

Unfortunately, the 1824 appraisal and 1827 reappraisal of the secular buildings that were carried out at the other missions are missing for Mission Concepción. A copy will probably be located eventually, but until then, an assessment of the condition of structures at Concepción must be based entirely on archaeological reports 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 history for the structures after 1824.

On August 14, 1824, the Mexican government sold all buildings of Mission Concepción other than the church and granary to Ramón Músquiz, political chief of the Department of Texas from 1827 to 1835, and governor of Texas and Coahuila from 1835 to 1836.[82] 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 seventy-five varas (about 208 feet) to the acequia madre on the east, and the entire convento with its lot was evaluated at only 444 pesos.[83] 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.

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[81] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 16–17.

[82] Webb, *Handbook of Texas*, 2:253.

[83] Governor Jose Antonio Saucedo to Ramón Músquiz , August 14, 1824, Archives of the Archdiocese of San Antonio, Chancellory, Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio, Texas.

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 labores beyond the road, extending to the San Antonio River. These labors were sold to Ignacio Chavez in December, 1823,[84] and his property line actually ran along the east side of Mission Road.[85]

Along the south side of the mission, the Mexican Government sold the land extending from the wall across the acequia desagüe, or drain, all the way to the river, to Padre Refugio de la Garza in 1823.[86] Between 1823 and 1841, de la Garza sold a portion of this tract to Ignacio Chavez.[87] 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.

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. 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.[88] Along the west side, the east edge of the road was surveyed in 1847, rather than the wall rubble. On the south side, the single wall was fairly clear and was surveyed in 1841.[89] Not until the CAR excavations in 1980–81 and 1989–90, however, were the size and location of the rooms along the walls of the compound rediscovered and mapped.

It is a local tradition 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 stone for their houses. Evidence from archaeological

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[84] Ygnacio Chaves to Mexican Government, "Petition of don Ygnacio Chaves," October, 1823, BCDR, vol. C1, p. 215; Mexican Government to Ygnacio Chaves, December, 1823, BCDR, vol. C1, p. 218.

[85] Francois Giraud, "Plat & Field Notes of a Survey of two dulas, or days water granted to Don Ignacio Chaves, by Jose Antonio Saucedo, Political Chief, in Dec[ember] 1823," in County Surveyor's Book, vol. 1, Bexar County Courthouse Archives, San Antonio, Texas.

[86] This deed does not survive, but certification of de la Garza's purchasing the land is included in Refugio de la Garza and William P. Delmour to Bishop John M. Odin, May 19, 1841, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 430.

[87] Heirs of Ignacio Chavez to A. M. Edel, Brothers of Mary, April 9, 1860, BCDR, vol. S1, p. 264.

[88] Ramón Músquiz to E. C. Dewey, October 2, 1857, BCDR, vol. H2, p. 250.

[89] Refugio de la Garza and William P. Delmour to Bishop John M. Odin, May 19, 1841, BCDR, vol. A2, p. 430; see also Heirs of Ignacio Chavez to A. M. Edel, Brothers of Mary, April 9, 1860, BCDR, vol. S1, p. 264.

studies 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. In 1840 the city council of San Antonio authorized the sale of stone from Concepción, and in 1841 Bishop Odin was given permission to purchase cartloads of stone from the Concepción convento to be used in the repair of Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, the parish church that was later rebuilt to become San Fernando Cathedral.[90] By 1845, Odin was making a case for the construction of an educational complex, possibly what was to become the German-English school in La Villita, using rubble from the mission.

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.[91] By 1890 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."[92]

Visitor's Descriptions of Concepción

The journalist George Wilkins Kendall, viewing Concepción's church in 1841, was impressed with its imposing scale. "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."[93]

The next description of Concepción was by a Texas militiaman who visited the mission during the summer of 1846. In "A Journal of Travels Out West," D. R. Woods described some of the uses to which the convento rooms were put: "[m]any of the rooms are yet in [use] . . . in one is a grocery. Kept in another is a smith shop. Many of the rooms are used for stables." In the church, "[t]here are large basins of stone on each side and in

[90] Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Church in Texas Since Independence, 1836–1950*, vol. 7, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1958)., p. 50; Felix D. Almaráz, Jr., *The San Antonio Missions and their System of Land Tenure* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989). pp. 39–40.

[91] William Young et al. to Mifflin Kennedy, May 14, 1887, BCDR, vol. 54, p. 85.

[92] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 16.

[93] George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* [etc.], 2 vols. (London: Wiley & Putnam, 1844), p. 50.

the back end over which is yet to be seen the remains of profiles of the Virgin Mary &c."[94]

In an article, "Notes from My Knapsack," an anonymous soldier described Concepción in the same year of 1846. "From an imperfect inscription now almost obliterated, on the building . . . 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."[95]

In recollections written between 1855 and 1861, ex-soldier Samuel Chamberlain described the same offensive condition of Concepción in the late 1840s. "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. . . . The stench in the Mission prevented its being used."[96] Chamberlain's mention of caverns entered from steps "behind the altar" lends credence to local tales about such subterranean passages. During excavations at Concepción in 1981, the CAR found a two-inch-wide crack in the earth just east of the church that had cold air blowing out of it, suggesting the presence of limestone caves under the church. In 2004, during further excavations by the CAR at the southeastern corner of the sacristy, the floor of one of the excavation units dropped into a subterranean empty space near the wall of the stairwell, nearly taking an excavator with it; this empty space was probably responsible for the collapse of the south wall of the stairwell in the late nineteenth century. These incidents suggest an extensive network of voids in the limestone bedrock in the area of the church, some of which could easily be quite large.

John Russell Bartlett's description of Concepción in 1854 reveals that the church was still in atrocious condition. Bartlett thought that the church was in use as a stable for cattle, but his description is so much like that of Chamberlain that we can presume that the fill is actually bat guano: "on approaching it, we found it not only desolated but desecrated; the church portion being used as an inclosure for cattle, the filth from

[94] D. R. Woods, "A Journal of Travels Out West [1846]," *El Campanario 13*, no. 3 (1982), p. 12.

[95] Anonymous, "Notes from My Knapsack," *Putnam's Monthly* 3.14 (1854), p. 176.

[96] Samuel Chamberlain, *My Confession* (New York: Time, Inc., 1956), p. 43–44.

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 . . ."[97]

After the church had been cleaned up and repaired, and the bats driven away by the Brothers of Mary, it was reopened in 1861.[98] 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.[99]

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.[100]

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. Such an idea was particularly applied to Concepción. Corner presented such a picture of life there: "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."[101] Spofford Harriet Prescott, in an article in *Harper's* in 1877, made a very similar statement: "[Concepción's] existence is a romance, its condition a mystery, and a vague pathos haunts its broken arches and disused cells."[102]

Edward King described the mission landscape from his vantage point on the roof of the church: "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."[103] By 1873, when

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[97] John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents, 2 vols.* (New York: D. I. Appleton & Company, 1854), p. 44.

[98] Joseph William Schmitz, *The Society of Mary of Texas* (San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1951), p. 47–s48.

[99] Schmitz, *The Society of Mary of Texas*, p. 48, 240–41.

[100] Schmitz, *The Society of Mary of Texas*, p. 40–48.

[101] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 15.

[102]Harriet Prescott Spofford, "San Antonio de Bexar," *Harper's*, vol. 55, no. 330, November, 1877, p. 840.

[103] King, *The Great South*, p. 153.

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 of the abandoned mission in the wilderness, prevalent in the late nineteenth century, would apparently have been diminished by such an observation.

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 deserted, a relic," and "an institution that has served its day," Concepción is nevertheless "the best preserved Mission of Texas."[104] Corner noticed the painted plaster on 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."[105]

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 ll x ll 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,

[104] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, pp. 15–16.

[105] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 16.

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 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.[106]

[106] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 16.

Chapter 11
The Secularization of the San Antonio Missions, 1824
The Southern Missions: San José, San Juan, and Espada

The Secularization of San José in 1823–1824

By 1823 San José was fairly far gone in deterioration and collapse. 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. The sounding board was held up on the wall by a small iron bar.[1] 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, o puede servir de hospicio comodo a los ejercitantes* [to one side of this [the sanctuary], is a cantilevered tribune of wood with a turned railing, which leads through a door with a handle 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]."[2] 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 as the rectory for the secular priest who would eventually live in San José. By indicating that these rooms were already being used by the Church 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.[3] It had acquired a brick floor, and one of its two windows, known today as the "rose" window, was described as large, with a

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[1] Bachillor Francisco Maynes and Fray Antonio Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario general y particular de las Yglesias de las cuatro Misiones contiguas a la Ciudad de Bexar de la Provincia de Texas, llamadas San José de Aguayo; la Purisima Concepcion de Acuna; San Juan de Capistrano; y San Francisco de Asis (vulg[Aremente] de la Espada),"* February 29, 1824, Celaya microfilm, roll 4, frame 5570.

[2] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 571.

[3] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 571.

grating of twisted iron grillwork and a door or shutter of two leaves. The other, the present small window at the west end, was middle-sized with only an iron grill. This window appears to have been chopped through the wall rather than built into it. A partition wall had been built across the room, probably just west of the Rose Window and the door into the church. The small window on the west was probably added at the same time to give light to this otherwise completely enclosed 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, originally part of the portería, was still one story high, and remained so until the Benedictine reconstruction added the second story in the 1860s. As one exited the sacristy, one entered "a room of 3 walls joined to the sacristy" called a *sombrio de un portal de piedra*, a shaded porch with one stone arch.[4] This was the present restored arch directly in front of the door of the sacristy. The next arch to the south had been filled. The porch had a roof of vigas, and the arch in front of the sacristy doorway was closed by a double door with a key, and the roof was in bad condition.[5] This was the space that had been the portería in the mid-eighteenth century, and that had served as the temporary church for a short time after 1768.

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.[6] This attempt succeeded in part. When the convento was sold to Juan Martín Veramendi, these three rooms (including the ex-portería) were not part of the sale; they were described as "the rooms assigned for the house of the minister."[7]

The Convento

In a separate inspection carried out in December 1823, the rooms of the convento and the remainder of the mission compound were appraised. This document, while quite detailed, is difficult to work with in the pueblo area because only structures are actually

[4] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 571.

[5] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 571.

[6] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, f. 571.

[7] Mexican Government to Juan Martín Veramendi, March 17, 1824, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 89.

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, but since its exact location is unknown in the first place, we can't recognize it in the 1823 inspection. The names of people living in some of the Indian quarters were included, but for most houses no reference was made to occupants. Many of the structures appraised had already been sold, as recorded in the various deeds in the records of Bexar County.

The convento was described in some detail in the 1823 appraisal. These rooms can be seen on the plan, and the appraisal allows some general statements about the changes since 1785 and conditions in 1823. Since the San José convento had continued in use as a missionary residence through the period from 1794 to 1824, it had been kept in better repair than the other conventos. The rooms of the ground level all still had a ceiling of vigas, morillos, and tabletas supporting the floor of the second level. Much of this ceiling was said to be *inutil*, in poor 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 description of the rooms outside the entrance to the sacristy.

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 easternmost room was in ruins, with no roof, apparently no floor, 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 had been 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. Most of the rooms had one window listed. 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 Martín 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.

After Veramendi's death in Monclova in 1833, the convento was partitioned along with the rest of the Veramendi estate.[8] Maria Antonia Veramendi de Sierra purchased the "east" room of the convento from Teresa Veramendi Cantu and her husband Jesus Cantu on August 31, 1848.[9] 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 their portion of the convento to John Twohig on November 22, 1854.[10] 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 on the "east" room in the Cantu deed must indicate, therefore, that the room transferred by Cantu was room 5 on the ground floor and room 4 directly above it on the second level.[11] It appears that this second story room was being used as a kitchen at the time.

The Mission Compound

On July 22, 1815, José Bustillos had granted José Antonio Huizar the granary of Mission San José, and his family continued to occupy the granary through secularization.[12] In 1830 governor Miguel Arciniega granted an addition to the lot of Huizar's property at San José. The deed described the addition to be "to the rear of his house where he presently lives, located on the west side of the said mission, bounded on the north by the acequia, on the south by the road to the King's Gate, on the west

[8] Webb, Handbook of Texas, 2:837.

[9] Antonio Sierra and Maria Antonia Veramendi Sierra to John Twohig, November 22, 1854, BCDR M1:512.

[10] Antonio Sierra and Maria Antonia Veramendi Sierra to John Twohig, November 22, 1854, BCDR M1:513.

[11] Antonio Sierra and Maria Antonia Veramendi Sierra to John Twohig, November 22, 1854, BCDR M1:512.

[12] José Antonio Bustillos, to José Antonio Huizar, July 22, 1815, Bexar County Deed Records, vol. J-1, pp. 94–98; José Antonio Bustillos, to José Antonio Huizar, July 22, 1815, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 71, Spanish transcript, p. 7.

by sixty-five varas of depth to national land, and to the east by the plaza."[13] The granary and lot were divided among Huizar's heirs in 1851.[14] His descendants were still living in the building in 1931 when the San Antonio Conservation Society purchased the granary from them.[15]

Most of the sales of unowned property at the mission occurred along the north and east walls—for some reason, little interest was shown in the south wall. 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 forty feet of wall which stood to a height of about seven or eight feet. Each of the two rooms had a roof of morillos in poor repair. In this inventory the description of a roof as of morillos indicated vigas, wooden beams, supporting a flat earthen roof. 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 jacales, 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 three feet. Approximately 120 feet from the northeast corner of the compound was a *caño* (drain or sewer) passing through the wall.[16] This was apparently the north end of the covered drain found by Smith running through the convento, and was probably the outflow from the latrines inside the convento.

From the northeast corner south a single wall stood to an average height of about seven feet, and was thirty-seven and one-half feet long. Next was a gap estimated to be about twenty-eight feet where the new road along the north side of the church and convento passed through the wall. South of this opening were the surviving sections of the obraje, about sixty-nine feet long. The structure was roofless and in ruins. No other traces of buildings are listed in this area. South of the obraje was apparently a second gap perhaps twenty-eight feet wide for the eastern gate of the compound.

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[13] Mexican Government to Antonio Huizar, November 12, 1830, Bexar County Archives, Unidentified File Object no. 12.

[14] Estate of Antonio Huizar, Bexar County Courthouse, Probate Records, Book E, Notice 320, pp. 219–52, November 17, 1851.

[15] Heirs of Juanita Huizar Salcedo and José Maria Salcedo to the San Antonio Conservation Society, March 17, 1931, Bexar County Deed Records, volume 1233, p. 266.

[16] Refugia de Tejada and José Tejada to John M. Odin, October 18, 1859, BCDR vol. H2, p. 258.

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. Five families of those who had received houses at San José were still residents in 1823. These were the Reyes, Ramirez, de la Cruz, Romero, and Nuñez families. Their houses were mostly on the west wall.

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 thirty-nine feet long, followed by one of thirty-six feet. These two houses apparently belonged to Antonio Garcia.[17] The third was forty-two feet long, with a new thatched roof. This house apparently belonged to Tomas de Leon, who was probably responsible for the new roof.[18] Next was a roofless building thirty-one feet long, the property of Felipe Casillas.[19] Adjoining Casillas on the south was the roofless house of Julian Reyes, to whom it had been granted in 1818.[20] It was fifty-six feet long. On its south was a final roofless house, with no owner mentioned. It was granted to Apolinario Ramirez in 1830.[21] South of this was about 180 feet of single wall standing to an average height of about four feet. This area was purchased by the Veramendi family at about this time.[22]

Only two houses still stood on the south wall. The easternmost of these was about forty feet long, half of it still covered by a thatched roof, while the other was roofless and about sixty feet long. East of these houses stood about 130 feet of single wall to a height of about four feet, and west was another stretch of single wall about 210 feet long and over five feet high.

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[17] Mexican Government to Antonio Garcia, December 6, 1823, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 83; Mexican Government to Antonio Garcia, December 4, 1823, Bexar County Archives, Unidentified File Object no. 14.

[18] Mexican Government to Felipe Casillas, December 21, 1824, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 90.

[19] Mexican Government to Felipe Casillas, December 21, 1824, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 90.

[20] Mexican Government to José Julian Reyes, March 10, 1818, Bexar County Archives, Mission Records, no. 72.

[21] Partition of lands between Juan Jose de la Cruz, Maria del Pilar de la Cruz Silvera, Paula de la Cruz, and Blasa Villareal, November, 1850, BCDR, vol. K2, p. 526.

[22] Partition of lands between Juan Jose de la Cruz, Maria del Pilar de la Cruz Silvera, Paula de la Cruz, and Blasa Villareal, November, 1850, BCDR, vol. K2, p. 526.

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 thrity varas (about 83 feet), extending south sixty varas (about 166 feet), and finally José Zuniga on the west.[23] These property owners cannot yet be associated with any of the tracts along the south wall listed in the 1823 appraisal. The Palacios lot location, however, is shown on a City Engineer's plat, with adjoining lot owners, which will eventually allow this sequence of ownership to be untangled.[24]

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 a lot with a thirty vara front on the plaza which belonged to Refugia Duran de Tejada and José Tejada by 1859;[25] a lot of thirty 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;[26] and a lot of unstated size adjoining the Sierra lot on the west, belonging to Juan Huizar in 1859.[27] Juan Huizar may have owned the lot at the southwest corner of the plaza, since this land later belonged to the Huizar family.[28]

Along the west wall, eight 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, perhaps later the house belonging to Juan Huizar. It was about twenty-eight 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 eighty-nine feet of wall standing to a height of over eight feet. Next

[23] Juan José Palacios, 1860, in St. Vincent Archives at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, copy on microfilm at Our Lady of the Lake University, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, roll 12, frame 7864.

[24] C.Raeber, "Mission San José," June 20, 1933, Portfolio 24, City Engineeer's Office, San Antonio, Texas

[25] Refugia de Tejada and José Tejada to John M. Odin, October 18, 1859, BCDR vol. H2, p. 258.

[26] Roberto Sierra, Jose Maria Antonio Sierra and Juan Sierra to John M. Odin, October 19, 1859, BCDR, vol. H2, p. 327.

[27] Roberto Sierra, Jose Maria Antonio Sierra and Juan Sierra to John M. Odin, October 19, 1859, BCDR, vol. H2, p. 327.

[28] See for example Policarpo Vanegas and wife Elena Vanegas to Joseph P. Schleicher and Rose Schleicher, December 14, 1927, BCDR, vol. 1019, p. 317.

was a small house, seventeen 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* (New Street), fourteen feet wide, then a gap of about forty-five feet where no wall survived, and finally a section of single wall about sixty feet long extending to the house of Damian de la Cruz.[29] This wall was about five and one-half feet high. De la Cruz's house was about forty 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 fourteen feet wide.[30] 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,"* the walls of the street, which ought to be opened, 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 three-quarter vara thick (the average thickness of the exterior wall of San José), one vara long and oen vara high (two feet thick, two and three-quarter feet long and two and three-quarter feet high, or fifteen 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 eight feet, then their total length was about thirty-seven feet, or two sections of wall each about eighteen and one-half feet long. How such substantial walls were arranged in the fourteen-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 eighteen feet long. In spite of its small size, it had two adobe partition walls inside. Next was the house of Miguel Menchaca, thirty-seven and one-half 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, forty-one feet long and with two adobe partitions. Alvorado apparently abandoned this house almost immediately, and it was regranted to Cecilia

[29] Partition of lands between Juan Jose de la Cruz, Maria del Pilar de la Cruz Silvera, Paula de la Cruz, and Blasa Villareal, November, 1850, BCDR, vol. K2, p. 526.

