

**A**nthropologists study the relationships between people, places, and things, and archaeologists—the anthropologists of the past—investigate these same relationships for times gone by. The archaeological investigations at Los Adaes conducted by Dr. H.F. “Pete” Gregory over a thirty year period have informed us about the various places at Los Adaes, including the governor’s house, the palisade, and several dwellings

## Archival Investigations of the People of Los Adaes

By  
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outside the stockade, and also the multitude of artifacts associated with these various features.<sup>1</sup> Dr. James McCorkle has written a fine historical summary of Los Adaes, focusing on the secondary documents.<sup>2</sup> The present article will augment Dr. McCorkle’s work with investigations of some of the primary sources related to Los Adaes.

The challenge of historical archaeology is to integrate archival information with the archaeological assemblage, that is, to integrate information about the actual people who lived at Los Adaes with the material remains recovered by archaeologists. The goal of the current archival project was therefore to identify people, places, and things in the documents, with the hope that correlation with the archaeological record might follow.<sup>3</sup>

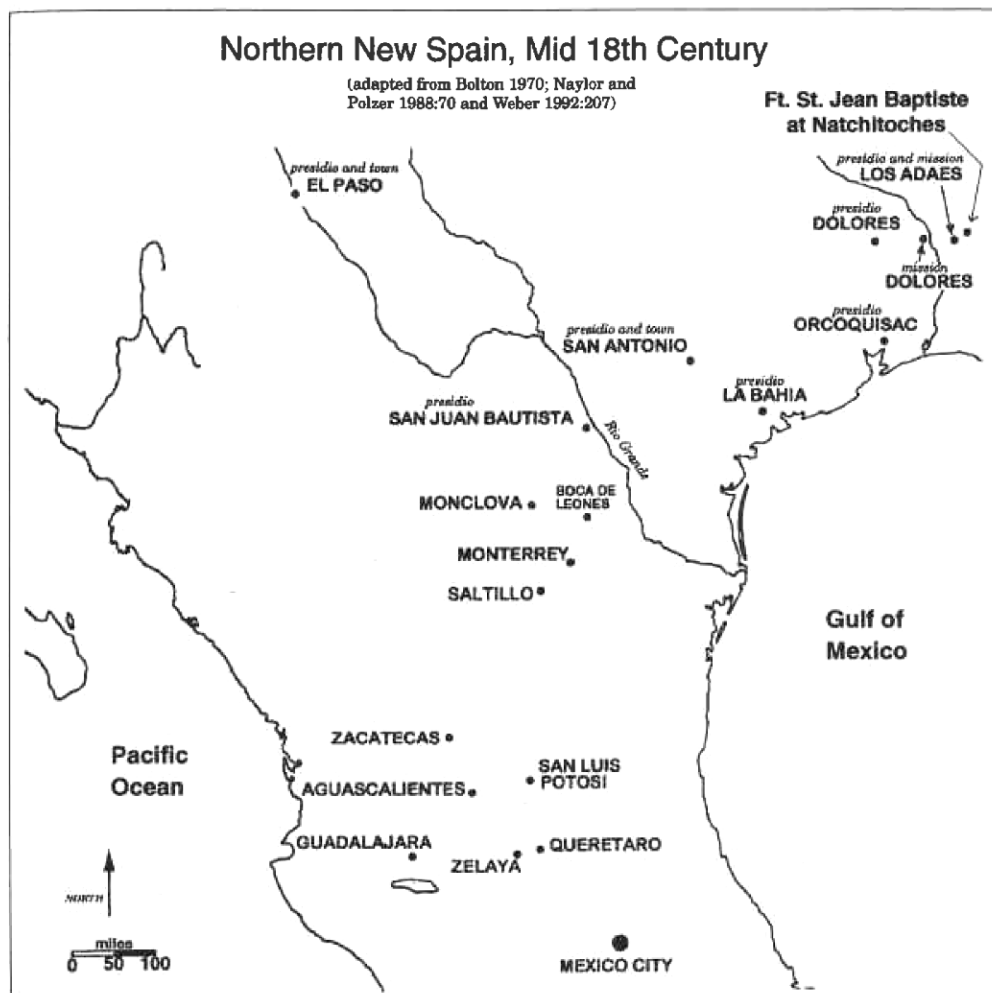
This article will focus on information regarding the people of Los Adaes—the “places” and “things” are discussed elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

### **Los Adaes: Capital of Spanish Texas**

Los Adaes was the capital of the Spanish province of Texas from 1729 to 1770, and the site was occupied from 1721 to 1773. The site is located in Northwestern Louisiana, and much of it is owned by the state of Louisiana and operated as a State Historic Site by the Louisiana Office of State Parks. The site consists of a fort, mission, and settlement. The fort and mission were named after the Adaes Indians, a Caddoan group. The fort was called *Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes*, and the mission was *San Miguel de Cuellar de los Adaes*. Archaeologists and historians follow the 18th century practice of referring to the fort, mission, and settlement as simply “Los Adaes.” Los Adaes was a reaction to the French trading post and fort established at the Red River, roughly 20 miles away, among the Natchitoches Indians, another Caddoan group. The French, however, were more interested in trading than acquiring territory, and as a result, Los Adaes functioned more as a settlement and trading post, than fort and mission.

