THIRD EDITION

GONE TO TEXAS

A HISTORY OF THE LONE STAR STATE

RANDOLPH B. CAMPBELL

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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University of North Texas

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To the memory of my parents

J. LANDON CAMPBELL AND VIRGINIA L. CAMPBELL

and the memory of

PROFESSOR BERNARD MAYO

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Preface to the Third Edition

"Gone to Texas." These three words—often abbreviated "GTT" on the doors of abandoned homesteads across the southeastern United States during the 1830s and 1840s—provide a key to the story of Texas from prehistoric times to the early twenty-first century. From the arrival of the first humans 12,000 years ago in the area that is now the Panhandle, the peopling of Texas by immigrants has never ceased. The Caddo and Apache Indians, for example, came during the late prehistoric era. Spanish settlers arrived to stay, as did the Comanches and Wichitas, in the eighteenth century. Anglo-Americans, often bringing African American slaves with them, moved in to dominate during the early nineteenth century, and migration from older states of the United States continued from that time onward. Germans also contributed significantly to population growth in the nineteenth century. Immigrants from Mexico came in large numbers throughout the twentieth century, and Asians became a significant presence by the 1990s.

These immigrants, often in conflict with each other and always in a struggle with the land and climate, shaped a Texas that is widely regarded as a special place. While traveling in the United States or abroad, tell someone that you are from Texas and watch their reaction. It may not always be positive, but few if any will say "where"? The story and idea of Texas appeal to millions of people, many of whom have never been anywhere near the state. Somehow their imaginations have "Gone to Texas" and liked what they found there.

Thus, through the years Texas has attracted millions of diverse immigrants and become well known to countless other people around the world. Its history, therefore, offers a great opportunity both to inform and to entertain. A place without information about its past is like an individual without a memory—it has no identity. How can a people know what they are now if they do not know what they have been? Texans, and those who wish to know about Texas, can draw different lessons from the story of the state's past; however, no one can deny the importance of first knowing what happened in that past. *Gone to Texas* offers an interpretation of the Lone Star State's history, but above all it seeks to provide the information necessary for readers to reach their own conclusions.

Entertainment also fills the pages of Texas history. For many it is found primarily in accounts of adventure and conflict—the stories of Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century, for example, or descriptions of the battles of the Alamo and San Jacinto. But the stories of political struggles such as Sam

Houston's courageous battle against secession in 1860–1861 or the antics of "Pa" and "Ma" Ferguson during the second and third decades of the twentieth century make good reading as well. Even economic history, hardly a page-turner in most places, can be exciting in Texas. Consider the story of bringing in the Spindletop gusher in 1901 and then capping the original well just before the sea of crude oil around it caught fire. Texans for the most part have never learned how to be dull. It is fervently hoped that *Gone to Texas* lives up to that standard.

New to the Third Edition

- Chapters 1 through 18 are revised to reduce the number of words by an average of 7.5 percent. This reduction is in the details and in no way affects the overall story.
- Chapter 19 is thoroughly revised. It includes coverage of the years from 2010 to 2016, providing material not in the second edition.
- Chapter 20 expands on the concept of the "Texas Mystique" in the twenty-first century.
- The Select Bibliography is revised and expanded for every chapter.
- An Instructor's Resource Manual and a set of PowerPoint slides are now available to adopters.

Acknowledgments

A great many Texans love their state's history with a passion that keeps them ready to pounce on factual errors or questionable interpretations in the work of errant historians. Of course, there is often dispute as to what is factually correct and even greater disagreement over interpretive matters. No one who enters the thicket of Texas history will emerge unscathed, but those who call on their colleagues for advice and assistance are likely to have fewer scratches than those who do not. Accordingly, I have asked for and received help from many of my colleagues at the University of North Texas and other institutions across the state.

A simple listing of the members of my department who gave their time and energy seems an inadequate recognition of the debt that I owe them, but limitations of space preclude more detailed recognition. Roberto Calderón, Gregg Cantrell, Don Chipman, Pete Lane, Richard Lowe, Ron Marcello, Dale Odom, and Todd Smith read chapters in their fields of specialization. For the second edition, Andrew Torget provided a thorough critique of the material covering the years from Reconstruction to the present. Two of my colleagues in other departments at UNT, Reid Ferring in archeology and Terry Clower in economic development, also critiqued parts of the manuscript. These readers made suggestions that improved my original work, and I truly owe them all.