[30] The reconstruction of the lots, walls and streets on the west side of San José was a complex process, using a number of deed and archive records. Principal among these were: Mexican Government to Cecilia Nuñez, November 12, 1830, Bexar County Archives, Unidentified File Object no. 13; Estate of Antonio Huizar, Bexar County Courthouse, Probate Records, Book E, Notice 320, pp. 224, 242, November 17, 1851; Partition of lands between Juan Jose de la Cruz, Maria del Pilar de la Cruz Silvera, Paula de la Cruz, and Blasa Villareal, November, 1850, BCDR, vol. K2, p. 526; Seferino Huizar to Teresa Gil de Pacheco, September 17, 1877, BCDR, vol. 8, p. 506; Pilar Garcia de Gonzales to J. N. Escalera, September 11, 1902, BCDR vol. 208, p. 265.

Nunez in 1830.[31] Later deeds indicate that a narrow passageway about five feet wide passed between the houses of Sartuche and Alvorado.[32] The last house, which may have been the blacksmith's shop in the I700s, was twenty-two 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 twenty-one 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 forty-two 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 of measured material, including wall thicknesses, is 540 feet. This is fifty-eight feet short of Smith's length of 598 feet. Part of this fifty-eight 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 (twenty-nine 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 twenty-one feet wide to result in Smith's length of 484 feet. The west side gaps have been discussed above.

The picture presented by the 1823 appraisal generally matches the plan as rebuilt by Smith. Little evidence has been found, 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. 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 José 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 José is complex and still incomplete. However, the forays into the Bexar county deeds and archives carried out as part of the research for this history demonstrate that the information is on record. With patience the complete history of the transition from Franciscan mission to private ownership of San José will eventually be worked out.

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[31] Mexican Government to Cecilia Nuñez, November 12, 1830, Bexar County Archives, Unidentified File Object no. 13.

[32] Octavia C. Pyron to Martina Escalera de Huizar, December 12, 1901, BCDR 203: 164, for example.

The Mission Compound

As we have seen, after the appraisal of the mission buildings in 1823 the history of the buildings forming the enclosing square of San José became extremely fragmented. Each tract into which the enclosure was divided followed its own individual development, according to the desires of the owners. During the period from 1824 to 1859, the deed records contain some information on the structural changes occurring in the compound. Bishop Odin began the acquisition of properties in the 1850s, and eventually almost all of the lots north of the main east-west road just south of the church building 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.

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 the 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 main east-west 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 a century later, in the 1930s.

Wall traces within the compound along the east side cannot be attributed to any time period. Pending archaeological 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 of fragmented records 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, though, 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.

The Benedictines

After the secularization of 1824, San José entered a period of neglect by the Church, the same as that experienced by the other three missions. As part of Bishop Odin's

efforts to bring in new clergy to staff the individual missions, arrangements were made with Fray 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.[33] 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.[34] John Twohig sold his section of the convento to Fray Moczygemba in 1855, but these larger plans fell through, and the Conventuals left Texas in 1859.

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 known so far 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."[35] 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, room number 1 on each floor and the room outside the sacristy, had apparently remained in the hands of the Church. 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.[36] In October 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. In a letter in the St. Vincent Archives at Latrobe, 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).[37] In this letter Odin estimated that the convento would require at least $3,000 for restoration.

With the arrival of the Benedictines in 1859, Moczygemba presumably transferred his title to Odin, or directly to Hoermann. He then apparently 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. For the most part the Benedictines did not record any

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[33] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 146.

[34] John Twohig to Reverend Father Leopold Bonaventura Maria Moczygemba, Superior and Commissioner General of the Mission of Fathers Menorites Conventuels of Saint Francis, March 27, 1855, BCDR, vol. P1, p. 496.

[35] Maria Antonia Veramendi de Sierra and Antonio Sierra to J. M. Odin, October 19, 1859, BCDR, vol. H2, p. 264.

[36] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 147.

[37] Bishop J. M. Odin, October 26, 1859, St. Vincent Archives at Latrobe, Pennsylvania. Our Lady of the Lake University, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, roll 12.

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. After October 1859, 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.[38]

The Benedictines and the Convento

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 arrival of the Benedictines in 1859. Soon after the Benedictine acquisition of the convento, the order began an extensive reconstruction of the structure. A letter from Reverend 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."[39] These remarks suggest little improvement in the condition of the convento from January 1861, and indicate that very little major construction was carried out after that date. The majority of the work, therefore, appears to have been carried out during 1860.

The extensive Benedictine rebuilding project is not difficult to trace. 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 slight surviving stub of the central long wall is almost three feet wide while the wall as it stands is only two 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 stone-carving.

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[38] Blasa Villareal to Reverend Alto Hoermann, February 19, 1861, BCDR, vol. S1, p. 597.

[39] Felix Fellner, "Benedictine Pioneers at San José Mission and South Texas German Churches, 1859–1868: Extracts from St. Vincent Archabbey Archives and Abbot Boniface and his Monks," 1956, unpublished manuscript, copy in Special Library, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, San Antonio, Texas, p. 8, n. 35.

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 doorway which originally opened onto the balcony of the *celda principal* (main cell).

All second story walls beyond the east wall of Benedictine room number 4 are also Benedictine construction, except the arcade wall and perhaps a portion of the east wall of room number 5. Prior to 1860, the kitchen (Benedictine rooms number 7 and number 8) 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 number 7 and number 8, built into room number 6 of the 1823 appraisal, was called a "double kitchen."

At the time of the Benedictine work, ground level was somewhat 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.

The Benedictines managed to lay flooring and build a roof for the two stories of room number 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.

Archaeology 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.[40] There is no hint of their existence in the

[40] Daniel E. Fox, *Archeological Salvage at Mission San José, December 1969, April and August, 1970, Texas Historical Commission Special Publication No. 3* (Austin: Office of the State Archeologist,1970), pp. 11–13; *John W. Clark, Jr., Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo: Archeological Investigations, December 1974, Texas Historical Commission Report No. 29,* (Austin: Office of the State Archeologist,1978), pp. 4 fig. 2, 45.

1785 inventory or the 1823 appraisal, and the artifacts 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.[41] A sketch of San José that gives a view down the north wall of the convento was drawn by Seth Eastman in November 1848, and it shows no row of rooms along this wall.[42] This indicates that they were built after 1823 and torn down before 1848, or that they were built after 1848. Because the artifacts could have been deposited as late as the early 1860s, it seems most likely 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, and that they were removed after the Benedictines left.

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, from which the Benedictine effort at San José never recovered. The effort was abandoned in 1868, and the title to all lands transferred to Bishop Dubuis of Galveston.[43] On December 10 of that year, a large section of the north wall of the nave collapsed, considerably weakening the support of the massive ceiling vault and dome, and services were moved to the sacristy.[44]

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.[45] 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.[46] Finally, six years after the collapse of the north wall of the church, during midnight Mass on Christmas Day, December 25, 1874, the dome and vault of the church collapsed, bringing down the wooden tribune, and severely damaging the carved stonework of the door into the

[41] 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.

[42] Seth Eastman, *A Seth Eastman Sketchbook, 1848–1849* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), p. 43.

[43] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 147.

[44] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 111.

[45] Bishop Dubuis to Notre Dame University, March 19, 1873, BCDR, vol. W2, p. 612.

[46] Carlos E. Castañeda, *The Church in Texas Since Independence, 1836–1950, vol. 7, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1958), p. 226. 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; Harriet Prescott Spofford, "San Antonio de Bexar," Harper's, 1877, vol. 55, no. 330, p. 841. Neither are any structural changes known which can be attributed to this religious order.

sacristy.[47] Title was returned to Bishop Neraz in 1885,[48] and remained in the hands of the local Church until 1923, when the missions were passed on to the Redemptorist Fathers of San Antonio.

San Juan: The 1824 Secularization

With the appraisal and sale of mission property at San Juan in 1824, the colonial period of the mission came to an end. As at the other missions, all subsequent 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.

Unlike the two northern missions of San José and Concepción, 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.

As at the other missions, the Mexican government carried out an explicit inventory of standing structures at San Juan in the final secularization appraisal of 1824 and the reappraisal of land sold in 1827. These documents were made available to the general public by Mardith Schuetz-Miller in 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 manuscripts. It differs from Schuetz-Miller's published interpretation in several key details.[49]

The Church and Sacristy

In 1824 the new church mentioned by López forty years earlier remained incomplete. There were still hopes, however, of completing the building. It was designed without

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[47] Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*, p. 111.

[48] Edward Soren to Bishop John C. Neraz, no date, 1885, BCDR, vol. 40, p. 605.

[49] Specifically, Bexar County Archives (BCA), Mission Records (MR) number 15, Jose Antonio Saucedo, *"Abaluo de las Casas y Muralla de la Mision de San Juan,"* February 11, 1824; MR 20, José Antonio Saucedo, *"Venta de las fabricas y muralla de la Mision de S[an] Juan,"* March 15, 1824; MR 27, Miguel Arciniega,*"Noticia de las casas y solares que ocupan los naturales é hijos de estos, y la antigua vecinos recidentes en la estinguida Micion de San Juan,"* November 24, 1830; and others where useful.

transepts, with a sacristy in the shape of a "circle" (actually an octagon) and a square baptistry. The walls of the church were completed to varying heights, and were intended to be vaulted.[50]

By 1824, the church and sacristy in use in 1772, and the adjoining storeroom on the south, were all gone. They had probably been torn down about 1794 upon completion of the present church. The present church of San Juan, probably completed by Antonio Salazar about 1791, 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 seventy feet long and seventeen feet wide. The campanario (more accurately, an espadaña, or bell-wall) had a cross and two bells with iron clappers.[51] The church had a choir loft of beams reached by a wooden stairway, and a wooden railing.

The 1824 inventory is the only description we have of the present church of San Juan while it was an operating church under the Franciscans. The main door was a single door with a key. There was a confessional containing an armchair and a small basin for holy water on a wooden base. The sanctuary had two steps of wood. At the top was a lathe-turned communion railing with a gate in the center. The altar was formed by a large wooden table on a wooden platform, and on the main altar was a trono made with a three-level grada. There was a small side altar made using a second wooden table. This altar had a nicho in its center, and two shelved platforms at its sides. On these two altars were a number of statues, but the inventory did not indicate where they were located:

- One statue of San Juan Capistrano, more than one-half vara tall.
- A statue of Jesus Nazareno one and one-half varas tall.
- A small metal crucifix.
- A statue of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, one vara tall.
- Another statue of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, one-half vara tall, very deteriorated.

The sacristy was seventeen feet square, and the doorway into the church had no door. A second doorway, with a door, opened into the plaza. It contained a set of shelves with a double door, a bastidor for towels to dry the hands, and a table of wood with three drawers and an alucena unida with a door in which the vestments of the church were

[50] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5578.

[51] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5578.

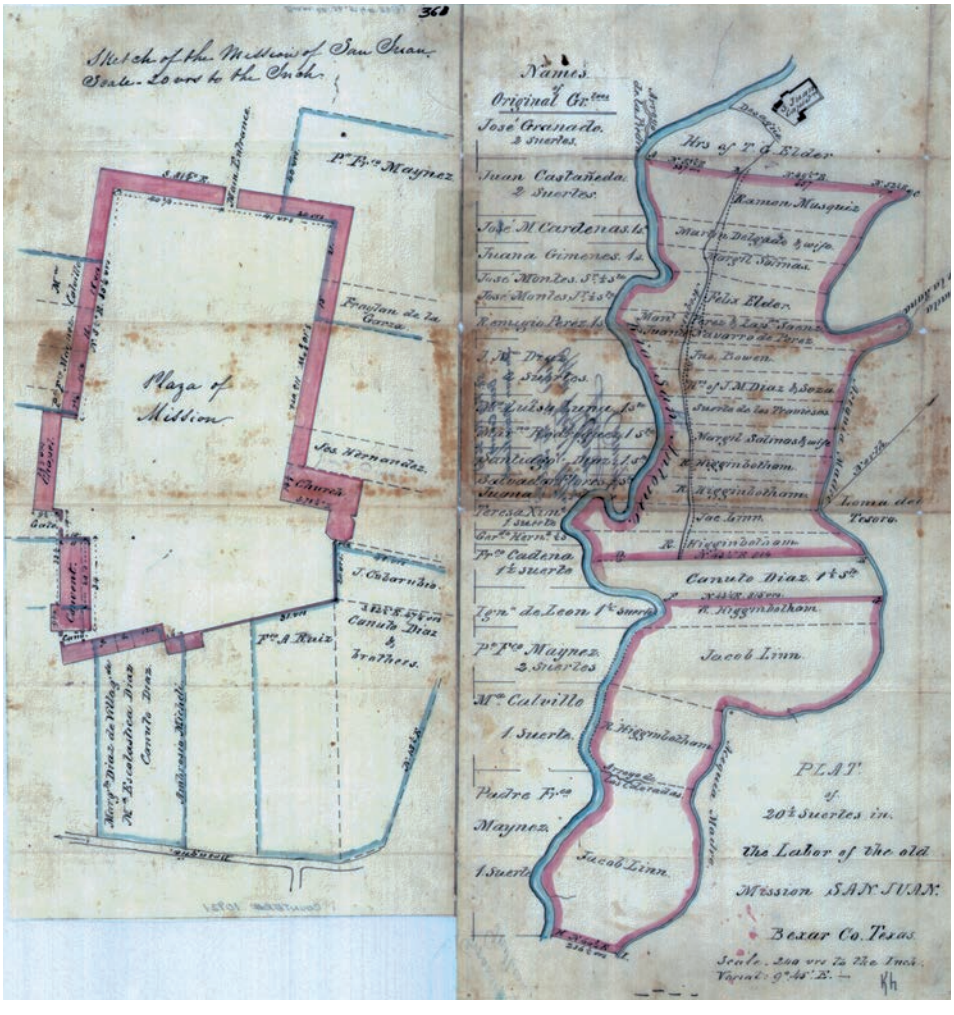


FIGURE 46: Francois Giraud's, "Sketch of the Mission of San Juan." Bexar County Sketch File 36b, Map #10921, Map Collection, Archives and Records Program Texas General Land Office, Austin, TX.

kept. The church had a good selection of vestments and silver items for the altar. The roof of the sacristy, remarked the inventory, was as poor as the roof of the church.[52]

About the time of the final secularization of San Juan, the parish began work on a rectory for the church. It apparently had not been built as of 1824, based on the lack of any reference to it, and was gone by 1890 when William Corner drew a map of the mission and again did not include it. Whether it was present when Francois Giraud mapped the compound about 1847 is uncertain, since Giraud had a tendency to leave off anything he considered to be non-colonial.[53]

[52] Maynes and Diaz de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5578.

[53] François Giraud, "Sketch of the Mission of San Juan," in "Field Notes of 2 tracts, comprising 19 Suertes in the Labor de San Juan, Bexar Co. Texas," Bexar County Sketch File No. 36, 36(b), Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas.

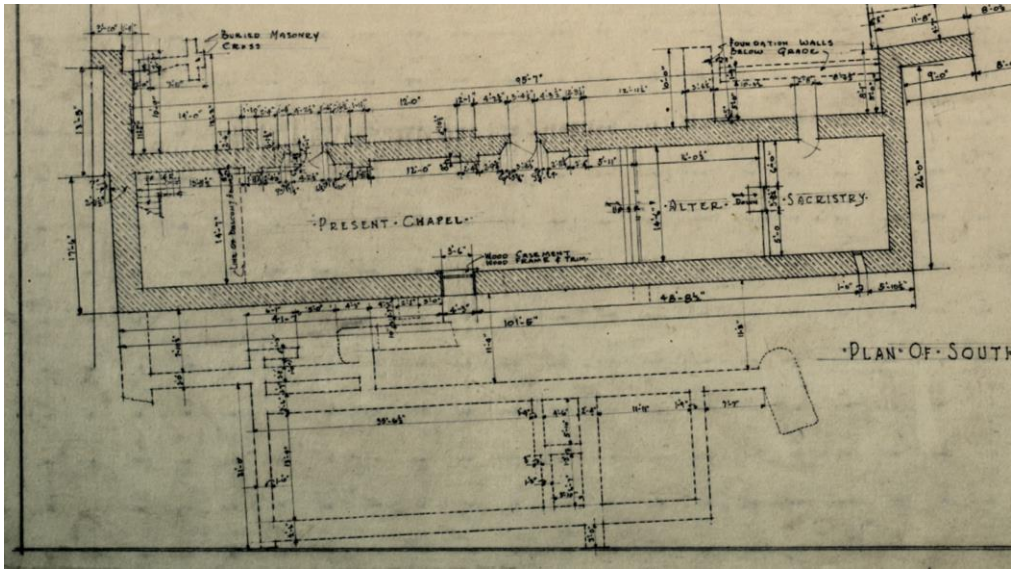


FIGURE 47: Harvey P. Smith in the 1930s found an odd complex of foundations at San Juan that could have been a flight of about four or five steps between rooms next to the church. Image courtesy the Alexander Architectural Archives, Architecture and Planning Library, University of Texas Libraries.

To provide access from the new rectory to the church, workers 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 down the length of the church and about fourteen feet wide, with a second set of rooms on its west side. These were two rooms amounting to fifty-nine feet in length, and sixteen feet wide. The southernmost two rooms along the church had a roof about eleven feet high above the outside ground surface, or about thirteen feet above the floor of the church. The roof of the northernmost room enclosing the doorway into the church was thirteen feet above the ground, or fifteen 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 this little group of foundations could have been a flight of about four or five steps. If that is what these foundations were, then it is likely that the western rooms 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. Smith's archaeology found some indication of other rooms adjoining these on the south and west.

In 1854, John Russell Bartlett had noticed paintings on the walls of Church 4: "About two miles below San José, and upon the opposite side of the river, are the ruins of San



FIGURE 48: San Juan Church interior 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 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 the opening was blocked when the interior was plastered and painted. The floor appears to be earth. Image courtesy UTSA Special Collections.

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."[54]

[54] John Russell Bartlett*, Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents* (New York: D.L. Appleton & Company, 1854), p. 44.

Speaking in a San Antonio Express interview in 1936, an old resident of the mission recalled that fifty years earlier, in 1886, 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."[55] In 1890 the church was still roofless and its deterioration was being hastened by exposure to the elements. Corner said that the sacristy at the south end of the building still had its roof, and was used to store the church books, pictures, and santos. Only one bell remained in the espadaña.[56]

Corner described the paintings on the walls of the church first mentioned by Bartlett in 1854. This is a particularly important passage because the paintings were painted over or destroyed early in the twentieth century, and his is the most detailed 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.

[55] *San Antonio Express*, January 26, 1936.