### **The Soldiers**

Los Adaes was a military post, and for much of its existence, the soldiers and their families constituted a majority of the population. Unfortunately, readily available information regarding activity during the first 10 years of the Los Adaes post was not very detailed, that is, the overall number of soldiers was given, but the names and descriptions of these soldiers are currently not to be found in published material. An article on the Aguayo expedition by Eleanor Claire Buckley<sup>5</sup> gives us a start, and it is hoped that future research will uncover more details. After the “Chicken War” of 1719 in which French troops expelled the Spanish and their chickens from the first mission of Los Adaes, Governor Aguayo began to organize an expedition to reoccupy the abandoned presidios northeast of San Antonio. Aguayo was anticipating a fight, so he recruited 500 soldiers to reinforce the presidio at San Antonio, reestablish presidio Dolores de los Tejas, and built new presidios at La Bahia and Los Adaes (Figure 1). In 1720, France and Spain had made peace, and therefore, when Aguayo began his expedition in 1721, the prospect of a military conflict with the French had all but dissipated.<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 1.** 18th century map of northern New Spain showing location of selected presidios, missions, and settlements.

Aguayo recruited soldiers in the communities of Saltillo, Parras, Zacatecas, Zelaya, San Luis Potosi, and Aguas Calientes (Figure 1). Eleanor Claire Buckley provides details of the recruiting practices in Zelaya and comments:

If we may judge that the preparation and make-up of this expedition was typical of all the early ones sent to Texas, as perhaps we may with safety, we must draw sad conclusions concerning their disorganization, disregard of viceregal orders, and the tatterdemalion character of the crowd sent to Texas.<sup>7</sup>

One hundred seventeen soldiers were recruited in Zelaya—107 of these being taken from the local jail. Aguayo was particularly interested in recruiting soldiers with families and the descriptions of two of the five recruits from Zelaya indicate that they are family men:

Antonio de Flores, *coyote*, single, inhabitant of this city, twenty-five years of age, tall, black hair—he has been in prison twenty-five days.

Antonio Rodrigues, Spaniard, forty years of age, inhabitant of the town of San Juan del Río, married to Juana de Dios, two children who are in that town—it is thirty days since he has been imprisoned.

Juan Manuel Barrera, single, Spaniard, inhabitant of Esmiquilpa, eighteen years of age, dark complexioned, beardless,—he has been in prison twenty days.

Benture de Tobar, a free *mulatto*, single, inhabitant of this city, thirty-five years of age, good physique,—he has been in prison thirty days.

Bernardo del Carpio, a free *mulatto*, inhabitant of Guadalajara, twenty-five years of age, small in body, blond, married in the city of Guadalajara to María Flores, Spanish, and has three children.<sup>8</sup>

The terms *Coyote* and *Mulatto* were descriptions of *casta* or ethnicity and represented designations for the offspring of persons of parents of differing ethnicity. For example, the offspring of a Spaniard or *Español* and Indian was referred to as a *Mestizo*, the offspring of an *Español* and African was a *Mulatto*, the offspring of an Indian and *Mestizo* was a *Coyote*, and the offspring of an Indian and *Mulatto* was a *Lobo*.<sup>9</sup> It is important to point out that the classification system was at times subjective and inconsistent.<sup>10</sup> Much of this variation might be explained by who was making the assessment of *casta*—the recorder might simply make the assessment of *casta* without asking the individual. It is interesting to note that the *casta* of the recruits from Zelaya was highly variable. Of the 117 recruits, there were 44 *Españoles*, 31 *Mulattoes*, 21 *Coyotes*, 17 *Mestizos*, two *Castizos*, one *Lobo*, one free *Negro*, and one *Indio* from Sapotlan.<sup>11</sup>

One hundred of the five hundred recruits on the Aguayo expedition were stationed at Los Adaes in 1721, and of these, 31 had families.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, there are no published lists of these first occu-

pants of Los Adaes and future archival work will attempt to locate such information. The earliest list of soldiers at Los Adaes examined in this study is a 1731 roster<sup>13</sup> which lists the names and *casta* of the 59 soldiers remaining at Los Adaes after the garrison was reduced from 100 soldiers, following recommendations from the Rivera military inspection of 1727. This list indicates that 29 *Españoles*, 14 *Mestizos*, 8 *Mulattoes*, 7 *Coyotes*, 1 *Lobo*, and 1 *Indio* were stationed at Los Adaes, and suggests that the range of *casta* of recruits from Zelaya is similar to that of Los Adaes.

Max Moorhead's<sup>14</sup> classic work on the presidios of the northern frontier reports that for the period 1773-1781, the soldiers were 49.6% *Español*, 37% mixed blood (*Mestizo*, *Castizo*, *Mulatto*, *Morisco*, *Coyote*, *Lobo*), and 13.3% *Indio*. The *casta* percentage varied from presidio to presidio, and the two Texas presidios active from 1773 to 1781 (San Antonio and La Bahia) were almost all *Españoles*. So it appears that *Españoles* were well represented at presidios during most of the 18th century, but Moorhead reports that later on the presidios drew heavily from Indian populations for recruits.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the roster of 1731, only one other document was examined which gave a physical description of the soldiers. This 1736 document summarizes the changes in the troop roster at Los Adaes for the years 1734 to 1736, and gives descriptions of new recruits, as well as reports on deaths, desertions, and retirements (Table 1).<sup>16</sup> The descriptions of new recruits ranged from blond hair/blue eyes to black frizzy hair/black eyes, and suggest a diversity of *castas*. The physical descriptions include build, skin color, facial structure, and identifying characteristics such as scars, missing eyes, and speech impediments. These descriptions are in effect written snapshots, and constitute the only visual images of Los Adaes soldiers which are available to us.