Academic historians at institutions other than the University of North Texas also provided valuable critiques. Walter L. Buenger of Texas A&M University offered "tough love" on the project from the original prospectus through the final chapter. George N. Green of the University of Texas at Arlington, Carl H. Moneyhon of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Harriett Denise Joseph of the University of Texas at Brownsville, Cecil Harper of North Harris College, and Jerry Don Thompson of Texas A&M International University helped me avoid numerous problems in their areas of specialization. Ron Tyler of the University of Texas encouraged the project from the outset and made helpful suggestions on its interpretive framework. Michael Parrish of Baylor University, Anthony Quiroz of Texas A&M University - Corpus Christi, Paul N. Spellman of Wharton County Junior College, Ken Poston of Lamar University, and two anonymous reviewers of the second edition provided critiques that resulted in helpful revisions throughout the manuscript.

The late Robert S. Weddle of Bonham, the author of the most important body of work ever published on the rivalry between Spain and France for control of the Gulf of Mexico and surrounding regions, provided an

invaluable reading of the chapters on Spanish Texas in the original edition. Mary C. Ramos, editor of the *Texas Almanac*, gave a close reading to the entire manuscript and offered encouragement that it was on the right track. Patty Lane of Denton also read the manuscript and detected numerous problems of clarity. Phillip W. Young of Denton offered helpful comments on the chapter on prehistoric Texas. Jennifer Bridges and David Park, my graduate students at the University of North Texas, aided immeasurably in creating an index for the second edition, and Codee Scott, my current graduate assistant, provided a careful and critical reading of the entire third edition.

Grants from faculty research at the University of North Texas and the Nation's Heritage Fund in the department of history provided funding for the preparation of maps and obtaining permissions for illustrations. I thank Professors Art Goven, vice provost for research, and Harold Tanner, chair of the department of history, for their support in obtaining this funding. Chad Maloney of the Center for Media Production at UNT did an outstanding job of producing maps, often from the sketchiest of originals.

This manuscript began with a call from Bruce Borland, an acquisitions editor for Oxford University Press, inviting me to develop a prospectus for a general history of Texas. I had long wanted to undertake such a project, but without Bruce's call, I might never have acted. A large debt of gratitude is also due Peter Coveney of Oxford University Press and Elias Muhanna, his assistant. The book could never have been completed without their patient efforts. For encouragement and assistance on the second edition, my appreciation goes to Brian Wheel and Sarah Ellerton at Oxford University Press. Brian began the process of creating a third edition, and Charles Cavaliere has seen it through to production. I owe both a debt of gratitude.

Finally, as is customary after acknowledging the help of others, I must admit that remaining weaknesses and errors of omission or commission are my own fault. Why one of my friends did not catch them will always remain a mystery. (Just joking, guys.)

Chapter 1

THE FIRST TEXANS

The first people who migrated to Texas probably began the trip 18,000 to 20,000 years ago in Siberia when vast ice sheets covered the northern parts of the Eurasian and North American continents. More than 2 miles deep at points, the ice held so much of the earth's water that sea levels were approximately 300 feet below present levels. The result was the exposure of a wide land bridge from Siberia to Alaska at the Bering Strait. Across Beringia, as it is called, came the first humans to occupy the Americas.

Fully evolved members of the species *Homo sapiens*, the earliest Americans had the physical form and all the intellectual capabilities of modern man. They were, in the words of one scholar, "the most formidable, vicious, and successful mammal ever to adorn the face of the world." Living in an Ice Age environment that would threaten the most sophisticated twentieth-century man with extinction, these early humans had a culture—a combination of material objects and behavior patterns—that ensured survival. They had fire to warm themselves and cook their food, clothing and shelter to protect against the Arctic climate, and weapons to kill animals and drive off predators. Essentially social beings, they formed small bands whose members worked cooperatively to survive.

These first migrants to America came in pursuit of animals such as the mammoth (a very close relative of the modern elephant) and reindeer that were found in both Asia and North America. Finding good hunting in the cool, humid climate just beyond the edges of the ice sheet, early migrants spread southward from Alaska along an intermittent ice-free corridor that bordered the eastern edge of the Rocky Mountains. Early men thus reached the Great Plains in the heart of North America.

Continuing their southward migration, humans arrived on the South Plains in what is now Texas about 12,000 years ago. These first Texans soon extended their domicile from the plains region to the canyon country of the lower Pecos River and across central Texas to the Gulf coast. (See maps: Physiographic Regions of Texas and Major Rivers of Texas.) For the next four to five millennia—approximately 12,000 to 7,000 or 8,000 years before the present—ancient Indians populated much of present-day Texas.