[56] Corner, San Antonio de Bexar, p. 20

> 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.[57]

The Convento Area

With the removal of the first stone church and the rest of the east row, as well as the wall closing the north side of the convento, San Juan became the large open square it is today. The friary building in 1824 was in fair condition, although much of its roofing was of little value. 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 portería was gone. The portería walls were in very poor condition; however, this referred primarily to the stonework filling the openings of the old entranceway. The arches themselves still stood. The obraje had a floor of unusable tile, a flat roof, and a usable door. Included as part of this room was the northernmost arch in the portal, or corredor. The quarto de tareas, or workshop, 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." The measurements for 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 portería of 1772, and was described in 1824 as having ruined walls of stone. No roof construction was mentioned. 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 northern portion of the convento, (rooms number 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 Compañía Volante del Alamo. He

[57] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 20–21



FIGURE 49: Hermann Lungkwitz drawing of Mission San Juan, ca. 1850. Courtesy of the San Antonio Conservation Society Foundation.

soon transferred the structure to Ramón Músquiz, the man who conducted the appraisal of the secular structures of San José and the purchaser of the convento of Concepción. Músquiz sold his portion of the convento to Francis Guilbeau in 1860.[58] Celda 2 and its alcove, the southernmost arch of the corredor, and the closed portería were sold to Dona Manuela Flores.[59] 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 had been left through the fill in the eastern arch. The record of this transfer agrees in most details with the appraisal, with the exception that the portería is described as a "tabique . . . with two walls of stone, very deteriorated." A *tabique* is defined as a thin wall made of rubble stone, bricks, or adobes.[60] It is usually used to mean a partition wall, or a secondary wall between other, primary walls, and probably refers to the walls filling the arches. The stone itself was probably what was referred to as "very deteriorated," since the combined celda 2 and alcove and the arch in the portal were evaluated at six reales per cartload of stone, while the stone from the "tabique" were considered to be worth only two reales per cartload. In 1875 Guilbeau purchased the remainder of the convento, room number 14 and the associated arch of "room" number 15, and the room built

[58] Ramón Músquiz to Francis Guilbeau, March 9, 1860, BCDR, vol. R1, p. 514.

[59] Mexican Government to Bachillor Francisco Maynes and others, March 15, 1824, BCA, MR 20.

[60] *Vocabulario Arquitectonico Ilustrado*, p. 404.

into the entranceway or portería (room number 13) from the heirs of Thomas Devine.[61] As can be seen from the drawing made by Hermann Lungkwitz in ca. 1850, and the photograph taken soon afterward, the arcaded corredor and room number 18 were still standing, but had been removed by 1868 when the photograph was made.[62] It is possible that Guilbeau dismantled them as a source of building stone, as happened to much of the south end of the mission.

On the south row, the wall between the hospedería and the *oficina del commun* had been removed and the new long room had a flat roof. East of the combined hospedería 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 first room, which had been the bread-making room in 1772, had partially ruined walls and no roof. The room east of this, which had contained the oficina segunda in 1772, was in even worse condition. It was referred to as *un sitio*, a site or lot, forty-four feet long and twenty-seven feet wide with walls of ruined stone. The phrase "un sitio" probably derives from "un sitio de casa," a 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 François Giraud indicates a building here, and archaeological studies 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.[63]

The Pueblo

The fifteen houses of stone that were still under construction in 1772 were completed soon after and were still in fairly good condition in 1824. According to the count of the appraisal there were thirteen 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 fifteen 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

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[61] Heirs of Thomas Devine to Francis Guilbeau, May 11, 1875, BCDR, vol. 1, p. 423.

[62] Santiago Escobedo, "'Mission San Juan S.A. River Tex:' A Rare Photographic Gem Comes to Light," *Catholic Southwest: A Journal of History and Culture, 13*(2002):80.

[63] François Giraud, "Sketch of the Mission of San Juan," in "Field Notes of 2 tracts, comprising 19 Suertes in the Labor de San Juan, Bexar Co. Texas," Bexar County Sketch File No. 36, 36(b), Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas; see also Schuetz, Historical Documentation, fig. 7, following p. 67.

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, possibly meaning they, too, had flat zacate roofs. 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 "headpiece," or lintel, 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 cabezeras were part of a shed-like roof structure on these three houses. The other ten houses had pitched roofs of thatch, a much more effective way to use this material.

With the reduction in the population of San Juan from 1772 to 1823, fewer houses were needed. In 1790 there were twenty-four adult Indians living at San Juan, and sixty-nine other individuals who were not mission Indians. By 1809 this number had fallen to twenty Indians and forty-six Hispanics. In 1823 the population was even lower, with a total of twenty-six individuals, Indian and Hispanic. After 1823 the population slowly increased again and a few new houses were built, but most of the new occupants were Hispanic.[64]

The appraisals of 1823–27 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 baptistry of church 3. 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.

Most of the rooms and lots along the south side of the compound were purchased by Francis Guilbeau during the 1850s. Photographs and archaeological evidence reveal that much of the south side stood relatively intact, although without roofs, until stone robbing destroyed perhaps 50 percent of the structures, mostly their south walls, 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 to a particular person or date. This is the house the remains of which were 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

[64] Schuetz, *Excavation of the Convento*, pp. 192–199.

from Julian Cobarubio and wife to Guilbeau in 1858.[65] There are apparent conflicts with other deeds which convey what seems to be the same lot without reference to the Cobarubios.[66] Some traces of foundation extending eastward from the restored wall are visible today, but no specific archaeological 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.[67] North of this house, several lots went through a series of transfers among heirs.

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. 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 east wall.

The entire northeast corner was sold to Father Francisco Maynes in 1824.[68] The property was later transferred to Jacob Linn, although this deed has not yet been located. Linn sold to Guilbeau in 1860.[69] 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.[70] A house was built on this lot between 1827 and 1853, and is visible east of the gateway in the Lungkwitz drawing

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[65] Julian Cobarubio and wife to Francis Guilbeau, July 25, 1858, BCDR, vol. P2, p. 498.

[66] John McMullen to Henry McDonald, October 18, 1850, BCDR, vol. K2, p. 108, for example.

[67] Miguel Arciniega*,"Noticia de las casas y solares que ocupan los naturales e hijos de estos, y los antiguas Vecinos residentes en la extinguida Mision de San Fran[cis]co de la Espada...,"* July 24, 1827, BCA, MR 65.

[68] Mexican Government to Bachillor Francisco Maynes and others, March 15, 1824, BCAMR 20.

[69] Jacob Linn to Francis Guilbeau, February 15, 1860, BCDR, vol. R1, p. 543.

[70] Miguel Arciniega,"*Noticia de las casas y solares que ocupan los naturales e hijos de estos, y los antiguas Vecinos residentes en la extinguida Mision de San Fran[cis]co de la Espada...,"* July 24, 1827, BCAMR 65.

of ca. 1850. No traces of this house are visible today, and it is not known of what it was made. 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 stone gateway forming a formal entrance into the mission. This can be seen in the anonymous rough sketch dating from about 1839, 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 through the mid-nineteenth century, and probably in many cases until 1900. 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 suggests that Guilbeau and the owners of the mission buildings after him rented the houses to various occupants.

A number of changes occurred to the houses north of the present 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.

Although "less remarkable and distinguished than the other two [Concepción and San José]," Corner concedes that Mission San Juan does have its "points of interest":

> Its square is well defined and the design of a complete Mission can be made out with less difficulty here and at the Fourth Mission 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] form parts of and are built into the boundary or rampart walls.[71]

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.

[71] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 20. This statement is not altogether true for Concepción, where the east end of the church formed part of the east face of the enclosure.

There was an unexpected discovery: "[he] found human bones, flint arrow heads, and other relics buried there."[72]

The Granary

The granary of San Juan is mentioned only in the most vague of terms in 1824. An addendum to the original appraisal lists 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 twenty-three pesos,one-half real, and the other for "the rest of the walls of the troxe" to Teniente (Lieutenant) Don Juan de Castañeda for the amount of thirty pesos, six reales. This totals fifty-three pesos, six and one-half reales, suggesting that the troxe sold to Maynes and Castañeda was probably the same structure as "the ruined walls of the room called 'Galera,' evaluated at 53 pesos, 6½ reales" listed in the original appraisal. 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. 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.[73] Fortunately, in 1844 George W. Kendall left us a brief but significant description of San Juan that gives us the location of the new granary, the fifth one at San Juan: "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."[74] This group of foundations east of the church, the same area where Antonio Tello apparently began construction of the foundations of a permanent church for San Juan in the 1740s, must have been the granary used at the mission in its last years and sold for its stone during the final secularization.

Kendall also gives us a specific reference to a tower at San Juan during this time: "on the northwest corner are the remains of a small stone tower."[75] At present we cannot associate Kendall's tower with any known structures. This tower had been built at San Juan in the same way that the torreon had been built on the southeast corner of the

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[72] J. W. Schuhardt, "Around the Missions Half Century Ago," *San Antonio Express*, January 26, 1936

[73] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 16.

[74] George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition [etc.], vol. 1* (London: Wiley & Putnam, 1844), p. 51.

[75] George Wilkins Kendall, Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition [etc.], vol. 1 (London: Wiley & Putnam, 1844), p. 51.

Espada compound, and both were in use in 1826, after the missions were secularized.[76] During the years after 1800, the southernmost missions increasingly suffered from Apache raids. In order to provide some protection for these isolated communities, beginning about 1819 detachments of the 12th Infantry Battalion were stationed at San Juan, although we do not know where within the walls they may have been quartered. If the pattern followed at Espada was also used at San Juan, then the military quarters were probably those on either side of the torreon on the northwest corner.

In 1826, the San Juan detachment was operating under specific rules of engagement:

> *Ynstruccion a q[u]e se deve arreglar el Com[andan]te del Destacam[ien]to a S[a]n Juan*
>
> *Se compondrá este es un oficial, un Sarg[en]to, un Cabo y ocho Sold[ado]s.*
>
> *La tropa se hallará municionada con 40 cartuch[e]s p[o]r Plasa.*
>
> *En ningun Caso ni tiempo Saldrá la tropa fuera a la muralla de d[ic]ho punto, y el Com[andan]te q[u]e la permitiere me será responsable de las desgracias q[u]e puedan sobrevenir p[o]r la infraccion de esta or[de]n;*
>
> *Si se le presentare alguna Patada a Ynd[io]s barbaros a los q[u]e nos estan hostilisando en la actualidad se vast[a]rá con ellos sin salir de la muralla y pedirá al Alc[ald]e un Moso á caballo con guia dará parte al Cap[ita]n D[on] Candido Arcos situado en S[a]n José;*
>
> *Pedirá a d[ic]ho alcalde el alojam[ien]to necesario p[ar]a la tropa y p[ar]a si;*
>
> *Mantendrá todos los dias una guardia de un cabo y 4 sold[ado]s en la puerta muralla y estará con tanta vigilansia como responsable de cualquiera Sorpresa;*
>
> *Con la Tropa Franca Mantendrá todo el dia un vigia sobre la torre q[u]e abise oportunam[en]te a la aproximacion al enemigo;*
>
> *Tendrá a dia y de noche las Francas de la Muralla puestas de modo q[u]e los Ynd[io]s no puedan entrar a un golpe a Mano y será del cargo a la guardia abrir y cerrar la puerta siempre q[u]e entren carretas ó caballos;*
>
> *Como responsable q[u]e me es de cualesquiera desgracia observará exatisimam[en]te cuanto se le ha prevenido y dictará las providencias q[u]e crea necesarias al mejor Serv[ici]o de nuestra Patria.*

[76] Rock, Archival Research, p. 47.

Bejar 26 de Marso de 1826[77]

Directive that the Commander of the Detachment at San Juan must obey

This [detachment] is to be composed of an officer, a sergeant, a corporal, and eight soldiers;

The troop should have ammunition of 40 cartridges per position;

Under no circumstances should the troop sally outside the defensive wall of the said place, and the Commander that may permit this will be responsible to me for the consequences that may occur from the infraction of this order;

If some few uncivilized Indians should show themselves, of those that are hostile to us in actuality, it will be enough for them, without going out of the protective wall, to request from the Alcalde that a workman by horse with a permit should report to Captain Don Candido Arcos stationed at San José;

He will request the necessary sustenance from the said alcalde for the troop and for himself;

A daily guard of a corporal and four soldiers should be maintained in the gate of the defensive wall, and should be with such vigilance so as to respond to whatever surprise;

With the remaining troop, every day a watch should be maintained from the tower that will advise opportunely of the approach of the enemy;

Day and night the remaining soldiers will have places on the enclosing wall in such a manner that the Indians are not able to enter with one assault, and it will be the responsibility of the guard to open and close the gate whenever carts or horses enter;

Because any misfortune is my responsibility, whatever has been advised will be obeyed most exactly and those steps will be taken that I may think necessary for the best service of our country.

[77] Rock, Archival Research, p. 45; Mateo Ahumada to José Antonio Saucedo, March 10, 1826, BAM 90:396–97; Mateo Ahumada to Commandante of troops at Mission San Juan, March 26, 1826, BAM 90:811–12.

Bexar, 25 March, 1826.

These same rules probably applied to the troops at Espada as well. The continuing presence of military troops at San Juan up to the disturbances of the 1830s probably kept the church in good condition during these years.

The San Juan Area During the Civil War and Late Nineteenth Century

Francis Guilbeau owned the majority of the mission structures in the 1870s, and Celestine Villemain purchased this property in 1880. 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 in and near San Juan was sold by Bishop Neraz in the late nineteenth century.

Edward 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.'"[78]

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 San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railroad opened its first station at Berg's Mill.[79] The mission community had entered a new era: "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

[78] Edward King, *The Great South* (Hartford: The American Publishing Co., 1875), p. 156

[79] Dan Scurlock, Adan Benavides, Jr., D. Isham, and John W. Clark, Jr., An Archeological and Historical Survey of the Proposed Mission Parkway, San Antonio, Texas, Office of the State Archeologist, Archeological Survey Report 17 (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1976), pp. 130, 235.

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."[80]

Except 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 forty-five dollars 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.[81]

Espada: The Secularization of 1824

The last complete inventory which included the size, shape and composition of the buildings of the mission of Espada was associated with the final secularization of the missions in 1824, as at the other missions.[82]

The Chapel and Sacristy

In 1824 the present church was in use, after being remodeled to its present form by Antonio Salazar about 1777. The church was sixty-one feet long and fourteen feet wide. As at San Juan, the 1824 inventory gives us the only description of the present church while it was still being administered as a mission. The building had a beam roof described as "very ruined," and a choir loft of beams with a wooden bannister and stone stairs, probably the original loft and stairs from the first construction of the church in 1744–1745. The campanario (actually an espadaña) added by Salazar about 1790, at the same time he built an identical espadaña at San Juan, had three bells, one of which had no clapper. The church had three doors, the main one, one to the sacristy, and one to the convento. It had three windows, one of them apparently the one over the choir loft, and the other two along the walls of the nave. The church had no transepts in 1824—these were added as an afterthought by Bouchu during restoration of the church in 1885–1890.[83]

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[80] *San Antonio Express*, February 5, 1884, in Donald E. Everett, *San Antonio: The Flavor of its Past 1845–1898* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1975), p. 16.

[81] *San Antonio Express*, February 5, 1884, in Everett, *San Antonio*, p. 17.

[82] Jose Antonio Saucedo, *"Abaluo de las casas y muralla de la Mision de S[a]n Francisco de la Espada,"* February 12, 1824, BCA, MR 64; Miguel Arciniega*,"Noticia de las casas y solares que ocupan los naturales e hijos de estos, y los antiguas Vecinos residentes en la extinguida Mision de San Fran[cis]co de la Espada...,"* July 24, 1827, BCA, MR 65.

[83] Bouchu's drawing has the plan and elevation of the new church drawn in ink, and the transepts roughly sketched in pencil; Father Francis Bouchu, "Espada," ca. 1880, in the "Espada File" in the Chancellory, Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio San Antonio, Texas.

In the church were two altar tables, as in 1778. That for the main altar has at its sides two stepped platforms, where the statues stood. In the middle of the altar was a gilded tabernacle with its key. As at San Juan, the inventory then lists the various statues on the altars, without indicating where they were located. Some of these were on the main altar, and some were on the side altar:

> One statue of San Francisco 1½ varas tall. One of Jesus Nazareno, also 1½ varas tall. A crucifix ½ vara tall. A statue of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, 1¾ varas tall. A Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, ½ vara tall. A Purísima Concepción 1 vara tall. A San José ½ vara tall. A San Antonio ½ vara tall. Two small statues, one of Maria Santissima and the other of San José, with estofa vestments.[84]

> Neither the size of the sacristy nor its location relative to the church is given, but surviving traces mapped in 1955 tells us it was the same converted convento room, oficina 1, put into use about 1777.[85] In it was a table with four drawers, where the vestments and silver for the church were kept.[86] The roof of the sacristy was described as "ruined." The reconstructed church and sacristy had been neglected in the years before 1824 long enough for their roofs to deteriorate severely.

As at San Juan, the continued military presence at Espada may have kept the church in operation after secularization until 1836, but after the Texas Revolution, it suffered the same kind of neglect as the other missions. The church roof fell in, and eventually the new, thinner side walls followed, until by 1858 only the thick walls of the facade at the east end and the back wall at the west end of the church stood relatively intact.[87] The side walls were no more than one to two feet high, and the sacristy had also collapsed.

The Convento

In 1824 the friary was in ruins. Very little of the roof and floor structure of the two-story building and of its corridors was described and appraised—the entire building, upstairs and down, is lumped together as "Five rooms [of the convento], 58 feet long,

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[84] Maynes and de Leon, *"Inventario,"* 1824, ff. 5580–81.

[85] Harvey P. Smith and Associates, "Restoration of Convent for use as a Rectory, Espada Mission," in Harvey P. Smith Collection (San Antonio Missions National Historical Park: San Antonio, Texas, ca. 1955).

[86] Maynes and de Leon, "Inventario," 1824, f. 5581.

[87] Fray Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968)., p. 225

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 . . ."[88] The count of five rooms indicates that at least one room was still recognizable on the second floor. Photographs and drawings done in the middle to late nineteenth century and Smith's investigations show that only the ground-level room containing the stairway and privy, oficina 4, and on the second floor, celda 3 without its alcove, survived in sufficiently good condition to be restored by Bouchu as his dwelling in the mid-nineteenth century. The remainder of the second floor had fallen, and the northern first floor rooms were only fragments of wall and piles of rubble.[89]

On the south wall of the convento compound, only the cocina and antecocina remained in 1824. The obraje and the bread-making room had collapsed or been removed. The cocina and antecocina were in good condition, and had been occupied since 1799 by Rafael Casillas, a resident of the mission. He was granted legal title to both of them as a single house in 1824. 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. 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.[90] The reference to the other arches is vague, but implies that some of the first floor row of arches still stood.[91] In 1890 Corner indicated the southernmost arch could still be recognized in this area.[92]

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[88] Jose Antonio Saucedo, *"Abaluo de las casas y muralla de la Mision de S[a]n Francisco de la Espada,"* February 12, 1824, BCAMR 64.

[89] Harvey P. Smith, "Measured Drawings, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas," in Harvey P. Smith Collection (San Antonio Missions National Historical Park: San Antonio, Texas, 1934).

[90] Jose Antonio Saucedo, *"Abaluo de las casas y muralla de la Mision de S[a]n Francisco de la Espada,"* February 12, 1824, BCAMR 64, p. 2 no. 25.

[91] Jose Antonio Saucedo, *"Abaluo de las casas y muralla de la Mision de S[a]n Francisco de la Espada,"* February 12, 1824, BCAMR 64, p. 3 no. 27.

[92] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar, plan of Espada Mission*, ff.16.