Another type of document which provides information about the soldiers of Los Adaes is the document which gave power of attorney to an agent of the governor to travel to Mexico City and collect the men's salaries. The common soldier at Los Adaes earned 420 pesos a year—the highest of the Texas presidios, and it was 450 pesos for the Lieutenant, 440 for the *Alférez* (warrant officer), 435 for the Sergeant, and 6,000 for the Captain, who at Los Adaes was also the Governor.<sup>17</sup> Presidial soldiers of the 18th century were only rarely paid in cash, the more common practice being payment in kind—which included provisions and military equipment which the soldiers were expected to provide out of their salaries. A series of these power of attorney documents from 1734 to 1762 suggest that at least once in a particular year, all the soldiers present at Los Adaes would give their permission for an agent of the governor to pick up their salaries

in Mexico City, and with this money buy supplies (often in Saltillo) which then would be brought back to Los Adaes and distributed to the soldiers.<sup>18</sup>

**Table 1.** Description of Los Adaes Soldiers who were recruited between 1734-1736. <sup>18</sup>

**Joseph Antonio Lazcano**, son of the same, native of the city of Zacatecas, tall, slender, light brown complexion, beardless, reddish brown hair, light grayish brown eyes, wide forehead, smooth-faced, 32 years old, began his term on July 20, 1734

**Agustín Sánchez**, son of Nicolás, native of the city of Zacatecas, medium build, stocky, light brown complexion, round face, small black eyes, small forehead, dark reddish brown hair, 29 years old, began his term on July 27, 1735, recruited in the Villa of Saltillo.

**Joseph Manuel Berlanga**, son of the same, native of the Villa of Saltillo, tall and stocky, white aquiline face, blue eyes, red beard, pockmarked, small forehead, light reddish brown hair, 30 years old, recruited in the Villa of Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Lucas Flores**, son of Antonio, native of the city of Monterey, medium build, *zenseño*, white color, aquiline features, beardless, small forehead, light reddish brown hair, 20 years old, recruited in the Villa de el Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Fernando de la Zerda**, son of the same, native of the villa of El Pilon(?), New Kingdom of Leon, medium slender build, white color, beardless, wide forehead, light brown hair, 21 years old, recruited in the Villa of Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Domingo Chirino**, son of Lazaro, native of the Villa of Saltillo, medium slender build, light brown color, one-eyed (left), beardless, small forehead, black hair and eyes, 23 years old, recruited in Saltillo on July 27, 1737(5?).

**Manuel Chirino**, son of Lazaro, native of the Villa of Saltillo, well-built, stocky, white color, round face, slight beard, brown eyes, wide forehead, light reddish brown hair, recruited in the Villa of Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Christoval Gutierrez**, son of Nicolás, native of the Salinas, New Kingdom of Leon, tall, robust, white round face, beardless, wide forehead, light reddish brown hair, one who stammers, 25 years old, recruited in the Villa Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Francisco de Estrada**, son of the same, native of the Villa of Saltillo, well-built, "zenzeño," light brown color, beardless, rugged face, black eyes, wide forehead, dark reddish brown hair, 38 years old, recruited in the Villa of Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Diego de Estrada**, son of Juan, native of the Real de el Mazapil, well-built, stocky, light brown color, round face, beardless, brown eyes, dark reddish brown hair, 36 years old recruited in the Villa of Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Ignacio Gómez de Osorio**, son of Francisco, native of the presidio of El Passaje in New Viscaya, well-built, "zenzeño," light brown color, black beard, black eyes, wide forehead, dark reddish brown hair, 30 years old, recruited in Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Bernardo Joseph Barron**, son of Francisco, native of the city of Querétaro, medium build, white round face, heavy thick beard, brownish gray eyes, straight reddish brown hair, 25 years old, recruited in the Villa of Saltillo on July 27, 1735.

**Joseph de Castro**, son of Juan, native of the Presidio of the Río Grande, Province of Coahuila, tall, spindly, white color, aquiline face, beardless, large brownish gray eyes, large forehead, dark reddish brown hair, 24 years, recruited in the Presidio of San Antonio.

**Juan Joseph de Santa Crus**, son of the same, native of Zelaya, tall husky, white color, round face, red beard, large brownish gray eyes, light reddish brown hair, 28 years old, recruited on July 27, 1736

**Marcos Ruís**, son of Manuel, of the city of Querétaro, tall slender, white aquiline face, black beard, brownish gray eyes, wide forehead, straight reddish brown hair, 40 years old, recruited in the Presidio of San Antonio on July 27, 1736.

**Mathias de Montes de Oca**, son of Diego, native of Mexico City, well-built, lanky, light brown color, beardless, black medium eyes, small forehead, dark reddish brown hair, 22 years old, recruited in San Antonio on July 27, 1736

**Francisco Xavier Cortinas**, son of Juan, native of the Villa of Santiago province of Coahuila, tall, robust, white round face, red beard, blond hair, large blue eyes, 22 years old, a scar over the left eye, recruited in Coahuila, July 27, 1736.

**Ignacio de San Miguel**, son of Vicente, native of the Villa of Coaguila, well-built, stocky, light brown color, round face, beardless, two birthmarks—one on the mouth and the other on the nose, large brownish gray eyes, small forehead, dark reddish brown hair, 25 years old, recruited in San Antonio on July 27, 1736.

**Santiago Vega**, son of Agustín, native of the Villa of Saltillo, brown color, beardless, medium black eyes, wide forehead, dark reddish brown hair, medium build, stocky, 30 years old, recruited in San Antonio on July 27, 1736.

**Joseph Miguel Domínguez**, son of Xyptóval, native of the Real de Boca de Leones, New Kingdom of Leon, tall, husky, brown color, round face, heavy thick beard, large black eyes, small forehead, dark reddish brown hair, 30 years old, recruited in San Antonio on July 27, 1737.