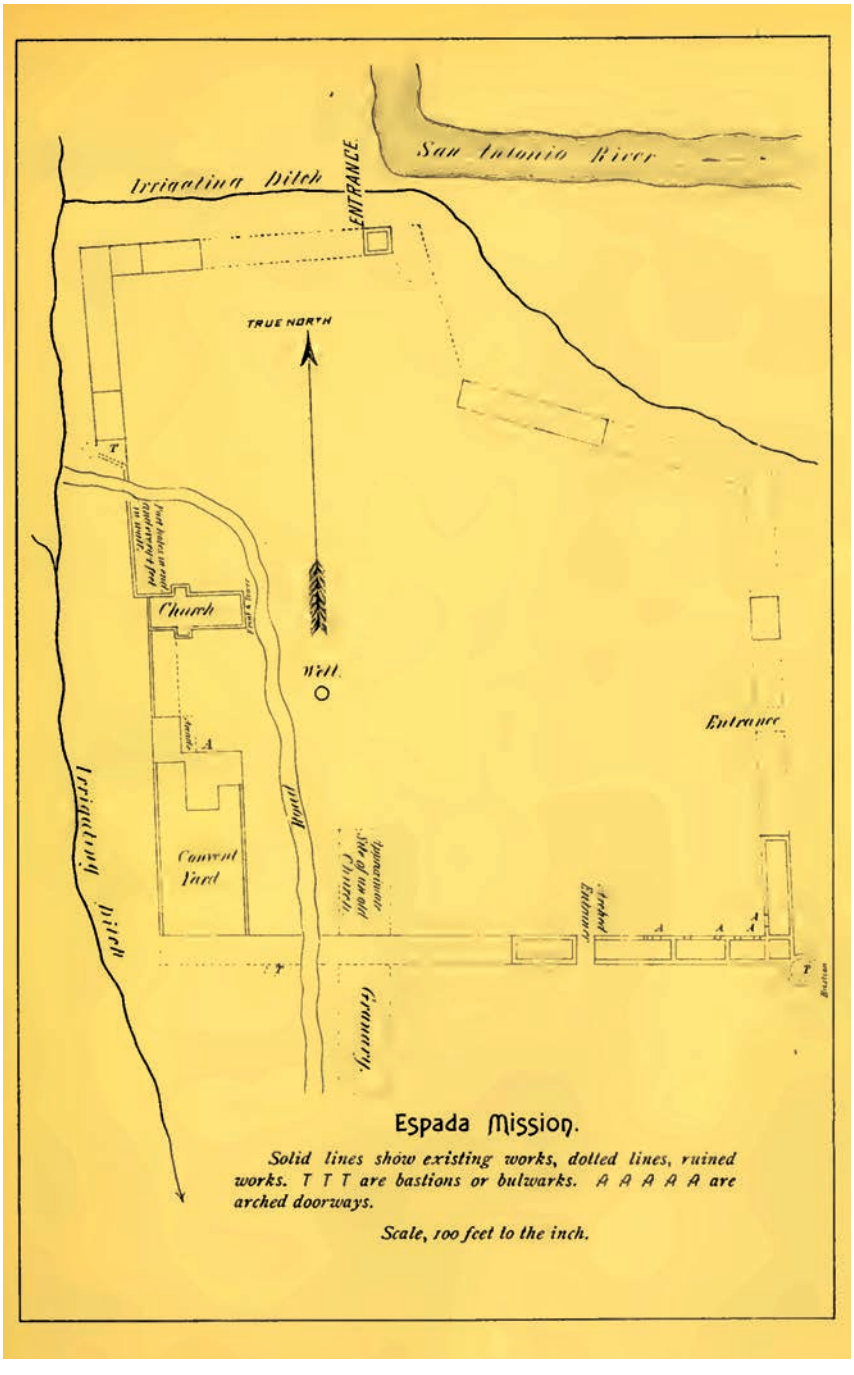


FIGURE 50: William Corner's 1890 drawing of Mission Espada indicates the presence of an arch in the convento area. From *San Antonio de Bexar: A Guide and History*.

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, when it was described as "a granary of which only the walls remain," and later in

the same document as the "old granary."[93] In the l890s residents of the mission still remembered its location and use.[94] It probably was abandoned at the time of partial secularization in 1794.

The Pueblo

By 1824 many of the new houses built as part of the extension of the muralla to the east in ca. 1780 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* (gate to the river) or sometimes the *zaguan Naciónal* (the "national gate"). A second pasadiso had been built on the south side of the new plaza. It was called the *pasadiso para la labor* (gate to the fields), 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,* the main gate. 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 about 1780.

There is no specific reference in the 1824–1827 appraisals to the bastion on the southeastern corner of the muralla. The rooms at the southeast corner were described and evaluated with little indication that any structure other than the houses stood at the corner. However, there is an indication in later documents that Maria Josepha de la Garza, the widow of Juan Antonio Casanova, was granted the bastion. In 1826, in her will, Maria Josepha stated that "I declare to be my property in said Mission [of Espada] a small room of stone, without any depth, for which the government has been paid."[95] Her son José Dolores Casanova had acquired room 14, and in the reappraisal of 1827, this area is confused, but specifically mentions "a room annexed to the preceding and to the number [14] of D[oñ]a Josefa de la Garza, constructed of stone..."[96] Although this description gave the wrong size for the bastion (fourteen varas by four varas, while the bastion is about four varas in diameter and attached to the south end of room 14), the size given is wrong for any other possible interpretation of

[93] Mexican Government to Bentura de la Garza, December 21, 1824, BCAMR 58.

[94] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 23.

[95] Will of Maria Josefa de la Garza, May 16, 1826, Bexar County Archives, Wills.

[96] Arciniega, *"Noticia de las casas y solares que ocupan los naturales e hijos de estos, y los antiguas Vecinos residentes en la extinguida Mision de San Fran[cis]co de la Espada....,"* July 24, 1827, BCAMR 65, pp. 5–6

the item as well—it is reasonable to assume that it refers to the bastion, and the notary finalizing the appraisal notes could not make sense out of the references in the original records.

Visiting in the 1840s, George W. Kendall said that the church was in ruins, but that the mission was inhabited. He noted that although two sides of the square were made up of "mere walls," the other two sides were composed of dwellings.[97] Deed records of the post-colonial period and the several archaeological investigations conducted at Espada give additional information. 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 twenty feet east to west and about twenty-eight feet north to south.

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 Casillas. It continued to be transferred as a lot within the plaza until 1857.[98]

The south wall from the 1824 granary to the bastion, and from the bastion north for perhaps eighty feet, was the area apparently occupied by troops from San Antonio during the 1820s and perhaps the early 1830s.[99] Some details of construction and alteration of the occupied buildings may 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. Excavations around the bastion have found that the top of the torreon wall footing was higher, and was abutted to the earlier mission walls rather than being tied to them. Entrance into the torreon is through an opening which apparently was cut through the corner walls of the original building. The artifacts found indicate a construction date in the early 19th century.[100] The rooms on either side of the bastion continued in use

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[97] Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition [etc.],* p. 51.

[98] Arciniega, *"Noticia de las casas y solares que ocupan los naturales e hijos de estos, y los antiguas Vecinos residentes en la extinguida Mision de San Fran[cis]co de la Espada...."* July 24, 1827, BCA, MR 65, pp. 5–6; Mexican Government to Juan Casillas, March 23, 1838, BCDR, vol. E1, p. 209; Manuel Casillas, et. al., to Francisco Casillas, 1841, BCDR, vol. A2, pp. 513–14; Francis Casillas to Maria Josefa Garza, July 8, 1871, BCDR, vol. W1, pp. 283–84; Juan Francisco de Paula Barrera to Maria Josefa Garza, September 9, 1857, BCDR, vol. U2, p. 11.

[99] Habig, *Alamo Chain*, p. 224.

[100] Anne A. Fox and Thomas R. Hester, "Archaeological Test Excavations at Mission San Francisco de la Espada," in Center for Archaeological Research, Archaeological Survey Report (San Antonio: University of Texas at San Antonio, 1976), pp. 9, 12, 26; Rosalind Z. Rock, "Archival Research Project on the San Antonio Missions During the Mexican Period, 1821–1836," (National Park Service, San Antonio, Texas: Special Library, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, 1982), pp. 45–46, 56; Habig, *Alamo Chain*, p. 224.

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.

Corner gave 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.[101]

Corner goes on to note the "Mission's oldest resident," Sebastian Tejada, "maintains that there was still another place of worship on the inside of the south wall by the road," probably referring to the granary church of 1773–1777. 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. In 1890 this convent and its yard were used as the priest's residence.[102]

In his discussion of the compound Corner mentions a second bastion, which had been on the south wall to the west of the existing torreon, but no trace of it can be seen today. On his map Corner showed it as a half-moon bastion just west of the south gate near the granary. He also described the houses along the south compound wall after they were rebuilt by the military after the fire of 1826:[103] "The chambers to the west of the existing 'baluarte' have, looking out upon the square, alternate door and arches, and

[101] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 22.

[102] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 23.

[103] Habig, Alamo Chain, p. 224.

one 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.[104]

Corner' s interview with Sebastian Tejada, born in one of the mission dwellings in 1813, offers vivid structural information as well as poignant memories: "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. . . . 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."[105]

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. Jacales present in 1772 would have long since disappeared, and stone buildings, unless maintained, would have deteriorated to broken walls and rubble. They would have been considered private property, not subject to appraisal or sale. Deed records of individual mission lots in the county courthouse may 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 study, but is well documented in the above-mentioned deed records.

Father Francis Bouchu at Espada

Corner introduces Father Francis Bouchu, the "wonderfully active and persevering" Frenchman who has been priest at Espada since 1858: "He has built with his own hands upon the ruin of the old Convent and arcade a comfortable Priest house. Under his rule the Mission Chapel has been almost entirely renewed, the front only retaining a portion of its ancient work."[106]

Bouchu set up a temporary church somewhere in the compound. In 1869 a description of a visit to the ruins of the present church by San Antonio locals said that "part of the

[104] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 23.

[105] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, pp. 23–24.

[106] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 22.

building was inhabited by bats and owls, in the other end an altar is erected and service is held there on the Sabbath."[107] A decade later, in 1877, Prescott described the fallen church: "the front of La Espada towering above the dark foliage, a melancholy haunt of poetry and dreams."[108] In the same year, other writers mentioned that portions of the walls and the "sword-shaped tower" were still standing.[109] Corner took note of inhabitants at Espada: "Several Mexican families still reside in tumble-down huts on the lines of the Mission square."[110] 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.[111]

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."[112] 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's 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.[113] 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, where it 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.

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[107] *San Antonio Herald*, March 16, 1869, in Donald E. Everett, *San Antonio: The Flavor of its Past 1845–1898* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1975), p. 15.

[108] Spofford, "San Antonio de Bexar", pp. 841–42.

[109] Anonymous, "General Directory of the City of San Antonio for 1877–78," ff. 7–8, Institute of Texan Cultures, microfilm collection, San Antonio, Texas.

[110] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 23

[111] Father Francis Bouchu, annual report on conditions at Espada, 1892, "Notitiae," Archdiocese of San Antonio.

[112] W. Frances Scarborough, "Old Spanish Missions in Texas," *Southwest Review 13* (1928), p. 392

[113] Gregorio Casillas to Francis Bouchu, August 24, 1868, BCDR, vol. U2, p. 448.

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."[114] 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 in pencil. 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.[115]

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 completed church in 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. . . . The entrance door of the Chapel is unmistakably Moorish, having the true Alhambra shape and lines."[116] According to J. W. Schuhardt, in years immediately following Bouchu's reconstruction the church "had a bright unpainted metal roof," and "was kept in good repair."[117]

During the period of private ownership in the middle and late nineteenth century, interest in the old missions grew among the new Anglo-American residents of San Antonio, and among visitors to the city—the missions became tourist attractions. In the twentieth century, as San Antonio grew and began to surround the more northern missions, interest in preserving these relics of the colonial past increased. The Church put together interpretive programs for each of the old missions, and carried out restoration work on most of them from the 1930s through the 1970s. Finally, in the late twentieth century the southern four missions were put together in a national park, making them once again all under a single management.

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[114] Bishop J. C. Neraz to Francis Bouchu, August 11, 1884, BCDR, vol. 43, pp. 417–18.

[115] Father Francis Bouchu, "Espada," ca. 1884, original drawing in the Catholic Archdiocese Chancellory, San Antonio, Texas.

[116] Corner, *San Antonio de Bexar*, p. 22–23

[117] J. W. Schuhardt, "Around the Missions Half Century Ago," *San Antonio Express*, January 26, 1936.

Chapter 12
The San Antonio Missions and the Northern Frontier

In this final chapter we will look at several aspects of the character of mission development in San Antonio as part of the broader northen frontier of colonial Mexico.

One major source of architectural change at the missions was political change on the northern frontier, or at the highest levels in Mexico City and Spain. Hispanization, giving up the temporalities, and secularization of the missions were all political events, and all had direct architectural repercussions at the missions. In order to understand these events in Texas, we need to step back and look at mission development and decline across the northern frontier. This is surprisingly difficult, since few histories comparing these events on a frontier-wide basis have been published.

Historical research forms only one of three sources for the multi-disciplinary process needed to study the missions of the Southwest. Architectural history is sufficiently different in its approach that it constitutes a second source. Historical archaeology is the third.

Broader Connections: History

Secularization on the Northern Frontier

David Weber has said that "in a sense there is no historiography pertaining to Mexico's far northern frontier. Instead, there are books and articles dealing with portions of the Mexican frontier—California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas.... By and large, historians of the Mexican frontier have shown little interest in following themes or answering historical questions which lend themselves to a comparative approach.... [For example,] specialists in California history recognize that the secularization of the missions was a major event of the Mexican period, but rarely have they asked if it was important elsewhere on the frontier."[1]

The secularization of the missions of the American Southwest was a major event in the history of the lands of northern Mexico in Texas and the rest of the northern borderlands, as well as in California. It ended the institution of the mission which had been a critical component of northern policy and Indian control; it made available huge areas of land for distribution to the secular population while at the same time removing a major power in the economic system of the north. In some cases, secularization was not all that clearcut a step. Susan Deeds refers to "[e]xamples from Puebla where the friars had retained even their churches and cofradías" after secularization, while on other occasions, "the bishop cited two cases where Franciscans had relinquished

[1] David J. Weber, *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwes*t (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), p. 90.

missions in the north [in the 1550s], removing no properties whatsoever."[2] But the local order for the secularization of a given mission or group of missions came from a large body of legal and administrative precedent. The secularization of each area of the northern frontier was a separate legal episode, each with its roots in the distinct regulatory history of that area. Most areas shared some of that regulatory history, and as each area was secularized, its process and success influenced the path of subsequent secularizations. As a result, mission secularization of any given provincial area can be understood only poorly, if at all, in a local context.

Only against the background of the changing attitudes of civil authorities, the church, and the citizens of the north can we begin to see the forces driving the secularization and how pervasive they were. From a frontier-wide viewpoint, the events in Texas were surprisingly like those in California, and surprisingly unlike the secularization of the missions of Arizona and New Mexico. The reasons for these similarities and differences tell us about aspects of the territories of the north that would not otherwise be apparent. At the same time, the process of secularization in each province left a powerful imprint on the subsequent history of land use in each area.

The Reverend Gerald Geary, in his 1934 dissertation on the secularization of the California missions, created a benchmark of historical context for the secularization movement on the northern frontier, and established the accepted definition of what constituted secularization through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There are, however, a number of problems with Geary's definition of secularization and his interpretation of secularization events on the frontier. According to Geary, secularization "originally meant the substitution of secular priests for the religious order priests and the conversion of the mission into a parish. Later it also meant the raising of the Indian community to the status of a self-governing pueblo . . ."[3] These two phases of Geary's depiction of secularization, however, are effectively the same: when the act of secularization established the old mission community as a parish, it required some sort of community governmental structure to take the place of missionary administration of the temporalities, and Geary's distinction between the earlier and later practices becomes meaningless. In fact, Geary's definitions of secularization are somewhat blurry, as shown by his statement here, and need to be looked at more closely.

Although there were major secularization movements in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the earliest effort that directly affected the northern frontier now called the Spanish Borderlands in the United States was that of 1749. King Ferdinand VI, on October 4, 1749, issued a law that Geary interpreted as ordering the transfer of all

[2] Susan Deeds, "Rendering Unto Caesar: The Secularization of Jesuit Missions in Mid-Eighteenth Century Durango," PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 1981, p. 229.

[3] Gerald J. Geary, The Secularization of the California Missions (1810–1846), vol. 17 of The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1934), p. 16.

parishes and missions in Mexico from the care of the religious orders to the secular clergy—in other words, according to Geary, the King ordered that all the missions of Mexico be secularized. However, the viceroy Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Conde de Revillagigedo, in his instructions to his successor, Agustín de Ahumada y Villalón, Marqués de las Amarillas, in 1755 said that the decree actually did no more than order "the removal of the regulars in the Indies from the curas and doctrinas;" that is, it intended to replace missionaries (regulars) with secular clergy under the authority of a local bishop only in missions that had progressed far enough to become doctrinas, and in those parishes that had been forced to use members of the regular orders as priests because of the scarcity of secular priests. Because there were too few secular clergy who spoke Indian languages, and there was no place to send the regular clergy relieved of their duties, Revillagigedo chose to enforce secularization only at vacant missions or in cases where the doctrinero had been improperly assigned. Subsequently Pope Benedict XIV supported this limited secularization by papal bull, and in 1753 Ferdinand extended the order to cover the entire New World rather than being restricted to Mexico alone.[4]

One result of this, says Susan Deeds, was that "many doctrinas were secularized under the regulars who were willing to submit to episcopal control. Others passed from the religious to parish priests without incident." A series of later regulations modified these orders, eventually making secularization take effect only when a post became vacated, and based upon a number of additional provisions, such as the availability of secular priests who spoke the appropriate language. Frontier missions were considered to remain very useful, and were affected less. Generally, northern New Spain was very little affected by the regulations.[5]

Geary's interpretation of the intent of secularization through this order was "the substitution of seculars for regulars in the parishes and missions of the new world," which we have seen is untrue—the order was to apply only to the most developed missions, the doctrinas. Geary added that "among certain officials ... more than this had been hoped for ... to remove the Indians from the control of the missionaries and place them under civil officials in a pueblo form of government ... [suppression of the law that] prohibited white settlers from intermingling with missions neophytes ... the payment of taxes by the Indians ..."[6] Unlike Geary's implication that none of such results were originally intended to happen, however, secularization, by definition, had to do these things, and the ideas could not have been seen as new. Secularization, even

[4] Matson and Fontana, "Introduction," in Fray Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas, *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796–97,* Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, eds. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), pp. 16–17.

[5] Deeds, "Secularization of Jesuit Missions," pp. 35–37.

[6] Geary, Secularization of the California Missions, pp. 26, 28–29.

if a missionary stayed on as a substitute for a secular priest, ended the mission and (in most cases) made the Indians tax and tithe-paying citizens, allowed to sell and buy land as they wished, and their settlements became towns like any other, under their own pueblo government, with no restrictions on who might settle there.

Like Geary, Susan Deeds, in her dissertation on the secularization of a group of Jesuit missions around Durango in the mid-eighteenth century, looked at the definition of secularization.[7] She said that explicitly, "in the colonial period, secularization meant that the responsibility for the spiritual administration of an Indian community passed from a regular cleric to the parish priest." More generally, the term meant "transfer from ecclesiastical to civil possession or control." As a result of this administrative change, "[m]ission communities were removed from religious stewardship and placed under civil municipal jurisdiction. Communal land ownership was generally substituted by private ownership or in the case of the upper California missions, mission lands became the property of the state" in the 1830s.[8] This statement needs to be clarified somewhat, since the ownership of land is one area of strong confusion concerning secularization. All the later secularizations acknowledged that the Indians of a mission were the rightful owners of the mission land, within the general provisions of Spanish law. As a result, when a mission was secularized, the land was surveyed and divided up among the ex-neophytes of a mission—but only as much as they could legitimately use. The unused land was returned to the public domain and made available to be granted to non-mission citizens. Therefore a typical secularization involved both mission land going to private ownership and the "re"-acquisition of mission land by the state.

In Texas the excess land of the mission was ruled to belong to the Indian pueblo, to be rented or sold for the benefit of the Indian community—although in practice this apparently did not happen in any meaningful way. Ultimately this land, in varying amounts at each individual mission, was ruled to be abandoned, and automatically became the property of the king, before 1821, or the state, after independence. It was the job of the governor or his designated local authority to see to it that this excess land, now returned to the public lands, was equitably distributed. Such distribution was a common procedure, and can be found not only in California, but at virtually every mission that was secularized. The process of land distribution in California was not, in spite of Deeds's statement, different or unusual, and in fact strongly resembled the events in Texas in 1824.

[7] Deeds, "Secularization of Jesuit Missions."

[8] Deeds, "Secularization of Jesuit Missions," pp. 1–2.

New Mexico was originally established as the last effort in the encomienda-doctrina system at the end of the sixteenth century.[9] Because the Pueblo Indians already lived in fully developed towns under their own government, following their own methods of planting, harvesting, and hunting, the Franciscans did not have to teach them these things. As a result, the Franciscans (theoretically, at least) had to do little to administer the temporalities of the pueblo, and focused mostly on the spiritualities.

The term "doctrina" usually indicated that the pueblo was capable of handling its own internal affairs; that is, it had an Indian alcalde who was the direct equivalent of the Spanish alcalde of the area. It meant that the friar was responsible only for the spiritual welfare and training of the Indians, not every aspect of their lives. In New Mexico, the Franciscans interpreted their rights to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Indians in physical terms. They could demand physical labor from the Indians for farming, ranching, construction, and the needs of the convento without paying them. Furthermore, the friars could mete physical punishment for violations of the laws of behavior they had imposed on the Indians.[10] If the missions of New Mexico were indeed doctrinas, then the governor had every right to establish Spanish alcaldes in each pueblo and the missionary had to surrender much of his temporal authority. If, on the other hand, they were still conversiones, the governor had no such right. However, for the pueblos to remain conversiones for any length of time implied a lack of success on the part of the missionaries in converting the Indians, a criticism they did not want.[11] The church attempted to retain the authority and benefits they possessed over the pueblos as conversiones, while the state attempted to exercise some of the responsibilities and rights it customarily held for doctrinas.

The governor, on the other hand, saw the Indians as subject to civil law, not ecclesiastical. At one point in his trial, for example, governor López de Mendizábal was accused of saying that "the religious who administered [the Indians] could not beat them or punish them for their faults; and that he had no other function than to say mass for them and administer to them the holy sacraments; and that they, as mere

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[9] James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions*, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers, Vol.15, (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1988), pp. 34–35; Matson and Fontana, "Introduction," in *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*, p. 12.

[10] Adolph F. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, English translations edited with introduction and annotations by Charles Wilson Hackett, Vol. 3. (Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937), p. 172.

[11] A good discussion of the opinions of the church on this question can be found in Bandelier, Documents, pp. 155, 18693, and 199. The state's position can be found on pp. 200, 203, 204, and 212–15.

parishoners, had no obligation to obey the religious in anything . . . ." Mendizábal was clearly under the impression that the missions were doctrinas. In an attempt to define the limits of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the missions, Mendizábal had initiated an inquiry to determine under what authority the *custodio* "exercised jurisdiction against seculars."[12] In Mendizábal's view, the Indians were seculars or parishoners, and the church had no physical or temporal authority over them—that is, the missions were doctrinas in the full sense. This meant that the church should pay the Indians for labor required of them, and if the friar found that an Indian was violating a law of behavior, he could not himself have the Indian punished, but could only turn him over to civil authority for judgement and possible punishment. Since the church wished to maintain its temporal authority so that it could punish many violations that the state did not consider subject to punishment by law, such as missing Mass or confession, the church refused to accept the governor's position. The Franciscans insisted that the Indians were still as children under their control as parents, and therefore they had the right of any parent to punish and to command.

In seventeenth-century New Mexico the views of the two parties depended ultimately on their views of the legal status of the Indian pueblos. The church occupied an ambiguous position. By 1640, all pueblos with missions or visitas had legally become doctrinas, by decision of the government of New Spain and in spite of the opposition of the church. As doctrina, a pueblo theoretically would come under the authority of the bishop responsible for the area, would begin to pay taxes to the crown and tithes to the bishop, and would be subject to civil law like any other village. However, in the late 1630s the viceroy determined that: 1) the pueblos were indeed doctrinas because of their advancement as self-administered, Christian villages; but 2) the pueblos could not be required to pay taxes because they already paid tribute to the encomendero; 3) no bishop should be placed in authority over New Mexico because it was too far from the nearest center of episcopal authority and because spiritual guidance was already present in the form of the Franciscan missionary system; and 4) the pueblos could not be required to pay tithes because they did not actually control the products of the fields on which tithes would be levied, and further, they paid tribute to the encomenderos, who then paid tithes on that tribute to the Franciscans, who supervised much of the planting and herding of the pueblo in the first place. Only European products such as wheat or sheep could be tithed. Corn and beans or cotton were native products and therefore not subject to the tithe. Needless to say, this hopelessly complicated situation had no simple legal resolution satisfactory to both the Franciscans and the governor.[13]

In the eighteenth century, the situation was even more pronounced. The Franciscans served as both "missionaries and parish priests" in New Mexico, and were under the jursidiction of the Bishop of Durango. The bishop issued them licences to hear confession and to preach outside the cloister, and managed the tithes of the missions

[12] Bandelier, *Documents*, pp. 200, 215.

[13] Bandelier, *Documents*, pp. 75–127, 112–13.

instituted when the encomienda ended with the Pueblo Revolt.[14] These are specific indicators that the missions were the variety of doctrinas that were under the authority of the bishop, but managed spiritually by the Franciscans.

Final Secularization in New Mexico

Final secularization began early in New Mexico. Because the missionized pueblos had always been doctrinas, the secularization process was considerably simpler than on the rest of the frontier. Four New Mexico missions had been secularized in 1767 as part of the reorganization of Franciscan administration as a result of the expulsion of the Jesuits, but secular priests did not arrive for these new parishes until 1797.[15] The missions were already under the control of a bishop and already had an established parish and tithing system, so secularization was essentially only a change in management personnel. John Kessell says that "in New Mexico secularization ... was of relatively little consequence. Here the missionaries 'owned' next to nothing"—but they were still responsible for the church and convento buildings, rather than these structures being the responsibility of the bishop.[16] Pecos, for example, was secularized in January 1829, by the process of a secular priest simply taking over the church.[17] The New Mexico missions were secularized piecemeal over the eighty years from 1767 to 1848, when the last Franciscan custodio died while managing the last four missions of Isleta, Laguna, Acoma and Zuñi.[18]

In New Mexico, no prompt response occurred to the Cortes order of 1813 to secularize all missions that were more than ten years old,[19] and the changeover from Spanish to Mexican jurisdiction saw no significant change in the status of the missions. Those missions that had not been secularized in response to the Nava orders of 1794 were secularized as it seemed appropriate over the twenty-seven years from 1821 to 1848.[20]

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[14] Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with Other Contemporary Documents*, Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, tr. and ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), p. 29n45, 46.

[15] Lawrence Kinnaird and Lucia Kinnaird, "Secularization of Four New Mexico Missions," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 54(January, 1979)1:35–41.

[16] John L. Kessell, *The Missions of New Mexico since 1776* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), p. 32.

[17] John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840* (Washington, D. C.: National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1979), p. 455.

[18] Fray Angelico Chavez, *Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1678–1900* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), pp. 167, 169, 187–97.

[19] See the discussion of this in Chapter 10.

[20] Chavez, Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, pp. 167, 169, 187–97.

In Arizona/Sonora, Pedro de Nava's orders of 1794, wherein Nava specifically ordered that the missionaries give up the temporalities and that the missions become doctrinas, caused a panic among the religious. After protests, Nava suspended the order in the *Pimería Alta* (southern Arizona and northern Sonora).[21]

The Cortes order of 1813 was suspended in 1814 by the declaration of Ferdinand VII before it was ever applied in Arizona.[22] Political pressure forced the king to retract this invalidation, and on January 20, 1821, the viceroy announced that the secularization law was re-instituted in Nueva España. Once again these orders were suspended in the Pimería Alta after protests from the friars.[23] Although the Cortes order was eventually recognized in Texas in 1823, the order that secularized the Texas missions was applicable only to Texas, and did not affect Arizona.[24]

After the Mexican Revolution of 1821, however, missionary activity at Tumacácori and all across the northern frontier slowly waned. The last resident missionary left Tumacácori in April 1828, as part of the expulsion of all Spanish missionaries from the northern frontier.[25] Because of a lack of missionaries who were Mexican citizens, the missions were effectively made into doctrinas for the second time, as they had been in 1767 after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The departure of many Spanish Franciscans in 1828 left the temporalities of the northern missions in the hands of secular administrators. This lasted until January 1830, when the blatant mismanagement of the missions caused the return of the temporalities to the Franciscans. Tumacácori and the other missions of the northern Santa Cruz valley became visitas of Cocóspera. In Arizona the secularization order by the Mexican government of April 16, 1834, was again suspended on the Pimería Alta frontier.[26] By 1842 even this reduced

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[21] John L. Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier, 1767–1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), pp. 182–83; *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*, pp. 22, 120.

[22] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 71; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, pp. 227, 229.

[23] Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, pp. 86, 227, 229, and many others.

[24] Carlos E. Castañeda, *Transition Period: The Fight for Freedom, 1810–1836. Vol. 6, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company, 1950), pp. 319, 320, 321–27; Lucas Aleman to Political Chief of Texas, September 15, 1823, including decree of Spanish Cortes of October 12, 1813, Texas General Land Office, Archives and Records Division Spanish Collection, box 122, folder 15, pp. 231–33.

[25] Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, pp. 270–71.

[26] Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, p. 30. This order did not apply to California, a federal territory, although some California historians have thought it did. For the debate over this, see Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, 151 n. 81; Theodore H. Hittell, History of California, vol. 2 (San Francisco: N. J. Stone and Company, 1898). p. 185; Hubert

administration had failed, and the missions were abandoned to the secular church without a full secularization process. This was later described by bishop Lázaro de la Garza of Culiacán; the missionaries left their missions "without conveying to me the pueblos they were serving;" that is, without the usual acts of legal transfer of the church and associated properties, and the spiritual care of the Indian pueblo, to the bishop.[27]

Secularization in Baja California and Sonoran Arizona

Within the context of the rest of the frontier, California historians have used a rather confused approach to secularization. In fact, it is difficult to recognize many of the characteristics that California historians have considered to represent California secularization. In an effort to work out some sort of concordance, we will go back to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Gerald Geary considered the administration set up in Baja California after the expulsion of the Jesuits there as a "new type of secularization," where government authorities were placed in charge of the temporal administration of the missions, while the clergy, "whether diocesan or regular," were restricted to spiritual jurisdiction. He quoted Chapman's description in *History of California: the Spanish Period*: "the temporalities of the missions,—that is, the flocks, crops, and economic resources in general,—were left in the hands of military commissioners. Only the church properties and spiritual authority were to be in charge of the Franciscans."[28] Geary then stated that "this corresponded to Revillagigedo's conception of secularization,—not only a replacement of the religious by diocesan priests, but especially the removal of the administration of the mission temporalities from the charge of the clergy."[29] But this is both incorrect and confused: if the Franciscan order was still in charge of the church and of spiritual authority, then it had not been replaced by diocesan authority, and the change could not properly be called secularization. Rather than the situation Geary described after the departure of the Jesuits, what was set up in Baja California was not a secularized mission system, but one where the Franciscan order held the church as its responsibility, and the missionary had charge of the spiritualities of the community, but the temporalities of the mission were placed in the hands of the individual Indians and secular authorities; that is, they were made doctrinas.

Howe Bancroft, *History of California, vol. 3. 1825–1840* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), p. 341 n. 3.

[27] Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers,* pp. 277–80, 297, 301, 311.

[28] Charles Edward Chapman, *History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: Macmillan Press, 1921). p. 185; Geary, Secularization of the California Missions, pp. 33, 40.

[29] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 33.

It quickly became apparent that the Baja California missions could not be operated as doctrinas, and this set of legal provisions were reversed.[30] In Sonora, the same provisions were put in effect when the Jesuits were removed from their missions there in 1767, with the same results. John Kessell described the arrangements—and the results—in detail. "The viceroy [Croix] made it clear that [the Franciscans were to have] a spiritual ministry only: government agents would manage the temporal business of the missions, and hopefully show a profit. At the same time the reformers would instantly raise the status of the downtrodden mission Indian. 'Under no circumstances,' the viceroy ordered, 'are Indians to be deprived of civil intercourse, communication, commerce, or residence with Spaniards, no less the possession in individual and private domain of their property, goods, and the fruits of their labor,'" a typically Bourbon Humanist series of statements. Essentially, the lands and goods of the missions were distributed among the Indians, whose town government was supervised by the assigned civil administrator, and the missions became doctrinas.

As a result, many of the possessions of the missions were looted, sold, or lost by the civil administrators. Worse, lack of control of the temporalities removed the friars' ability to entice other Indians to congregate and to keep them together in a mission village. In 1769, recognizing that the reformist ideas were not working, the Visitador General José de Galvez, who had been one of the king's instruments to eject the Jesuits and remove the temporalities of the ex-Jesuit missions from missionary control, returned secular affairs to the missions as a temporary measure. Viceroy Bucareli made this decision official in 1773.[31] Ultimately, only about half of the northern missions taken from the Jesuits were actually secularized, in the more Hispanicized southern reaches of the frontier—the rest, mostly in the north, became Franciscan, and the experimental non-temporal aspects quickly given up.

Geary says that the "secularization" of the Baja California missions (actually the placing of their temporalities in the hands of secular administrators) had such bad results that the secularization law of 1749 was not followed afterward. But again, his argument is flawed, because the Baja missions were not secularized, and the actions taken at them were the result of a different set of orders, those banishing the Jesuits. Nonetheless, a number of northern missions were secularized as the result of the last applications of the law of 1749, and the results were so disastrous that in 1793 the new viceroy, Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco y Padilla, Conde de Revillagigedo (the son of the first

[30] Harry W. Crosby, *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697–1768* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), p. 388; Matson and Fontana, "Introduction," in *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*, pp. 17–19

[31] John Kessell, Friars, Soldiers and Reformers, pp. 17, 51, 86.

Revillagigedo), sent a report to the king strongly advising a return to the old policy of leaving missions in the hands of the religious.[32]

Creation of the Provincias Internas in 1776–1777 removed California, Sonora, New Mexico, Texas, and several others of the northern tier of provinces from the viceroy's direct jurisdiction and placed it under a new official, the Commandante General. This decision placed the northern provinces outside the control of the viceroy for several intervals during the remainder of the colonial period, and frequently separated the western provinces from the eastern in administrative decisions. As a result, decisions affecting the missions in one region did not necessarily affect those in another.[33]

Final Secularization and Temporal Secularization

As we have seen, Geary's definition of secularization is somewhat confused. To some extent, the confusion is the result of the similarities between the final mission stage, the doctrina, and the secularized stage, the curato. In Chapter 1 we saw the four stages through which a mission has been considered to develop, in statements of the theory of mission administration common since the 1960s. In practice, things were rarely this clear-cut. The differences between a doctrina and a curato were not as distinct as short definitions imply. The term "doctrina," for example, could be applied to a mission that had progressed beyond the basic activities of a conversión—but it could also be applied to any mission where the doctrine was taught, regardless of whether that mission met any of the other requirements necessary for it to have been considered a doctrina in the administrative sense.

The archetypical discussion of the four-stage development of a mission, and specifically the nature of a doctrina, is in Daniel Matson and Bernard Fontana's "Introduction to the Bringas Report," in *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*. Matson and Fontana say that "[i]n effect, the doctrina was turned over to the jurisdiction of the local bishop and was therefore secularized. Whether the priest was a regular or secular, his charge was limited to spiritual ministration." That is, when a mission became a doctrina, the missionary gave up the temporalities, the administration of the daily lives of the neophytes of a mission, and restricted himself to managing only the spiritualities of the mission, with some recognized responsibility and obedience to the local bishop. These are familiar provisions: as we have just seen, it was precisely these steps that were attempted in Baja California and Sonora on the expulsion of the Jesuits.

The provision that the lands, houses, herds, tools, and goods of the mission had to be divided among the Indians was called "surrendering the temporalities of a mission"

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[32] Geary, Secularization of the California Missions, pp. 34-35; Deeds, "Secularization of Jesuit Missions," pp. 38-39.

[33] Geary, Secularization of the California Missions, pp. 44, 46-48, 50-51; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California, vol. 1, 1542-1800 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, Publishers, 1884), p. 217.

among the Franciscans. Specifically, although the fields, houses, tools, and herds were placed in the control of the Indians of a mission settlement, the "temporal secularization" (a more explicit phrase than "partial secularization") of a mission nonetheless left the church and residential rooms of the convento in the hands and under the administration of the missionary and his order, not the local bishop. When this step occurred in the later eighteenth century in Texas, and in the early nineteenth century in California, historians have referred to it as "partial secularization," considering it to be the first step on the way to full secularization, where the mission became a curato and the local bishop, rather than the Franciscan order, had claim to the church. As we have seen in Baja California and Sonora in the 1760s, however, from temporal secularization a mission could just as easily go back to a doctrina as forward to a curato.[34]

The Indians were not, it appears, necessarily subjected to taxes or the tithe as a result of surrendering the temporalities, which would have supplied the necessary income to support a secular priest, although in some cases they began paying obventions, or fees for standard activities in the church, such as baptisms, marriages, and burials. The missionary did not need the income from the tithe because he was supported by the *sínodo*, the royal stipend paid to missionaries. Matson and Fontana disagree with these statements, saying that "the Indians in a doctrina were not exempt from payment of tithes." The topic, however, was a matter of recurrent dispute between the regulars and the seculars. Generally, the decision was that Indians did not have to pay tithes on native products, such as maize and beans, but would have to pay tithes on European crops, such as wheat, and animals, such as sheep and cattle, that they raised for their own use. When, on the other hand, Indians raised wheat for the missionaries, they could not be expected to pay tithes on that crop because it was not to their personal profit or benefit.[35]

California Secularization

As a result of the federal constitution of 1824, the Californias were designated as federal territories, not states. As such, legal changes in Alta California required specific federal legislation, and was not affected by general federal laws that pertained to states—nor was the authority of the territorial government the same as in the states. Because the Mexican government never arrived at a set of regulations for the territory, it continued under the regulations of the Spanish constitution of 1812, as established by the Cortes

[34] Fray Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions.* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), pp. 26, 66; Bancroft, History of California, 3:103.