**Pedro Joseph de Salazar**, son of Juan, native of the city of Monterrey, tall, husky, dark brown color, black heavy thick beard, small forehead, black frizzy hair, 36 years old, recruited in San Antonio on December 1, 1736.

**Diego de Villafranca**, son of the same, native of Monterrey, well-built, husky, dark brown color, round face, beardless, black eyes, small forehead, black frizzy hair, 41 years old, recruited on December 1, 1736.

The year-to-year changes in the 60 soldier Los Adaes troop roster as indicated by the power of attorney documents ranged from three to 17 soldiers; some of the soldiers would be gone for one or several years and return. Regular duties for Los Adaes soldiers included guard duty at the various missions in the area, escort duty for travelers and convoys—including the provisions procured in Saltillo, tending to the governor's cattle and horses, maintenance of the presidio, and expeditions. The number of soldiers actually living at Los Adaes therefore varied throughout the year. On September 30, 1754, only 12 soldiers were present at Los Adaes, the rest were off on various duties.<sup>19</sup> Four years earlier, the number of soldiers at the presidio on one occasion was only six, as 15 were guarding the horse herd, seven were assigned to the various missions in the area (Mission Dolores, Mission Nacogdoches), 15 were on escort duty, and 17 were at the new settlement of San Javier.<sup>20</sup> The revisions of the Los Adaes and Orcoquisac account book in 1768 after Rubí's inspection at Los Adaes suggests that there was troop movement between the two presidios. Nine soldiers had accounts for both Los Adaes and Orcoquisac.<sup>21</sup> In summary, the various documents reviewed for this study concerning the soldiers include troop rosters, power of attorney documents, and a list of new recruits. There were usually changes in the roster from year to year, although a core group of from 15 to 20 soldiers remained at Los Adaes for periods of up to 10 years in length. From the period 1731 to 1762, 31 soldiers had terms of 15 or more years of service at Los Adaes. It was not uncommon for retired soldiers to remain at Los Adaes, and these will be discussed in the "Settlers" section.



## The Governors

Unlike the soldiers, the names of all the governors who lived at Los Adaes are currently known (Table 2).<sup>22</sup> The Spanish province of Texas was part of New Spain and subject to the *Audiencia* of Mexico City for civil and military affairs. With the exception of the community of San Fernando de Béjar located near presidio San Antonio de Béjar, the government of 18th century Texas was a military government.<sup>23</sup> Los Adaes was officially named the capital of Texas in 1729, and governors had maintained a residence there since 1722. The governors were generally wealthy men, and it appears that a major incentive to accept the job at Los Adaes was the opportunity to trade with the French. French goods, especially cloth and firearms, were especially valued on the frontier, and although trade with the French for food staples was allowed, the trade for French merchandise was not. While it is likely that all the governors who lived at Los Adaes are in some respects noteworthy, four stood out in the documents surveyed for this study, and therefore only these four governors will be discussed. Governors Sandoval, Winthusyen, García Larios, and Barrios y Jáurequi represent the bad, the good and the wily: Sandoval did not pay many of his soldiers and was observed in improper relations with the French of Natchitoches; Winthusyen appears to have made many improvements to Los Adaes; and both García Larios and Barrios y Jáurequi deflected charges against them through apparently adept political maneuvering. The documents associated with the inquiries into the behavior of these four governors give insights into the daily life at Los Adaes.

**Table 2.** List of Governors of the Province of Texas who served at Los Adaes, 1716-1778.<sup>22</sup>

1716-1719	Martín de Alarcon
1719-1722	The Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo
1722-1726	Fernando Pérez de Almazan
1727-1730	Melchor de Media Villa y Ascona
1730-	Juan Bustillo Zevallos
1734-	Manuel de Sandoval
1736	Carlos Denites Franquis de Lugo
1737	Fernando de Jáurequi y Urrutia
1737-1740	Prudencio de Orobio y Bazterra
1741-1743	Tomás Felipe Winthusyen
1743-1744	Justo Boneo y Morales
1744-1748	Francisco García Larios
1748-1750	Pedro del Barrio Junco y Espriella
1751-1759	Jacinto de Barrios y Jáurequi
1759-1766	Angel Martos y Navarette
1767-1770	Hugo Oconor
1770-1778	The Baron de Ripperda

Governor Sandoval (1734-36) was charged with not paying a number of soldiers under his command. Some soldiers claimed that although they signed power of attorney documents, they received no goods as payment from the governor during his three-year term. The charges were filed after the governor left his post, and after an inquiry, the soldiers finally received what was owed them. Sandoval and his lieutenant, Fermín de Ybericú, apparently had close dealings with the French, and the inquiry revealed that the governor and lieutenant returned from a trip to Natchitoches with three French women. One of these women was the wife of the *Alférez* (translated variously as warrant officer, or second lieutenant) of the French fort at Natchitoches. The group had a party in the governor's house, and when it appeared that the wife of the French *Alférez* was going to spend more time in the Spanish governor's house than was deemed proper, the priest from the mission removed the French woman and, according to the documents, sent her to mission Dolores.<sup>24</sup> Due to time constraints, most of the documents related to the Sandoval inquiry were not translated, and it is hoped that further reading of these documents might offer more insights to the activities of those in command at Los Adaes.