[35] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, pp. 17–20; Matson and Fontana, p. 15; Deeds, "Secularization of Jesuit Missions," pp. 29–33; Bandelier, Documents, pp. 12, 112–13.

after Ferdinand VII was forced into exile by Napoleon, except where the provisions of the constitution conflicted with the Mexican governmental system.[36]

As we saw in Chapter 10, in early 1814 Ferdinand VII returned to Spain, where he declared the decrees of the Cortes invalid.[37] Political pressure forced the king to reinstitute the Cortes constitution of 1812, including the secularization law of 1813, and the viceroy of New Spain announced the return to the Cortes policy on January 20, 1821. California, under the Commandante General of the West at this time, was notified of this on February 2, 1821.[38] In California, the Father President informed the Bishop of Sonora on July 16, 1821, that they were ready whenever he was to formally transfer the missions to his care.[39] The revolution for Mexican independence intervened, and on Dec. 20, 1821, the Bishop of Durango declined, saying that secularization "had not been enforced anywhere in America."[40] While the Cortes secularization order of 1813 was again reinstated in the state of Texas and Coahuila in 1823, the federal government took over administration of the Territory of California and established a Junta de Fomento de Californias on July 17, 1824, to help the government work out an appropriate management policy for the territory. Thereafter California followed somewhat different timing for secularization events, which occurred through a sequence of federal orders established specifically for California.[41]

Giving up the Temporalities

The institutional context of the process of secularization in Alta California is difficult to relate to that of the rest of the frontier, as a result of the federal control over the territory, and the peculiar bias that mission studies have taken in California. There, historians that go into the topic in any detail speak of two episodes of secularization in California, one referred to as the "emancipation" of a few neophytes in the missions in 1826, a term that has resonance for those historians who presume that the Indians were effectively slaves of the missions. "Emancipation" in the context of the decrees issued in California meant "to be set free from a paternal power," rather than "to give freedom to a slave," and amounted to being made a citizen. This emancipation occurred as part

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[36] C. Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California: The Híjar-Padrés Colony, and Its Origins, 1769–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).pp. 113, 122–23.

[37] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 71.

[38] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 72; don Alejo Garcia Conde, *"Don Alejo Garcia Conde ... Entre Diversos Reales Decretos Expedidos Por Las Córtes Generales En Distintas Epocas ...,"* Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State of New Mexico Records Center Microfilm roll 20, frame 676, April 24, 1821; Peter Gerhard, The North Frontier of New Spain, Revised ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), pp. 16–17.

[39] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 72.

[40] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 73.

[41] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, pp. 89–104.

of the dispute over the presence of Spanish missionaries in the territory. The second episode was the actual secularization of the missions beginning in 1834. Looking at these events from the perspective of the broader northern frontier, it is apparent that they were, instead, the surrender of the temporalities of the missions and their final secularization.

For example, Manuel Servín, in "The Secularization of the California Missions: A Reappraisal," was of the opinion that the Junta ordered Governor José María de Echeandía to carry out "partial Indian emancipation," and at the same time "recommended secularization."[42] Servín did not have a clear understanding of the process of secularization elsewhere on the frontier: "with the exception of the Sierra Gorda Missions, which the Franciscans relinquished to work in California, and of Texas missions, which were in a state of decadence, little is heard regarding the surrender of Franciscan establishments to diocesan authorities during the eighteenth century."[43] As we have seen, the Texas missions were not secularized in the eighteenth century, only Valero in 1793—the rest became doctrinas through surrendering the temporalities, and were not fully secularized until 1824. Servín was deceived by Castañeda's conviction that the 1794 surrender of the temporalities, or "partial secularization," was indeed a full secularization. George Harwood Phillips discussed the "Proclamation of Emancipation" on July 25, 1826, in California in terms that make it clear that this was a secularization of the temporalities. He quoted an observer at the time, F. W. Beechey, who described how the Indians had received "clothes, implements, and even their lands."[44] This "emancipation" was further discussed by Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, who said that the "emancipation" affected only a small number of "acculturated converts." They called it a "presecularization emancipation."[45]

The Junta de Fomento de Californias proposed a series of changes that could be instituted in California to help with its development, seen as a key component for the protection of the northern frontier on the west coast of North America. Among these proposals was a plan for the replacement of the California mission system with a secular administrative structure while the missionaries remained as strictly spiritual

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[42] Manuel P. Servín, "The Secularization of the California Missions: A Reappraisal," *Southern California Quarterly*, 47(1965)2:140.

[43] Servín, "Secularization of the California Missions," p. 134.

[44] George Harwood Phillips, "Indians and the Breakdown of the Spanish Mission System in California," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540–1821*, p. 266; Frederick W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait ... in the Years 1825, '26, '27, '28,* (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1831), vol. 2, pp. 12–13, 320.

[45] Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*, pp. 90–91.

advisors—a classical secularization of the temporalities.[46] As part of the process of establishing these proposed changes, on January 3, 1825, the Mexican government requested that the Junta review the instructions for Echeandía, the new territorial governor assigned to California. The Junta worked out a set of recommendations for Echeandía that included revisions to the relationship between the mission system in California and the new federal government. The Mexican government was to assume the direct supervision of the missions. It would take over the mission temporalities, direct the distribution of mission lands among neophytes as they became ready to accept this responsibility, and pass laws that would protect the new neophyte communities. Missionaries could remain at the missions, with the approval of provincial authority, but as curates, not missionaries. They would remain only until the missions could be made into secular parishes under a bishop.[47]

The plan of the Junta was never enacted into law. However, the instructions given to Echeandía included "express commands ... to carry out the provisions of the Junta's Dictamen," their recommendations on how the governor should manage the new territory of California.[48]

After his arrival in California, Echeandía met with a group of missionaries from the San Diego district, and requested that they take the new oath of loyalty to Mexico. They said that they would, so long as they could add a statement in the oath that they would follow its provisions "so far as may be compatible with our religion and profession." Echeandía refused this request, and threatened that the temporalities of the missions would be removed from their control if they did not accept the original wording. The missionaries immediately declared themselves willing to be relieved of the temporalities, and agreed with Echeandía that a decree be issued that would allow qualified Indians to accept responsibility for their own house, land, tools, and daily lives. On July 25, 1826, after an extended discussion with the missionaries on the terms of the order, Echeandía issued the *"Decreto de Emancipación á favor de Neófitos."*[49] Here, the difference between Texas and California was that in Texas in 1794 all long-term Indian residents of the missions were emancipated by a single act of law, while in California such persons had to submit a petition to the local presidial commander, who would determine whether they met the requirements.

The actual results of this decree from 1826 to the 1830s are surprisingly undocumented for such a document-rich historical environment as California. There is no clear record

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[46] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, pp. 89–90.

[47] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, pp. 91–93; Bancroft, *History of California*, 3:4, 21–23 and n. 40; Hittell, History of California, 2:82–83.

[48] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 95; Bancroft, *History of California* 3:101 and n. 32; Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement*, pp. 125–26.

[49] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, pp. 97–98; Bancroft, *History of California* 3:102; Hutchinson, Frontier Settlement, pp. 128–29.

of the number of neophytes who were made independent citizens, or any details about what steps were taken at most of the individual missions. There are a number of indications of problems arising from the action, in the form of disruption of the missions and individual Indians selling their new private property, but no broad overview of these events has been written. In fact, partisan friction between pro- and anti-mission historians of California missions (what David Weber and James Sandos have referred to as the Christophilic Triumphalists and the Christophobic Nihilists) have distorted the events to the point that no brief overview can arrive at a clear evaluation. The rule I am following in this discussion is: "ignore the rhetoric, watch the institutional changes."[50]

The "emancipation" of 1826 left the missions in the hands of the Franciscan order, and therefore made them regular doctrinas, not curacies or secular doctrinas.[51] The similar experiment in Arizona at this time was in the process of failing because of a lack of Mexican Franciscan priests. An effort to replace Spanish missionaries in California with Mexican-born missionaries from the College of Zacatecas took until 1833, placing half the California missions under Zacatecas rather than San Fernando.[52]

Final Secularization

Echeandía's "emancipation" regulations continued in effect up to the final secularization of the missions in 1834. Echeandía was disappointed with the indifferent success of the temporal secularization of the California missions, and felt that part of the reason was the lack of a number of additional provisions that should have been instituted at the same time. He prepared his *"Plan para convertir en pueblos las Misiones de las dos Californias,"* carrying out more of the 1825 recommendations of the Junta de Fomento de Californias, in December 1828, and submitted it for review by the federal government. After revisions and approvals at the territorial and federal levels, Echeandía issued the final version as the *"Ley sobre administración de misiones"* on January 6, 1831. This new regulation, however, ran into some opposition at the Federal

[50] David Weber, "Blood of Martyrs, Blood of Indians: Toward a more Balanced View of Spanish Missions in Seventeenth Century North America," in *Columbian Consequences*, David Hurst Thomas, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), vol. 2, p. 431; James Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. xiii; Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, pp. 101–102; Bancroft, *History of California*, 3:104, n. 37, n. 40; Hittell, *History of California*, 2:93–95; Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. 3: *Upper California, Part 2: General History* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1913), pp. 240–41; Hutchinson's description of the events, *Frontier Settlement*, pp. 128–32 is the most balanced and detailed.

[51] Beechey, Voyage to the Pacific, 2:320.

[52] Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement*, pp. 136, 157–58; Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, pp. 134–35; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* 3:442–63; Bancroft, *History of California* 3:318–321.

level—one opponent said that it did not follow the Cortes secularization order of 1813 closely enough. As a result, no secularization took place in California for three more years of political disruption.[53]

Regardless of the complexities of the maneuvers of the pro- and anti-mission factions in California, the missions remained in the possession of the Franciscan order, and therefore remained regular doctrinas, through the debate until their final secularization in 1834. For example, on November 18, 1832, Echeandía issued a supplementary order which stated among other things, that "the missionaries ... will be considered as parish priests."[54] However, clearly they did not become curatos in any meaningful way, because the missions remained Franciscan. When the Mexican government issued its instructions to the new governor, José Figueroa, in 1832, they included a provision that the missions would be evaluated to decide which were ready to be turned over to the bishop, indicating that this had not yet happened.[55]

Finally, on August 17, 1833, the Mexican government passed the bill secularizing the California missions. However, the lack of any provisions for the distribution of mission land delayed the actual enforcement of the new law in California. The Territorial Deputation issued its own provisional secularization regulation on August 9, 1834, and this decree governed the secularization of the California missions and the distribution of their property.[56]

There is, in fact, a great deal of resemblance between the provisions of the California Reglamentos Provisional of August 9, 1834, and the Nava temporal secularization order of 1794, applied to the Texas missions. In California:

- Missionaries would surrender the temporalities completely, but kept spiritual responsibilities until the arrival of secular clergy to take over the church.

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[53] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 102; Hittell, *History of California*, 2:93–95; Bancroft, *History of California* 3:342–44 n. 4; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* 3:240, 523–530; Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement*, pp. 131–33, 164, 222–29, 241–260.

[54] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 128, Bancroft, *History of California* 3:314 n. 23, 315.

[55] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, p. 132; Bancroft, *History of California* 3:324–25; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* 3:468–69.

[56] Geary, *Secularization of the California Missions*, pp. 102, 151–55, 157; Hittell, *History of California*, 2:93–95; Bancroft, *History of California* 3:342–44 n. 4; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* 3:240, 523–530; Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement*, pp. 131–33, 164, 222–29, 241–261.

- Each mission would be organized into a pueblo, with a town government elected by the Indians.

- Each Indian family would receive a farming lot no more than 400 by 400 varas in size, or about thirty-three acres. They would have shared use of the ejido of the pueblo established from the mission. Half of the stock, tools, equipment and seed of the mission would be divided among the Indian families for their individual use.

The temporalities would be managed by a mayordomo or commissioner appointed by the government. All lands and properties left over after the distribution to the Indian families would be managed by this appointed official. The commissioner and the missionary would be supported out of the proceeds from these lands and goods.[57]

As in Texas, many mission Indians acquired a house and a lot of farmland, although this varied considerably from mission to mission. In Texas, there is virtually no indication that individual Indians received grants of ranching land, whereas in California this happened at several of the missions.[58] The closest approximation to this in Texas was the continuing communal ownership of the Rancho San Lucas by the Indians of San José, until they elected to sell the ranch to Padre Refugio de la Garza on January 16, 1833. 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."[59] Title to the other ranchland had never been given to the missions, and therefore these lands were not considered part of property of the mission. The ranchlands remained under the control of the missions during their period as doctrinas, but returned to the state with their final secularization.

At the Texas missions, and probably in California, some of the loss of land within the missions to outsiders was only apparent—a careful examination of genealogies has shown that lands once thought to have passed out of the hands of an Indian family actually continued to be owned by descendants, passing by marriage and inheritance.

Comandante General Nava had made the missions of Texas into temporally-secularized doctrinas in 1794, which left little to be done by the time of the final secularization in 1824. As a result, procedurally the final secularization concerned itself with the transfer of church property from the Franciscans to the secular church. Most of the rest of the business of secularization addressed land ownership questions for that

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[57] Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* 3:523–32.

[58] John R. Johnson, *The Chumash Indians After Secularization* (California Mission Studies Association, 1995), pp. 5–6; Julia G. Costello, *The Ranches and Ranchos of Mission San Antonio De Padua* (California Mission Studies Association, 1994), pp. 5, 7, 11, 13.

[59] Antonio Garcia et al. to Padre Refugio de la Garza, January 16, 1833, Bexar County Archives, Land Grants and Sales (LGS), no. 311.

mission land which had been abandoned. Questions arose over prior ownership by mission Indian families, but these were legal disputes and were resolved on a case-by-case basis.

In California, on the other hand, for most of the Indians full secularization came without the intermediate stabilizing period of the doctrina. The emancipation program begun by Echeandía in 1826 was not carried out effectively, and apparently did not result in a significant group of settled Indian landowners at any given mission, unlike the emancipation in Texas in 1794. As a result, the 1834 secularization removed all mission protection from the new Indian citizens at the same time that they were most in need of a period of quiet acclimatization to their new situation and responsibilities.

Pro-mission California historians like Zephyrin Engelhardt consistently adopted the attitude that all the Indians were still helpless children.[60] However, when research is carried down to the individual level, many of the Indians are found to have been acculturated enough that they were capable of managing their own affairs within the Hispanic society of New Spain, given a chance, and many did so. Each mission's secularization story was different, but most will probably be found to have had groups of Indians who became effective land owners and private citizens. In a few cases, detailed studies of individual Indian land ownership has been conducted at specific missions, and each time a number of neophytes have been found to have accepted land and stayed in the mission for at least a few years after secularization. For example, Edna Kimbro's research into one group of Indian Quarters at Mission Santa Clara traced the ownership of nine families of neophytes all of whom received houses in the mission. Kimbro found that most of the neophytes of Santa Clara accepted houses at the mission, and some stayed in these houses until the 1840s or later.[61] Lisbeth Haas found that at San Juan Capistrano and San Gabriel, mission Indians settled into villages established on the ranch lands of the mission, but never received title to these village lands, while at San Luis Rey, similar villages did receive titles.[62] In the Santa Barbara

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[60] Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano Mission* (Los Angeles: The Standard Printing Company, 1922). pp. 114116; Msgr. Francis J. Weber, ed., *The Jewel of the Missions: A Documentary History of San Juan Capistrano* (San Juan Capistrano: San Juan Capistrano Mission Museum Press, 1992), pp. 43, 44.

[61] Edna Kimbro et al., *Como la Sombra Huye la Hora: Restoration Research, Santa Cruz Mission Adobe, Santa Cruz Mission State Historic Parks* (Sacramento: Cultural Heritage Section, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1985), pp. 137-154); Rebecca Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*, 1791–1834: *Interpreting the Archaeological Record, Perspectives in California Archaeology, vol. 5* (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles, 1998), p. 29; Edna Kimbro, "Restoration Research at Santa Cruz Mission Sate Historic Park: A Retrospective," California Mission Studies Association, 20th Annual Conference, Santa Cruz, California, February 15, 2003.

[62] Lisbeth Haase, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California*, 1769–1936 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 39.

area, John Johnson has found that the Indians of Santa Barbara, La Purísima, San Buenaventura, and Santa Inés chose various alternatives for land acquisition. At Santa Barbara, La Purísima, and San Buenaventura the neophytes established villages in the general area of the mission on mission lands, and in some cases continued to live in mission housing, while at Santa Inés most of the Indians chose to remain in the mission buildings. Many of these Indians received title to their tracts of land, although in a number of cases the original titles are not on record, but are mentioned later when the tracts were sold or inherited.[63] At mission San Antonio, Julia Costello has found that several sections of the mission ranch lands were deeded to Indian ex-neophytes.[64]

In spite of the distribution of land to the Indians in California as in Texas, the surplus mission land was distributed to non-Indians, and over time the Indians disappeared into the general background of Hispanic society. The anthropologists Julia Costello and David Hornbeck sum up the generally accepted picture: "although provisions were made for the distribution of mission tools and land to the Indians, virtually all mission lands were granted to the civilian and military population."[65] As time passed, more and more of the land given to the Indians also was transferred to non-Indians, and ultimately in both provinces, the Indian presence at the missions effectively vanished.

This has been a brief overview of the secularization of the temporalities and final secularization of the missions along the northern frontier of Mexican states and provinces from the 1760s to the 1830s. The secularizations were a series of essentially similar actions, varying in their details and levels of success. Such an overview gives us one small taste of the usefulness of comparison to help us understand this frontier, as well as the complexity to be encountered in its study. The intricate processes and forces of secularization affected all the missions, and frontier society everywhere in the American Southwest. The quick look presented here is enough to let us begin to realize how strong and far-reaching these effects were. Secularization on the northern frontier is itself worth a lifetime of study and publication. Other questions can be seen as of equal interest. Mission land tenure, its differences from one province to the next, and the changing laws behind it, is another effectively untouched area of research. The process of Hispanization of the missions can be recognized in Texas, and was in fact institutionalized at various times in the late development of the frontier, as for example the Yuma experiment that led to the "Yuma Massacre," in western Arizona and extreme southeastern California, and again is a major social development on the

[63] John Johnson, *The Chumash Indians After Secularization* (California Mission Studies Association, 1995), pp. 5–6.

[64] Costello, *The Ranches and Ranchos of Mission San Antonio de Padua*, pp. 5, 7, 11, 13.

[65] Julia G. Costello and David Hornbeck, "Alta California: An Overview," in *Columbian Consequences, Volume 1: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), vol. 1, p. 319.

frontier that has had little broad study. Another general topic of great importance is mission economics and how they affected frontier development.

Studying the missions of a single province is necessary at first in order to begin to understand what happened in that province in some detail. But the student of mission history and physical development does not become aware of many of the major questions when working within a single province. Only through comparison between provinces do we begin to see the broader processes of development, the broader implications of mission and secular interaction.

Broader Connections: Archaeology

In general, at present archaeology in mission research is used 1) to find the plan of a mission and its changes through time—that is, its architectural history; and 2) to date these changes through artifact association to form an independent method of dating separate from the historical record. Associated with this is archaeomagnetic dating and dendrochronology. Other dating methods are being developed.

But once the architectural history of a mission has been worked out to a fair level of certainty, what then would excavations at the site accomplish? Archaeology as a discipline within anthropology is ultimately interested in cultures—archaeology at a mission, therefore, would be looking for information about the culture of a mission. This would fall into two categories: the lives of the missionaries, and the lives of the Indian neophytes and others who lived and worked at the mission. These would include such persons as mayordomos and other skilled persons of Spanish culture hired by the mission to carry out certain tasks and to train the Indians in how to do these tasks.