Governor Tomás Felipe Winthusyen (1741-1743) appears to have served his term in an admirable fashion. A "secret" inquiry revealed that he had renovated the stockade, built government buildings, and built five new barracks ". . . in which most of the soldiers could live . . ."<sup>25</sup> Winthusyen also improved the farms and encouraged the growth of the community, but the lack of a readily available source of manual labor is given as explanation as to why the community had not grown more rapidly. In addition, the governor had not permitted illegal trade with the French. After finishing his term, Winthusyen wrote a report in 1744 and suggested that the 60 soldier garrison at Los Adaes was not necessary. He argued that not even 600 Spanish soldiers at Los Adaes would be enough if the French decided to attack because the Indians would readily join with the French; apparently the Spanish could not count on any help from the Indians. Winthusyen reasoned that a reduced garrison at Los Adaes would reduce the possibility of illicit trade, and thereby reduce the French presence at Natchitoches. He seemed to recognize that the garrison at Los Adaes benefited the French, as Los Adaes was not self-sufficient, and Natchitoches was a closer source of supplies than San Antonio. A reduction of 20 soldiers was recommended for Los Adaes. While it appears that Winthusyen had made Los Adaes a better place than before his term, his recommendations were not followed—Los Adaes remained the capital, and the garrison of 60 soldiers was retained at Los Adaes until 1773 when the fort and mission were closed down.

Governor Francisco García Larios (1744-1748) was charged by four of his own soldiers with the following misdeeds:

1. The stockade was in such a deteriorated state that four mules with loads could pass side-by-side in a number of places.
2. The governor had used soldiers to build a barn for storing corn and a chicken house, contrary to ordinance 61.
3. The governor had used soldiers for tasks related to his own benefit (i.e. growing corn).
4. The governor would not buy seed corn from the settlers around Los Adaes.
5. The governor did not give out gunpowder.
6. The governor sold corn and deerskins, and horses for service at unfair prices.
7. The governor made unreasonable profit on goods paid to soldiers, for example, he bought 40 cakes of soap for 1 peso in Saltillo, and charged 1 peso for 10 cakes of soap at Los Adaes
8. The governor arrested Joseph Antonio Lascano, Andrés Grixalba, and Juan Dios Paulín, released them the same day with a warning that he would "blow their brains out" if they filed charges against him.

Andrés Sánchez, Joseph Arias, Joseph Villa Real, and Marcos Losoya, all soldiers of Los Adaes, went to San Antonio with the above charges. The difficulties of charging a governor currently in office were made apparent as the four soldiers traveled to San Antonio without the governor's permission; they were therefore absent without leave and the governor charged them with desertion. The authorities in San Antonio reasoned that a full-scale inquiry would not be feasible at such a long-distance, and therefore a former governor, Juan Antonio Bustillos, was asked to review the charges. Bustillos dismissed all the charges on the grounds that they were exaggerations. As punishment, the four soldiers were assigned guard duty for the governor's horse herds for three months continuously.<sup>26</sup>

Governor Jacinto de Barrios Jáurequi (1751-59) also seems to have defused a potentially damaging situation when he held an inquiry in response to a petition allegedly signed by 19 settlers.<sup>27</sup> This petition alleged that the governor

1. charged goods distributed to the settlers at inflated prices
2. refused to buy goods grown by the settlers
3. allowed the settlers to trade with the Indians only for hides
4. charged high prices for titles to land in the vicinity of the fort

The governor started his inquiry by showing the petition to the 12 soldiers who were at the fort on September 30, 1754. These soldiers were surprised at the charge that the governor wouldn't buy goods grown by the settlers, as in the year just past, the settlers had expressed that they could not plant enough to supply the company since they lacked oxen and laborers. One by one, the governor brought in the people whose names appeared on the petition, and it appears that all but three ended up annulling their signatures. These three—Andrés Chirino, Antonio Losoya, and Salvador de Esparsa, appear to have been the instigators of the petition.

Many of the "signers" of this petition against the governor could not, in fact, sign their names, but had given permission to put their names on the petition under false pretenses. Others claimed that they had not even heard about the petition and had not given permission for their name to appear on it. One settler, Juan de Mora, claimed that he signed the petition without reading it. It appears that some were told by Chirino and Losoya that the petition was in support of the governor, and others were told that the petition was not in any way against the governor, but rather a request that the governor buy corn from the settlers. The governor recorded depositions from settlers relating that he had, in fact, purchased goods from the settlers, that there had been no charge for titles for land granted to settlers in the vicinity of Los Adaes, and that he had made improvements to the fort and mission during his tenure. Matías Sánchez, 35 years old, had lived at Los Adaes since he was one year old, and he reported that he had never seen a time of greater prosperity than the present. Juan Joseph Marqués, 60 years old, more or less, was one of the first settlers at Los Adaes and in regard to the settlement, he reported that

... he had not seen it more secure or the company more splendidly and more completely equipped; that the *vecinos* [settlers] were not suffering any lack of clothing for their families had never been so well dressed; and that there could be no hunger since most of the *vecinos* had a few head of cattle, corn, chile, and the indispensable needs for human existence; and that it was rare to find a wife of either a soldier or a *vecino* who did not have one or two silk undershirts with silver braid and fringe; and that, as he had said, the families had never been as well-dressed as now.<sup>28</sup>

The governor's inquiry demonstrated, to the governor's satisfaction, that the allegations were false, and the three soldiers who refused to annul their signatures were arrested and put in the guardhouse.

### The Priests

Many of the names of the religious men who served at Los Adaes are known (Table 3), but it is also known that the mission at Los Adaes had no living converts, and functioned primarily as a secular church serving the needs of the Los Adaes community. The priests at Los Adaes did baptize some Native Americans, a total of 103 was reported by Father Solís in his 1768 inspection. Another document in the Our Lady of the Lake University archives indicated that by 1740, there had been 51 baptisms of Indians at Los Adaes, and by 1747 the total had increased to 75. The baptisms at Los Adaes of both children and adults are described as *in articulo mortis*, which means that the sacrament of baptism was administered at the time of death.<sup>29</sup> The number of baptisms for Los Adaes is not large—103 from 1721 to 1768 (47 years)—and indicates an average of two to three baptisms a year. It is also not known if the baptisms were performed in the mission or in the various Indian communities. Any *in articulo mortis* baptisms performed in the mission would probably indicate that burial was with the other deceased parishioners, that is, probably somewhere in the close vicinity of the mission church.