We know almost nothing about the daily lives of the people who lived in a mission. One of the best and most detailed descriptions of many aspects of the life in a mission, written by a missionary as instructions for his successor, can be found in *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*, probably written by Fray Joseph María García about 1787.[66] This document, fascinating and detailed as it is, does not tell us about how a missionary lived in his mission, how he and his staff carried out the basics of life in his convento. For example, we know little about food preparation and cooking methods in the convento, or what beds and chairs looked like and who built them. We have virtually no information on mission toilets and waste disposal. We know virtually nothing about the keeping of animals in a mission—pens, cages, and coops for pigs, goats, milk cows and chickens. Eggs must have been collected, cows milked, pigs, goats and sheep, and cattle butchered, but we have little information on what these daily activities were like,

[66] [Fray Joseph Maria Garcia], *Guidelines for a Texas Mission: Instructions for the Missionary of Mission Concepción in San Antonio*, trans. Benedict Leutenegger, vol. 1, Documentary Series (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1976).

or how they varied from mission to mission, missionary college to college, province to province. No available document tells us these things—but mission archaeology could give us some information about this "missionary culture" within a mission.

One cause of this problem is that our sources for understanding mission culture is so limited.[67] In the United States only two mission sites were completely excavated scientifically and reported upon in the twentieth century. These were the Museum of the American Indian excavations (also called the Hendricks-Heye expedition) at Hawikuh from 1917 to 1923, and the Peabody Museum project at Awatovi in 1935 to 1939.[68]

The modern archaeological understanding of architectural plan, use of space, and development of the Southwestern mission is based on the two sites of Hawikuh and Awatovi. It was the work of Frederick Hodge and John Otis ("Jo") Brew at the abandoned western puebloan sites of Hawikuh and Awatovi that gave us our first (and only, for most of the rest of the twentieth century) detailed looks at seventeenth-century missions. Hodge had been born in England and educated in Washington, D. C.,[69] and Brew was Boston-born and Harvard-trained.[70] As a result, neither was familiar with the still-operating missions of the Southwest that could be used to help guide excavation into the seventeenth century structures. Instead, each turned to a local expert. At Hawikuh, Hodge made use of the skills of Jesse Nusbaum, who began excavation of the church and convento after he had finished his work at the Pecos mission under Kidder in 1915.[71] His detailed notes of the work at the Hawikuh mission were written up as part of the Hawikuh report by Watson Smith, Richard B. Woodbury, and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury in 1966.[72]

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[67] James E. Ivey and David Hurst Thomas, "'The Feeling of Working Completely in the Dark:' The Uncertain Foundations of Southwestern Mission Archaeology," in *Southwest Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, Linda S. Cordell and Don D. Fowler, eds. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2005), pp. 204–219.

[68] Melinda Elliot, *Great Excavations: Tales of Early Southwestern Archaeology, 1888–1939* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1995), pp. 78–101, 162–187

[69] Elliot, *Great Excavations*, p. 80.

[70] Elliot, *Great Excavations*, p. 165.

[71] James E. Ivey, *The Spanish Colonial Architecture of Pecos Pueblo, New Mexico: Archaeological Excavations and Architectural History of the Spanish Colonial Churches and Related Buildings*, Pecos National Historical Park, 16171995 Professional Paper no. 59 (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 2005), pp. 112–129.

[72] Watson Smith, Richard B. Woodbury, and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury, *The Excavation of Hawikuh by Frederick Webb Hodge: Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition, 1917–1923, vol. 20, Contribution from the Museum of the American Indian* (New York: Heye Foundation, 1966), p. 116.

At Awatovi, Jo Brew hired the architect and architectural historican Ross Montgomery to be his expert on what to expect in the ground, and how to interpret what was found. Montgomery was from California, and brought a familiarity with the largely nineteenth-century California missions and the knowledge of an architectural historian about these missions to the Awatovi excavation. When Montgomery arrived at Awatovi, Brew said, "the feeling of working completely in the dark disappeared."[73] Much of the interpretation of the results of the excavation at the mission of Hawikuh were based on the results of Brew's work at Awatovi, because although the Awatovi fieldwork was carried out later, the report was published before the Hawikuh report, and because Montgomery wrote the interpretation of the archaeology of the mission buildings for both reports. As a result of Ross Montgomery's involvement, the interpretations of the missions at Hawikuh and Awatovi have a distinctly Californian undertone. It is not generally recognized within the profession of historical archaeology just how strongly the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ideas about the California missions have colored our view of the other mission systems, all of whom were operated under earlier regulations and customs, and by groups distinctly different from the Fernandino missionaries of California.

Since the Awatovi excavations, no complete excavation of a mission complex has been carried out and published in the United States. A great number of exploratory and mitigation excavations were conducted through the century, and published, but these neither examined much of a mission, nor made much of an attempt to reach conclusions about mission life and culture using the results of the work. At various times extensive exploration of one or another mission occurred, but so far these have not been published. For example, San Luis de Talimali in Tallahassee, Florida, was effectively completely excavated by Bonnie McEwan in the last decades of the twentieth century, but the report has not yet been published. San Marcos, near Santa Fe, New Mexico, was extensively excavated by David Hurst Thomas of the American Museum of Natural History in the late 1990s, and will also be reported soon. These two most recent excavations will undoubtedly add a great deal to our knowledge of seventeenth century missions on the northern frontier, and to our understanding of missions in general. It is uncertain, however, how much of the information from these excavations could be applied to Texas or elsewhere on the frontier.

Archaeology and Architectural Research

George Kubler did not become the patron saint of mission archaeology in the Southwest. His views on the design and development of the mission church are considered the most influential, but it was Montgomery's discussion in *Franciscan*

[73] J. O. Brew, "Introduction," in Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Established at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona, vol. 36, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1949)., p. xix.

Awatovi that defined life and the use of space in the convento of a mission for archaeologists.[74] Brew said that "[o]ne of the primary aims of archaeology is to reconstruct conjecturally not only the buildings and industries and arts of a bygone time but also the way of life of the builders of those buildings and the practitioners of those arts.... It is in such speculation that archaeology and anthropology meet and it is by answering these questions that archaeologists justify their labors. Montgomery has provided us, in his section of the report, with an anthropological interpretation . . . Montgomery has fulfilled our obligation for Franciscan Awatovi."[75]

Montgomery focused on the uses and regulations that governed church and convento life. Ultimately it is Montgomery's description of the use of space in Franciscan Awatovi rather than Kubler's study of New Mexico mission architecture that the archaeologist uses today when he or she discusses life in a mission.

Even though it is highly detailed and sensitive to the architectural plan of the buildings, Montgomery's reconstruction of life at Awatovi has a major flaw: it was created without any regard to the artifact record of the excavations. Neither the Awatovi report nor the Hawikuh report included an analysis of the artifacts found in the churches and conventos—these were to be carried out at a later date, and this work has never been done.[76] As a result, Montgomery did his entire reconstruction of room use and lifeways in both missions based on the plans of their conventos, not on their contents, and on Montgomery's familiarity with the California missions. His attributions are exercises in architectural speculation. We have no idea what artifact groupings were found in the various spaces, and what this might have told us about their use.

At Awatovi, the lack is not a major one, because virtually nothing of the Franciscan occupation of the rooms survived the Hopi reoccupation of the convento. Brew said "[e]xcept for a few features in the walls we found nothing which we could attribute authoritatively to pre-Rebellion times;" the Puebloan reoccupation of those rooms effectively destroyed any meaningful artifact associations with particular spaces.[77] Recent excavations at San Marcos have found the same situation: the Tanoan occupation of the convento cleaned out all trace of Franciscan material—and all other cultural material, for that matter—in the rooms. At Hawikuh, however, the preservation was much better in many areas—the Zuñi floors were established well above the original Franciscan surfaces, and much more artifact material was found in place than at Awatovi. Melinda Elliot, in her book *Great Excavations*, said that "the

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[74] Ross Montgomery, "San Bernardo de Aguatubi, an Analytical Restoration," in *Franciscan Awatovi*, pp. 109–288; James E. Ivey, "George Kubler and the Prime Object at Pecos," thesis, University of New Mexico, 2003.

[75] Brew in *Franciscan Awotovi*, pp. xx–xxi.

[76] Brew, *Hawikuh*, pp. 8, 110, 115, Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi*, p. 95.

[77] Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi*, p. 79.

total number of Spanish artifacts was much smaller [at Awatovi] than that found at Hawikuh."[78] Passing references in the report mention charred fragments of furniture and other woodwork in some of the rooms, as well as the remains of the wooden railings of the altars, and photographs even suggest what may have been the burned remains of a santo in front of the main altar.[79] It can be assumed that the artifact content of the rooms were associated with their uses on the day of their destruction in 1672. However, the lack of any formal information about artifact contents of individual rooms in both the Awatovi and Hawikuh excavations, and the absence of any subsequent study in any mission excavation that might have demonstrated the direct association between room use and artifact content leaves a major question unanswered: can room use in Southwestern missions be identified by artifact content?

Some uses can be attributed by the plan itself, or architectural features in a room, but this cannot be carried beyond a fairly basic level. The idea that artifact associations can be used for the attribution of room use may, in fact, be a useless concept for the simple reason that no index of artifacts has been produced that can be associated with specific mission activities except in the most general and generic way. We do not know what room use means in terms of daily activities, and therefore what it means in terms of artifact distribution, or presence/absence. For example, what artifacts would indicate that the room had been used as a weaving workshop for a time? How would you tell a storeroom from a residential room by artifact content? We are not yet in any position to answer these and similar questions.

Principally, the use of artifacts in a mission excavation is dating, not cultural reconstruction. Excavators essentially assume that a generic "Hispanic" set of lifeways was present, which will not allow fine-resolution identification of activities specific to a mission. In fact, no broad synthesis of results has been carried out to determine what we do and don't know about missions from the century of excavations we have conducted, and as a result, most excavations are conducted in the same darkness Jo Brew was in before Ross Montgomery came to bring some light into the project.

A considerable amount of additional archaeological information on missions is available in the form of unpublished field notes and smaller reports from all across the Southwest, and even published excavations need to be reevaluated in the light of what has been found at other excavations in other areas, and in historical and architectural research—because their Spanish material remains to be analyzed, there is still a lot to be learned from Awatovi and Hawikuh, for example. Without a critical synthesis and evaluation of such records, it is difficult for historic preservation and funding agencies to make a realistic assessment of new research proposals that intend to examine what appear to be unorthodox possibilities of mission history, and for the general

[78] Elliot, *Great Excavations*, p. 178.

[79] Brew, *Hawikuh*, pp. 113, 114,115 and plates 16a, 19c, 19d.

fieldworker to understand the implications of his or her data. This synthesis must be done before we can move on in our research.

As a result of these considerations, then, we find that mission archaeology today is primarily an architectural tool, one that gives us the history of the structural changes and approximate dates of these changes. We have a great deal of work yet to do to develop the tools that would make mission excavation into the sort of anthropological tool that would ask, and answer, cultural questions about missions on the Spanish frontier.

Historical research can in some cases supply unusually detailed descriptions of mission life and spatial use. As we have seen in the previous chapters, inventories of the San Antonio missions in 1772 recorded the sizes, openings, construction materials, uses, and contents of the rooms of conventos. Because the plan of the conventos survive or have been found by archaeology, this allows a direct attribution of the use and contents of convento spaces within a known missionary structure, at least at one point in time, in December 1772. Similar inventories also exist in a somewhat less detailed form for the missions of New Mexico in 1776. So far, no equivalent documents have been found for Arizona. California has a vast archive of mission documents that contain equivalent information, but much of it is as yet unused.

The documented inventories, when available, however, are no more than snapshots at a particular moment in the complex history of the development of these buildings. For example, as we have seen in Chapter 7, the investigations of Mardith Schuetz-Miller at San Juan Capistrano in San Antonio, Texas, have revealed a record of intense, repeated room rebuilding and modification. The present architectural history has shown that this is typical, and the conventos of the Texas missions have been used and rebuilt so heavily that there appears to be little hope of finding material culture remains to associate with the Franciscan room use of any one period. Usage patterns changed constantly.

The eighteenth-century inventories tell us something of Franciscan spatial patterning and room use for a number of missions in the Southwest, in Texas and New Mexico, but we cannot be sure that such patterning would apply to New Mexico or Florida in the seventeenth century, or to California in the nineteenth century. Careful analyses of the history of the construction of the seventeenth-century Salinas and Pecos missions in New Mexico have produced the same results: a given set of uses was ephemeral.[80] In fact, in New Mexico there is an inventory of a convento, the 1776 description of the mission at Zuñi, where the convento plan can be demonstrated to have been the seventeenth-century plan of the building as well as that of the eighteenth century—does that mean we can assume that the room uses given in the eighteenth century

[80] James Ivey, *Of Various Magnificence: An Architecturaly History of the Spanish Colonial Missions of San Antonio, Texas,* manuscript in the office of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, National Park Service, San Antonio, Texas.

would be the same as the uses to which the rooms were put in the seventeenth? Clearly no such assumption could be made, in light of the pattern of virtually continual change indicated by the study of the architectural history of specific missions mentioned above. If size and location cannot tell us room use, and artifact content has yet to be developed into even a broadly indicative tool for the use of rooms, then what can we know about mission culture? Fortunately, because it is historical archaeology, after all, the use of historical documents in addition to archaeology and architectural analysis puts some aspects of mission culture within reach, especially as more of the documentation is used. However, we have to be careful about our assumptions: until it has been proven or disproven, we do not know how far the patterns of one mission period in one province can be used to interpret other missions in other provinces at other times.

For example, many of the daily records of the missions of California in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have survived, and will eventually provide very detailed descriptions of the life of the mission community, once frontier-wide comparative studies allows the effective use of this material. But will these descriptions have something to tell us about seventeenth century New Mexico or Florida missions, or Texas in the eighteenth century? From the other side, how much of what we know went on in Texas and New Mexico (and Florida) missions can be recognized in California? Because the pattern and plan of California missions was so different from those of Texas in the early eighteenth century, or New Mexico or Florida in the seventeenth century, further research would be needed to demonstrate what elements of mission life in nineteenth-century California could be expected to apply to eighteenth-century Texas or seventeenth-century New Mexico or Florida.

Major Questions for Archaeology

With these conditions in mind, there are still things to be found out about the San Antonio missions through archaeology:

1) The plan of the Espada primary church is probably present in the ground, and should be a reduced version of the Concepción and Valero plans. Archaeology should check on these possibilities.

2) Archaeology needs to explore and accurately map the complete convento plan at Concepción, especially the missing workshops and storerooms, and the first convento.

3) The jacal pueblos of Concepción, Espada, and San Juan should be located.

4) The outline of the 1745 wall around Concepción should be traced.

5) The early structures at San Juan need archaeological investigation—for example, the building that appears to be the first granary, the fifth granary and possible primary church foundations, and the possible location of the jacal church.

6) The convento rooms and walls inside the convento patio at Valero need to be examined.

7) The possibility of an early convento enclosure at San José should be further investigated.

8) The foundations in the compound at San José should be examined by archaeology to see if they are from the first version of the pueblo.

9) Test excavations for the San José terrado church foundations should be made.

Historical Research

1) If possible, arrangements should be made to excavate the Calvillo Ranch, on private land a few miles north of Rancho de Las Cabras. An accompanying detailed research project and document translation should be carried out in association with this excavation, to improve our understanding of the lives of those who purchased the mission ranches after secularization.

2) A detailed study of the history of the mission ranches of San Antonio should be conducted.

3) Similarly, a detailed study of the history of the use and development of the mission farmlands should be made.

4) The mission account books should be transcribed and translated, to make the huge amount of information on mission life contained in these books available to the public.

5) A study of altar equipment and furnishings at the missions, and the changes to these over the years, should be made using the account books, visita reports, and inventories.

6) The workshops of the missions, their equipment, and their use should be carried out, using the mission account books, visita reports, and inventories.

Broader Connections: Architecture

We have analyzed the available archaeological, physical, and historical information about the missions of San Antonio, and arrived at a fairly clear picture of the architectural development of each of them over time. As we conclude this study, we will step back a little and compare them with each other and, in the Afterword, with the broader trends of mission development on the northern frontier.

The Construction of the San Antonio Missions

The single most striking thing about the history of construction of the San Antonio missions is that no single architect completed his plan at the missions—no mission represents a completed architectural intent. Of the four churches begun by the original designer, Antonio Tello, only one, Concepción, was completed, and a second, Valero,

was carried to perhaps three-fourths of its final form. At San José, the same sequence happened, where the original design was altered at least twice during construction. All three of these churches, Concepción, Valero, and San José, changed architects several times during the construction. San José was ultimately greatly modified from its original intended plan, although its facade may not have been redesigned, while at Valero and Concepción apparently only the facades were modified to any extent, and the plans were left unchanged. Apparently the changes to the facade of Concepción were fairly minor—however, changes were clearly much more extensive at Valero.

Where the story of the construction of the churches of other missions is known across the northern frontier, the same thing seems to have happened. Anyone familiar with the construction of the cathedrals of Europe knows that there is nothing unusual in this. The same rule probably applies all the way down to the history of construction of local parish churches. We know there were churches finished in one continuous campaign by the original designer, especially in Sonora/Arizona and California, but probably at least as many required multiple campaigns by multiple architects and builders. Even a small, simple structure like San José de Tumacácori, in southern Arizona, required more than twenty years and approximately five builders to be completed, and its final appearance had little resemblance to the original design.[81]

The San Antonio Missions and the Traditional Mission Plan

In the first decades of the establishment of missions in the San Antonio area, there was a period during which the missions themselves, within the artificially created Indian pueblo, followed the more formal spatial procedures of the seventeenth century as seen in the missions of New Mexico, which themselves derived from the general plans of Mexico in the sixteenth century. This pattern of following the New Mexico plan continued through the middle of the eighteenth century. After that a new set of concepts about what a mission should be began to influence the plan—the missions became more informal or disorganized, depending on your view, and perhaps changed toward a newer plan.

Among the elements of the previous century incorporated into the San Antonio missions were porterías and refectories, added when the construction reached the appropriate level to include them, and then given up in the second half of the century, part of the passing of the older standard mission plan. It is possible that the Father President of the missions insisted on these archaic room uses, but regardless of the first source, the masons became responsible for designing the uses into the convento structure. Gerónimo Ibarra seems to have had the primary responsibility for these rooms, since they were all apparently built between 1755 and 1760. If the idea of incorporating porterías and refectories from the previous century into the convento

[81] James E. Ivey, "Historic Structure Report, Tumacácori, Calabazas, and Guevavi Units, Tumacácori National Historical Park, Arizona," report in the files of the National Park Service, Tumacácori National Historical Park, 2006.

plan originated with Ibarra, then it appears that although Tello was using a more retrospective decorative style, almost plateresque, Ibarra was the more conservative in terms of spatial use. At San Juan in 1756–1759, Ibarra added two structures to the southwestern corner of the convento: a new room at the west end of the south row and a new, roofed gateway building. These were clearly designed to form a portería, and it is described by that word in the 1759 report. At Valero, early in the period between 1759 and 1772, it was probably Ibarra who converted already existing rooms into a portería by cutting new doorway openings to give the convento a formal entranceway with an adjacent room as the porter's lodge. At Concepción, sometime between 1755 and 1760, by the cutting of doorways he converted rooms already built so that the central room of the vaulted section of the convento became the entranceway, and the room to its north the porter's lodge. At Espada about 1755, Ibarra began a portería with a large arched doorway in the space that later became the antecocina.