**Table 3.** Partial List of Franciscan Priests who served at Los Adaes<sup>30</sup>

1717-1719	Fr. Agustín Patron y Guzman
1717-1719	Bro. Francisco Javier Cubillos
1721-1722	Ven. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús
1761	Fr. Francisco Vallejo
1737	Fr. Juan Cipriano
1737	Fr. Ildefonso José Marmolejo
1750	Fr. Andrés de Aragón
1751-1758	Fr. Pedro de Ramírez de Arellano
1756	Fr. Marcos Satarain
1759	Fr. Tello
1763	Fr. José Diaz Infante
1763	Fr. Ignacio Laba
1767-1768	Fr. José María de la Santísima Trinidad Amillano
1770	Fr. Miguel de Santa María y Silva

Priests would occasionally witness depositions, and might also accompany military expeditions. In 1750, the priest at Los Adaes had intended to travel with a group of 25 soldiers who were headed for territory which was politically Spanish, but where there were reports of French traders. A sudden illness prevented the priest from

making the journey. One incident which undoubtedly involved the priests at Los Adaes occurred when a runaway *mulatto* slave from French Louisiana took refuge in the mission at Los Adaes on June 27, 1768. Time constraints prevented a thorough translation of this document, but it appears that the official practice in the past had been to return escaped slaves to their owners.<sup>31</sup>

### The Settlers

The number of settlers living at Los Adaes during its 52-year existence does not appear to have been recorded with precision as there are no published censuses for Los Adaes. A power of attorney document for 1738 states that most of the soldiers had large families.<sup>32</sup> In 1747, governor García Larios remarks that there are "... not as many as twenty families"<sup>33</sup> and Rubí observed 30 families at Los Adaes in 1767 during his inspection.<sup>34</sup> Bolton<sup>35</sup> estimates that the 30 families observed by Rubí in 1767 probably amounted to 200 people, and in 1772, Ripperda reported 500 people at Los Adaes. In 1773, the *Adaesños* (people born—or descended from people born—at Los Adaes) living in San Antonio who wished to leave and re-occupy the abandoned Mission Dolores numbered 127.<sup>36</sup> The adult male *Adaesños* who chose to remain in San Antonio numbered 63.<sup>37</sup> Combined, these two lists account for only roughly 200 of the 500 *Adaesños* who were present in Los Adaes in 1772. The precise numbers may never be known for the 52-year span of Los Adaes, but existing figures indicate that the population was growing, and an examination of residents either mentioned or involved in the various inquiries indicates that many of the residents were retired soldiers.

A list of the civilian residents or "settlers" was compiled from the various documents surveyed in this study, and a comparison with the lists of soldiers allowed many of the settlers to be identified as former soldiers.<sup>38</sup> It is interesting that oftentimes the age of an individual would be given as an approximation, and sometimes, as in the case of Juan Antonio Amarin, a person might actually get younger as the years passed. Juan Antonio Amarin was listed as 57, more or less, in 1744, and as 50, more or less, in 1745. There are also indications that soldiers were being recruited from the Los Adaes community. Juan Gil Flores was 30 years old in 1744, served as soldier 1749-1750, and was still living in the community in 1753. Flores is also among those who wished to leave San Antonio in 1773. Cayetano Gámez is another example of a local recruit as he was present in Los Adaes at least by 1744, served in the military 1748-1750, and was listed among the *Adaesños* who chose to remain in San Antonio in 1778.

Artifacts directly identifying women and children at Los Adaes

number less a dozen in a collection consisting of over 40,000 artifacts. Women are much better represented in the documents, but children are only rarely mentioned. It appears that women were seldom asked to make depositions in the various inquiries, but they were named in the descriptions of recruits for the Aguayo and also in one of the official inquiries initiated by Governor Barrios y Jáurequi (1751-1759), who was defending himself against charges made by the settlers of Los Adaes. In his defense of alleged mistreatment of settlers, the governor offers that he had given alms to the indigent poor—including Nana Juana and Cayetana de Sepúdura, to whom he gave weekly rations of corn and also provided clothing and medicine. During an epidemic, the governor had brought medicine up from New Orleans at his own expense for the soldiers and settlers, and freely distributed chocolate, candles, brandy, wine and other foodstuffs from his kitchen to those needing medical attention.<sup>39</sup> The governor had reimbursed Marcos Martín, a tailor, for making a skirt for María Joseph, a wet nurse.<sup>40</sup> Others in the community who had benefited from the governor's charity included musicians, a sexton/gravedigger, and a woodcutter. The musicians included a husband and wife; he played guitar and she played violin.<sup>41</sup>

Only one mention of a child's name was encountered in the present survey as governor Barrios y Jáurequi mentioned that he had given medicine to his niece Antonia when she was sick. The names of the children of the Adaesaños who left San Antonio and eventually established a community in the abandoned Mission Nacogdoches can be found in the 1809 census of Nacogdoches.<sup>42</sup> This census provides the place of birth—in 1809, there were 75 people living in Nacogdoches who were born at Los Adaes. Mariano Mora was born at Los Adaes and was 37 years old in 1809. It appears, then, that he was born at Los Adaes in 1772—so he was one year old when the post was abandoned. It is not likely that anyone much younger than 37 in 1809 would have been born at Los Adaes—although the age for Adaesaño Catarina Maldonado, wife of Pedro Córdova, is given as 33, and may indicate that the census took several years to complete.

One interesting note relating to the abandonment of Los Adaes is the mention of three French men and their Spanish wives who appear to have remained at Los Adaes after the fort and mission were "abandoned." The Frenchmen were Nicolás Beausoleille, Carlos Grande, and Ramón Terio.<sup>43</sup> Pete Gregory's excavation of a household at Los Adaes recovered a round Rouén Polychrome platter, a type of late 18th century faience.<sup>44</sup> This pottery is very rare at Los Adaes. It is possible that the structure excavated by Dr. Gregory might be one of the houses of the Frenchmen and their wives who stayed at Los Adaes.

## The Native Americans

Surprisingly little mention of local Native American groups was encountered in the documents reviewed for this study. There was frequent mention of the absence of Indian converts at the mission for the Adaes, and it appears that the priests were baptizing a small number of Adaes after they died, as mentioned above, but specific mention of the Adaes is otherwise scanty in the documents dating from 1721 to 1773 which were reviewed for this study.

A map, drawn in 1757 by Bernardo de Miranda,<sup>45</sup> shows the villages of the Indian tribes of the Province of Texas, in addition to the Spanish missions and presidios.<sup>46</sup> The fort at Natchitoches and its previous location east of the Red River is also shown—although there appears to be some confusion as to the river—the map shows the fort at Natchitoches on the Mississippi River, and not the Red River. It is interesting that the map convention for an abandoned location is an “unfilled” icon—the icon for the previous location for the fort at Natchitoches is an unfilled icon, while the icon for the current location of the fort is a filled icon. The icons for the Indian settlements are both filled (with hash marks) and unfilled. The icon for the Adaes Indian settlement near presidio and mission Los Adaes is unfilled. It is not clear if this means that the Adaes were previously in this location, but not currently there.

Another document from the Center for Louisiana Studies microfilm library is a 1766 document which lists the number of “men at arms” in each of the Native American tribes in Louisiana, and gives the location of each tribe.<sup>47</sup> The Adaes are not on this list, as they fall under the jurisdiction of Texas. The Natchitoches Indians appear on the list, and number only ten “men at arms” located very close to the fort at Natchitoches.

Father Solís indicates that Native Americans were numerous in the vicinity of Los Adaes and he makes a vague reference to Indians living at Los Adaes in his 1768 inspection.<sup>48</sup> It is likely that some Native American women were marrying into the community at Los Adaes, but identifying Native Americans by surname alone might be difficult, as the women would most likely adopt the Spanish surnames of their husbands. An interesting example of how Indian names might be translated into Spanish names comes from a 1757 description of a *Capitan* of the Indian community near the mission at Nacogdoches. This *Capitan* entered the mission and threatened the priest with a fine musket while declaring that his people prefer the French, who unlike the Spanish, had no restrictions against trading arms with them. The account gives the name of the *Capitan* as Chacayauchia “in



his language,” and then states that this translates to “Sánchez” in Spanish.<sup>49</sup>

### **Archival Work—Summary**

The archival project demonstrated that there exists in the documents much detail related to the everyday life at Los Adaes, as well as the activities of the soldiers, governors, and priests. Such detail is critical in the development of interpretive programs at Los Adaes, and the potential for recovering even more information is great. The English translations of the Béxar Archives allowed much material to be surveyed in a short period of time. However, much time was required to translate the transcribed documents, and even more time was required to transcribe and translate the copies of original documents. The English translations of selected documents from the Béxar Archives was a project that will unlikely be duplicated any time soon for documents in the repositories of Mexico or Spain. But it is the documents whose originals are in the Mexican and Spanish archives which hold much information about Los Adaes, and the challenge of future archival projects will be to draw pertinent information from these sources.

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## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> H.F. Gregory, *Eighteenth Century Caddoan Archaeology: A Study in Models and Interpretation*. Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1973). Gregory (editor), *Excavations, Unit 227, Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes (16Na16)*. (Baton Rouge, LA, 1985); Gregory (editor), *Excavations: Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes*. (Baton Rouge, LA, 1984); Gregory (editor), *Excavations 1981-82, Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes*. (Baton Rouge, LA, 1982); Gregory (editor), *Excavations: 1979—Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Los Adaes Report*. (Baton Rouge, LA, 1980).

<sup>2</sup> James McCorkle, "Los Adaes: An Historical Survey," In H.F. Gregory and James McCorkle, *Los Adaes—Historical and Archaeological Background* pp. 1-50 (Natchitoches, LA, 1981),

<sup>3</sup> Research was funded by the Louisiana Division of Archaeology through the Los Adaes Station Archaeology Program. Archival material studied included microfilm of original documents, Photostats of transcriptions, and translations. The following archives were visited—abbreviations will be used in all citations.

OSMHRL	Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas
CAT	The Catholic Archives of Texas, Austin, Texas
CAH	The Center for American History at the University of Texas, Austin
ETRC	East Texas Research Center at Stephen F. Austin University, Nacogdoches, Texas
CLS	The Center for Louisiana Studies at University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, Louisiana

All these archives have guides to the materials, are very well organized, and have very attentive staff. The Spanish colonial collections in the Catholic Archives of Texas are particularly well organized—a guide has been published that was extremely useful for research there: Debra S. McDonald and Kinga Perzynska, *Guide to the Spanish and Mexican Manuscript Collection at the Catholic Archives of Texas*, (Austin, Texas, 1994). The citations for CAT collections are as follows: CAT document number:page number. The location of the original CAT document is given in the notes. The *Béxar Archives Translations*, located at ETRC, were also very useful. These volumes were produced by the University of Texas at Austin, and are cited according to author, for example: Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar*

*Archives Translations*. Volume 27, pp. 41-42 (Austin, Texas, 1953).