The attempt to build a formal entrance into the convento was given up almost immediately at Espada, and the space had become the antecocina by 1756. At the other three missions, Ibarra's creation of formal porterías was eventually reversed as well. By 1772 the entranceway at San Juan was walled up and its porter's lodge was a guest room, at Concepción the porter's lodge had become a storeroom, and at Valero it was converted to the weaving workshop. At about the same time, about 1760, San José had a portería as well, somewhat like the one at Concepción, where the arcaded cloister walk was considered in some sense part of the portería. This was converted to the temporary church in 1765, and some of the enclosing walls of that conversion apparently still stand.

Valero is mentioned as having a formal refectory, or dining hall, built between 1759 and 1762. At Concepción such a room was built into the western corridor after the expansion of the vaulted convento had stopped in 1759. It is possible that Ibarra built it, but if so, it was among the very last changes he constructed in the convento after the order came to stop the construction of the vaulting. At San Juan, the refectory was in the south row, and was the second room east in 1756.

At Espada, a similar room was on the south row, but was never referred to as the refectory in the visitation reports. At Concepción the refectory was still in use in 1772, while at Valero a space was still used as a refectory on the second floor in one of the cells—whether it was the original refectory is unclear. The refectory at San Juan remained in use through the 1760s, but was used for making bread in 1772, with random junk stored in it, and at Espada the equivalent space was also a bread-making and general storage room by that year.

This curious record of ephemeral use lacks an explanation.[82] Was Ibarra a traditionalist, insisting on pointlessly placing these archaic spaces into more modern

[82] It is curious that sixty years later in Arizona, the Franciscans at Tumacácori went to some lengths to add a traditional portería to their new convento there. Perhaps porterías were

missions, or was Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, the Father President during this period, the source of this traditionalist movement? Only more research might answer this question.

Afterword

The Design of the San Antonio Missions

The plans of the mission churches and conventos we have studied here were essentially Franciscan expectations made material by the architects. The general concept was probably the missionary's, probably the Father President, and the architects planned the specifics.

In her now-classic study of the architectural history of a group of colonial churches in the silver-mining regions of northern Mexico, *La Arquitectura de la Plata*, Clara Bargellini reached several important conclusions about church architecture on the northern frontier in the period from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries. These conclusions are important to the present study.[83]

Bargellini's most important conclusion from her analysis of the church of the north is one of methodology. Traditional art history has seen these buildings as unitary works, the product of one unique author. Bargellini found, however, that this approach, although adequate for paintings or sculptures, fails when applied to architecture, at least in New Spain. La Plata, she says, "establishes that in order to achieve precise material histories of buildings, the important people and events of the places should be known in detail."[84] Bargellini argues that the "art historical" method "is unable to perceive complex processes of interpretation between the requirements of supervisors, the tastes of patrons and the knowledge of a series of architects, masons, and stone-carvers."[85]

Bargellini proposes that a designed building, especially a church or mission complex, is the product of these three elements:

1) the requirements of the supervisor or architect;

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periodically in favor, or perhaps their presence indicates a more traditional friar in charge of supervising the design of the building.

[83] Clara Bargellini, La Arquitectura de la Plata: Iglesias Monumentales del Centro-Norte de México, 1640–1750 (Ciudad de Mexico: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas, 1991).

[84] Bargellini, *"Este estudio deja establecido que para alcanzar historias materiales precisas de los edificios, hay que conocer los personajes y acontecimientos de los lugares en detalle," La Plata,* p. 112.

[85] Clara Bargellini, *". . . Esta incapacidad para percibir procesos complejos de interacción entre las exigencias de los supervisores, los gustos de los mecenas y los conocimientos de una serie de arquitectos, albañiles y canteros,"* La Plata, p. 112.

2) the tastes of the patron; and

3) the skills of the artisans who carry out the work. To understand the building as we receive it today, we must begin with these three components of its history of construction.

The result of the analysis of the San Antonio missions summarized in this study is a clear validation of the accuracy of Bargellini's conclusions as demonstrated in the smaller venue of the far northern frontier town of San Antonio. The San Antonio churches and missions are the result of the work of a series of architects, stone-carvers, and carpenters, each of whom changed the design of the church or mission according to his own skills and requirements, and to meet the needs of the taste of the patron at the time, almost always the Father President of the mission group—who usually would not be the same man for whom the original design was created. We find, of course, that the person or team who completed a church worked out a plan of design, facade decoration, and interior decoration that, although different from the original design intent, still formed a unified whole.

In the process of demonstrating the truth of Bargellini's primary conclusions, we have also explored the accuracy of a second conclusion of her work that follows from these primary conclusions. This is her determination that there is a sort of regional architecture to be found in the north. "We have gone for the length of this study accumulating information that gives an affirmative answer to the question of whether or not a regional architecture exists. In fact, a process of regionalization of architecture is discussed."[86]

Bargellini argues that the particular combination of patron, architect, artisans, period, and building material for a given episode of construction in a specific town produces an architecture unique to that time and place. Since a major structure usually involved several such episodes, and since the architects and artisans of each episode would usually work on several projects at the same time, the completed buildings possess a distinctive stylistic similarity to be found only in this one place. This, says Bargellini, although it is "an architecture of importation," is the regional architectural style that can be seen in so many areas of Mexico and the north.[87]

Single-designer churches are common on the northern frontier in some periods. In the far northern Pimería Alta (present southern Arizona), for example, master masons began and completed mission churches as a single unified project. San Javier del Bac, south of the present city of Tucson, is one such. But multiple-designer mission churches are also common—San José de Tumacácori, for example, had at least four

[86] Bargellini, *"A lo largo de este estudio hemos ido acumulando datos que dan una respuesta afirmativa a la pregunta de si existió o no una arquitectura regional. En realidad, se trata de un proceso de regionalizacion de la arquitectura," La Plata*, p. 111.

[87] Bargellini, *La Plata*, pp. 71–72.

master masons over a period of twenty years, each of whom redesigned the church to be simpler and cheaper than the previous designer had intended. California mission churches seem also to have commonly been the result of the work of a single maestro. From these considerations, we may conclude that the architectural design and intent of a given church cannot be determined by simple examination, but only through the three-part detailed examination of historical records, archaeological information, and surviving structure described in this book.

Background Architectural Style

Bargellini suggests that there is a second, background regional style, "an architecture constructed by persons and with methods and materials exclusive to specific regions. Such an architecture, of adobes with flat earthen roofs supported on vigas, does exist. In spite of the destruction of time and man, there are many examples that demand careful studies and preservation. Without denying the necessity for such work for a complete architectural history, it must be argued that the development of a monumental architecture [for example,] of the Cathedral of Durango and the vaulted parochial church is another [sort of regional style]."[88] This more fundamental background regional style is quite similar for most regions of the north, and in fact forms the basis for the architectural expression of the northern provinces of New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Bargellini's "architecture of adobes with flat earthen roofs supported on vigas" was elaborated into a fully monumental architecture of its own for the missions of these provinces during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Although initially churches and missions were constructed in this basic style by the missionaries themselves, as time passed architects and artisans eventually specialized in this building style, so that by the nineteenth century in Arizona and California we find master masons building flat-roofed or gabled, tiled churches for missionaries. At the same time in these provinces, Jesuits and Franciscans used the same adobe architecture for interim structures other than the church. They themselves designed and directed the construction of the buildings. In Texas, they followed the same practice in the eighteenth century. The Franciscans directed the construction of temporary buildings of jacal with thatched roofs, and then interim structures of adobes or simple rough stone walls with flat, viga-supported earthen roofs. Some of the permanent buildings were built of the same rough stone and flat roofs, and these too were frequently built under the direction of the Franciscans. Bargellini's "regional" architecture in these two materials, adobe and stone, is in fact found as the fundamental architecture not only along the northern frontier, but also everywhere in Mexico, in Oaxaca as in San Antonio, in Tucson as in Mexico City. It is

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[88] Clara Bargellini, *". . . una arquitectura construida por personas y con métodos y materiales exclusivamente regionales. Tal arquitectura, de adobe y con cubiertas de vigas y terrado, existio. A pesar de las destruccion del tiempo y del hombre, quedan muchos ejemplos que claman estudios atentos y conservacion. Sin soslayar la necesidad de tales trabajos para una historia arquitectónica completa, se puede afirmar que el desarrollo de la arquitectura monumental de la catedral de Durango y las parroquias de boveda es otro," La Plata*, p. 71.

also found throughout the expansion of the Spanish Empire through the New World. Flat-roofed churches built of adobe or stone are used as interim mission churches virtually everywhere during the northern expansion of Spain into North America—elsewhere, I have called these the most basic "frontier church."[89]

Mixing of Styles

"One of the peculiarities of colonial architecture is the profound and constant relationship with Renaissance traditions. In the monuments studied here the continual referencing to [Renaissance] treatises is clear, especially in the ornamentation."[90] For example, "stylistically, an architecture is arrived at in Zacatecas that uses characteristics of the estípite phase of the Baroque without giving up the salomonic Baroque."[91]

The Relationship Between Architecture and Sculpture

"With regard to the sculpture, the historiography [of art history] in general affirms that in colonial architecture there is no relationship between the architecture and the sculpture and insists on the planiform of the last." However, "the relationship between architecture and sculpture, and the exterior and interior [of a building] is a theme of enormous interest for the central-north churches. It is clear that the integration of the image and the iconography on the exterior of the building with the interior was accomplished."[92] For the San Antonio mission churches, such analysis will be difficult because much of the decorative program was painted on the front of the church and on its interior vaults and walls—this is true for both Concepción and San José, churches that were completed within a specific design intent. The loss of these iconographic programs can be made up for by examining the documents, which allow the reconstruction, to some extent, at least, of the programs.

One aspect of the typical working conditions for architects and artisans on the frontier may seem unlikely to those unfamiliar with architectural methods in northern Mexico.

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[89] James E. Ivey, "George Kubler and the Prime Object at Pecos," master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 2003.

[90] Bargellini, *"Una de las peculiaridades de la arquitectura colonial es la relacion profunda y constante con las tradiciones renacentistas. En los monumetos estudiados aqui es claro la continua referencia a tratados, especialmente en la ornamentación," La Plata*, p. 109.

[91] Bargellini, *"Estilisticamente se llega a una arquitectura en Zacatecas que comporte caracteristicas de la fase del barroco estípite sin abandonas el barroco salomonico," La Plata*, p. 111.

[92] Bargellini, *"En cuanto a la escultura, la historiografía por lo general afirma que en la arquitectura colonial no hay relación entre la arquitectura y la escultura e insiste en lo planiforme de esta ultima. . . . La relacion entre arquitectura y escultura y exterior e interior es un tema de enorme interés para las iglesias centro-norteñas. Es claro que se buscaba la integración de la imagen y la iconografía exterior del edificio con la interior,"* La Plata, p. 109.

Once in a given area, architects tended to take on several contracts simultaneously. Virtually every architect and artisan hired by the Querétaran missionaries worked at all four of these missions, and some are known to have worked on the parish church in San Antonio at the same time. Probably some worked on the Zacatecan mission of San José at the same time, and perhaps even on the two additional Zacatecan missions near Goliad, Texas, eighty-five miles down the San Antonio River from San Antonio. It is likely that most of the architectural artisans who came to San Antonio worked on projects at all these places, more or less at the same time. Bargellini identified the same pattern in the Plata region: "when bringing a maestro had been managed, often several projects were entrusted to him. This is documented from north to south."[93] It is now documented in San Antonio as well.

We have gone beyond Bargellini's work in this study to determine additional components of the process of development of a church or mission complex. Although Bargellini was unable to use archaeological investigations for her studies of the Plata area and other regions of northern Mexico because none had been carried out in the areas she was examining, nonetheless she is aware of the need for this additional information. In a study of the colonial churches of Chihuahua, for example, she said: "so far as we know, nothing has been preserved of the architecture of the first years of the incursions of colonizers in the areas of the State of Chihuahua discussed in this book. Eventually, specialized historical archaeological work should give results of great interest, but until then we must accept a large gap in our understanding of the material culture of the first period of the history of Chihuahua. The disappearance of the traces of the architecture, owing to, for the most part, certainly, that the structures were of materials of little durability, because the builders themselves had not decided that they wanted to build for the long term."[94]

The Maestro Problem

One result of the analysis of the structural histories of the San Antonio missions suggests a solution to a problem of authorship Bargellini identifies in La Plata. In her study, Bargellini devoted an entire chapter to the discussion of architectural

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[93] Bargellini, *". . . cuando se había logrado traer a un maestro, muchas veces se le encargaban varias obras. Esto está documentado de norte a sur," La Plata,* p. 73.

[94] Clara Bargellini, *"Hasta donde sabemos, no se conserva nada de la arquitectura de los primeros años de incursiones colonizadoras en las zonas del estado de Chihuahua tratadas en este libro. Eventualmente, trabajos de arqueología histórica especializada podrán hallar restos de mucho interés, pero hasta entonces debemos reconocer un gran hueco en nuestros conocimientos de la cultura material de la primera época de la historia de Chihuahua. La desaparición de las huellas de la arquitectura se debe en gran parte, seguramente, a que las construcciones fueron de materiales no duraderos, porque los propios constructores no habían decidido que querían edificar para el largo plazo,"* in *"La Arquitectura y el Arte de las Misiones: Procesos y Ejemplos,"* in *Missiones Para Chihuahua*, Clara Bargellini, ed. (Chihuahua: Grupo Cementos de Chihuahua, 2004), p. 127.

sculpture.[95] After about the second decade of the eighteenth century she was unable to identify the names of the artisans who carved the complex programs of decoration on the facades of the churches of the Plata region. Through careful analysis of the details of the styles of the various churches in the region, she was able to identify five stylistic groupings of the episodes of carving of the facades, and suggested that these were the products of five cantores or groups of cantores working together, but could not associate this work with the names of specific persons.[96] In the earlier part of the chapter, dealing with the period from the late seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century, Bargellini associates a few specific architects with particular works, but these architects, although mentioned in her listing of artisans working in the central-north, were all named as maestros alarifes or maestros arquitectos, not as canteros, stone-carvers. Even in these cases, then, the named maestros may well have been the designers and supervisors of the work, not the artisans who actually cut the stone of the facades. In fact, Bargellini suggests at one point that one of these maestros arquitectos, Nicholas Sanchez Pacheco, brought ideas of design from Mexico City to San Luis Potosí, but their execution was sufficiently idiosyncratic as to suggest that he had the help of local stonecutters in their final execution.[97]

Although Bargellini found the names of 110 maestros of various skills in her list of artisans in the Plata area, of ten canteros and maestros de cantero who were listed, only two seemed to have been involved in stone sculpture—but in one case this involvement has a question mark beside his designation as cantero for his only project, and the other cantero carved stones for the flat platform of an altar and cut a section out of a cornice so that a new retablo would fit above the altar. In other words, neither seems to have been a sculptor of the statues and forms of the facades of churches. Where, then, are the stone sculptors who did this work?

Only three of the 110 artisans were master sculptors, and of these one was mentioned only as repairing a sculpture of wood for an altar. A second escultor was also listed as a maestro de obra, but was not associated with any significant work. Only the third, Felipe de Ureña, was a man of formidable skill—in addition to a builder of retablos, he was a *maestro de ensamblador*, a master assembler of retablos, a carpenter, a builder of furniture and doors for churches, and a *maestro de dorado* (a master gilder). He was twice called a maestro de arquitectura. However, virtually all of the many contracts listed under his name were for the construction of retablos for churches. Only one mention of his being called a maestro de arquitectura was associated with actual construction other than retablos—in this case he was involved with a project to build a bridge, and was probably constructing the forms for the arches. Two other references associated him with construction, on a church and on a chapel associated with a cathedral, but in both cases his work is not specified, and he may well have been

[95] Bargellini, *"Capitulo V: La Escultura Arquitectonica," La Plata*, pp. 53–68.

[96] Bargellini, *La Plata*, pp. 60–6.

[97] Bargellini, *La Plata*, p. 57.

building woodwork for these projects as well. None of his projects include any mention of work as a sculptor of stone.

Eight of the carpenters and master carpenters in Bargellini's tabulation also worked as sculptors of wood and were involved in the construction of retablos, but none were mentioned as working in stone. However, one maestro de carpintería, Felipe Santiago, is known from the references to his work in San Antonio, not available to Bargellini, to have been a fine-carver in both wood and stone, a master cantero or stone sculptor as well as a master carpenter. In other words, Bargellini's listing of maestros in the Plata area include no fine-carvers who worked in stone and no one who was involved in the construction of carved facades and other ornamental stonework in the churches of the north, but in at least one case we know a specific maestro did such work even though he was not so identified.

Bargellini suggested that these canteros were Indians or persons of various levels of *mestizaje*, and implies that they were not mentioned in the official records because of this.[98] The result of the analysis of the artisans working on the San Antonio missions suggests that a second alternative is likely. In San Antonio, the skilled artisans who carried out this work were not called canteros, but maestros de carpentería (see the discussion demonstrating this in Chapter 2). Therefore, the eight men in Bargellini's listing who built retablos for these northern churches were the most likely persons to have been the fine-sculptors in stone who built their facades.

The method described by Bargellini for the secular churches of the Plata region, which also was applied to the mission and secular churches of San Antonio farther to the north, was undoubtedly only one of at least two broad methods for designing and building a church on the northern frontier. The other is the "single-author" church, where one man designed and directed the construction, with no significant alteration to the design and plan of the building. Single-designer churches are common on the northern frontier in some periods. California and Arizona (San Xavier del Bac, for example). However, even here conditions can produce a multiple-maestro church, as at both Tumacácori and Guevavi.

Determining where and when Bargellini's Plata method was used, and why, would be a useful step in the formulation of a good understanding of church design and construction in the north. The economics of construction, how it was paid for, is another area of interest. Contracts for church construction need to be studied and compared. Most of all, the master masons and sculptors of the north need to be identified and their careers followed from place to place, as Clara Bargellini and I have begun to do with don Ángel Galín y Anglino.[99]

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[98] Bargellini, *La Plata*, pp. 62, 66.

[99] Clara Bargellini, *La Catedral de Saltillo y sus Imagenes* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Naciónal Autónoma de México, 2005), pp. 58–67.

With Bargellini's work on the religious centers of the northern tier of Mexican states, and this study of San Antonio's missions using her conclusions, we are just beginning to see the outline of a standard practice where transient master architects and craftsmen move from project to project across the north. The story is as much one of individuals, their skills and preferences, as it is of churches, their design changes and decorative programs. These men and their personal styles moved where their contracts took them, anywhere in the northern provinces and perhaps farther afield than that. The combination of the movements and designs of this group of perhaps less than a hundred men determined the architecture of the north of New Spain. As we begin to identify and follow them, we begin to understand the architectural development of the Northern Borderlands.

Abbreviations

ASA (Archives of the Archdiocese of San Antonio)

BAM/ BA (Bexar Archives Microfilm)

BCAMR (Bexar County Archives Mission Records)

BCDR (Bexar County Deed Records)

CAT (Catholic Archives of Texas)

GLOSA (General Land Office Spanish Archives)

ITC (Institute of Texan Cultures Library)

OSMHRL (Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library)

SMRC (Southwestern Mission Research Center)

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