<sup>4</sup> This article was originally part of George Avery, *1997 Annual Report of the Los Adaes Station Archaeology Program*, (unpublished report, Natchitoches, LA, 1997)

<sup>6</sup> Eleanor Claire Buckley, "The Aguayo expedition into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722", *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, vol. 15 (1911), pp. 1-65.

<sup>6</sup> Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin, TX, 1992), pp. 22-42.

<sup>7</sup> Buckley, *ibid.*, pp. 25-29.

<sup>8</sup> Buckley, *ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Pedro Alonso O'Crouley, *A Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, translated by Seán Galvin (San Francisco, 1972; original published in 1774).

<sup>10</sup> Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status, Indians in Colonial Spanish America*, pp. 10-11 (Albuquerque, 1999). See also Claudio Esteva-Fabregat, *Mestizaje in Ibero-America* (Tucson and London, 1995); Ilona Katzew, *New World Orders, Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America* (New York, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> Buckley, *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>12</sup> William C. Foster, *Spanish Expeditions into Texas 1689-1768* (Austin, TX, 1995), p. 155.

<sup>13</sup> CAT 53.2a:32-34. Original is in the *Archivo General de México—Provincias Internas*, Mexico City, Mexico.

<sup>14</sup> Max Moorhead, *The Presidio, Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman, OK, 1975).

<sup>15</sup> Moorhead, *ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>16</sup> CAT 38.4:175-180. Original is in *Archivo General de México—Historia*, Mexico City, Mexico.

<sup>17</sup> Moorhead, *ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>18</sup> CAT 53.2a:32-34, Original is in the *Archivo General de México—Provincias Internas*, Mexico City, Mexico. CAT 39.2c:601-612; CAT 39.2b:450-461, Originals in *Archivo General de México—Historia*, Mexico City, Mexico. Thomas D. Moorman, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 34, pp. 24-30, 51-56 (Austin, Texas, 1958). Thomas D. Moorman, *Béxar*

*Archives Translations*. Volume 35, pp. 37-40 (Austin, Texas, 1957). Virginia H. Taylor, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 32, pp. 148-151 (Austin, Texas, 1955). Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 26, pp. 37-40 (Austin, Texas, 1952). Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 23, pp. 143-148 (Austin, Texas, 1951). Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 9, pp. 46-136 (Austin, Texas, 1947).

<sup>19</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 27, pp. 41-42 (Austin, Texas, 1953).

<sup>20</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 23, pp. 3-4 (Austin, Texas, 1951).

<sup>21</sup> OSMHRL *Archivo General de los Indios* microfilm reel 4, document 113. Original is in the Archive of the Indies—Guadalajara 511, Seville, Spain.

<sup>22</sup> McCorkle, *ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>23</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* p. 6 (Austin, TX, 1970).

<sup>24</sup> CAT 39.2a:331, 357-358, 385. Original is in the *Archivo General de México—Historia*, Mexico City, Mexico.

<sup>25</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 15, p. 54 (Austin, Texas, 1948).

<sup>26</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 18, pp. 5-32 (Austin, Texas, 1949).

<sup>27</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 27, pp. 31-122 (Austin, Texas, 1953).

<sup>28</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 27, p. 89 (Austin, Texas, 1953).

<sup>29</sup> Joseph Sánchez, *San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, Microfilm Calendar Project, Archivo Franciscano de Zapopan, Jalisco, Mexico* numbers 4500 and 4504 (OSMHRL, San Antonio, Texas, 1994).

<sup>30</sup> McCorkle, *ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> CAT 32.5a:135-141. Original is in the *Archivo General de México—Historia*, Mexico City, Mexico.

<sup>32</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 9, p. 51 (Austin, Texas, 1947).

- <sup>33</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 18, p. 24 (Austin, Texas, 1949).
- <sup>34</sup> CAT 29.3:298. Original is in the *Archivo General de México—Historia*, Mexico City, Mexico.
- <sup>35</sup> Bolton, *ibid.*, p. 388.
- <sup>36</sup> CAT 31.3. Original is in the *Archivo General de México—Historia*, Mexico City, Mexico.
- <sup>37</sup> CAT 10.3. Original is in the Archive of the Indies—Guadalajara, Seville, Spain.
- <sup>38</sup> Avery, *ibid.*, pp. 50-52.
- <sup>39</sup> Helen Mar Hunnicut, *Béxar Archives Translations*. Volume 27, p. 63 (Austin, Texas, 1953).
- <sup>40</sup> Hunnicut, *ibid.*, p. 82.
- <sup>41</sup> Hunnicut, *ibid.*, p. 93.
- <sup>42</sup> ETRC Blake Papers, Volume 18.
- <sup>43</sup> CAT 29.3:340. Original is in the *Archivo General de México—Historia*, Mexico City, Mexico.
- <sup>44</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*, p. 142 (New York, 1991).
- <sup>45</sup> Bolton, *ibid.*, pp. 333-335.
- <sup>46</sup> CLS Archive of the Indies microfilm, no. 56.
- <sup>47</sup> CLS microfilm Santo Domingo 2959. Original is in the Archive of the Indies—Santo Domingo, Seville, Spain.
- <sup>48</sup> Margaret Kenny Cress, translator, "Diary of Fray Gaspar José De Solís, in the Year 1767-68," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Volume 35, number 1, p. 65 (1931).
- <sup>49</sup> CAT 5.4b:52. Original is in the Archive of the Indies—Guadalajara, Seville, Spain.

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