Physiographic Regions of Texas

The Early Big Game Hunters

The first Texans to live on the plains of what is now the Panhandle encountered an environment more favorable to human habitation than that found in the same region at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Temperatures were cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter, without the extremes of heat and cold now associated with the region. Rainfall averaged nearly twice the amount of modern times. The level grasslands of today were more of a savanna of grass and sage broken often by broad, shallow valleys that had juniper and oak growing on their slopes. Along the floors of these valleys ran shallow streams connecting small ponds and marshes. This environment was equally attractive, of course, to animal as well as human life, and the earliest Texans lived there primarily as hunters of big game such as mammoth and bison.

Killing a mammoth, the prehistoric elephant whose name became synonymous with "huge," was an awesome challenge for early Texas big game

Major Rivers of Texas

hunters. Their most useful weapons were spears tipped by 4 to 5 inch stone projectile points, primarily the Clovis Fluted point, which received its name from the New Mexico town just west of the Texas Panhandle where it was first discovered. Shaped and flattened by flaking chips from a flint rock core and then fluted by taking longer channels from the base of each side, this point was attached to a handle or shaft and used as a spear. The blunt end of the spear could be placed in a wooden spear thrower called an atlatl that in effect lengthened the arm of the hunter and allowed him to give much greater velocity to the projectile. Even with this weapon, however, men faced great difficulty killing an animal that could stand 12 to 14 feet at the shoulder. They had to rely on special circumstances and luck, such as finding a young animal separated from the herd and suffering from illness or injury, and then aim their spears at the thoracic region with the hope of penetrating the heart or spinal column.

For some unknown reason, mammoths began to disappear from the South Plains about 11,000 years ago, forcing early hunters there to turn primarily to bison as a food source. Actually, by their increasing numbers, bison may have been responsible for the decline of the mammoth population. Early bison were somewhat larger than their modern relatives and were distinguished by large skulls and long, straight horns. Hunters used spears tipped with Folsom Fluted points, which, like the Clovis Fluted point, were named for a town in northeastern New Mexico. Shorter than the Clovis point but more thoroughly worked by the flintsmith, Folsom points generally had flutes on both faces and carefully sharpened edges. Early hunters found it easier to kill bison than mammoths. For example, 16 miles north of the Canadian River in the northeastern Panhandle, more than twenty bison apparently stopped in a depression during a severe snowstorm and were found there by hunters, who killed at least nine with Folsom point spears. Using flint knives, the men butchered the bison and built a fire to cook or smoke some of the meat. They also cut or cracked open many of the bones to extract the marrow and used flint scrapers to clean the hides. Fourteen animals remained undisturbed to be excavated thousands of years later by archeologists, who named the site the Lipscomb Bison Quarry.

The men who butchered bison on the Texas plains were remarkably efficient, given the tools with which they worked. They split the skin along the backbone and pulled it away to the front and rear legs. The legs were removed, and the backbone cut in front of and behind the rib cage. Legs, once removed, were taken apart, and the meat stripped from the bones. Ribs were cut into segments. Butchers also removed neck meat from the cervical vertebrae and broke the jawbones as necessary to get at the tongue. They did not break into the skull to remove brains, perhaps because they did not have implements strong enough to do that.

After butchering their kills, successful hunters often cooked or smoked part of the meat at the site, but they also carried it to campsites some distance away. No evidence exists as to whether women participated in the hunt, but undoubtedly they had a key role in processing the kills. Campsites had hearths for the preparation of food—almost exclusively meat it seems from the archeological evidence, although as omnivores early humans probably consumed anything edible. Other necessary functions, such as cleaning and tanning fresh hides and preparing and repairing weapons, also took place in camp.

The manufacture of weapons and tools presented a special challenge for early big game hunters on the South Plains. Flint rock did not abound in the region, but several sites, especially the Alibates Quarries on the Canadian River in the northern Panhandle and the Gibson Quarry in present-day Coke County north of San Angelo, provided workable stone. Apparently, experienced flintknappers traveled to the quarries and used a hammerstone to split blades of flint from the rock face of the quarry. The knapper then chipped off flakes to trim and shaped the blades to some extent before leaving the quarry. At that point he took some of the blades to his campsite for final preparation

and buried others near the quarry or at spots along his route, creating a cache to draw on in the future. Caches of flint blades from the Alibates and Gibson quarries have been discovered as far away as Oklahoma and New Mexico, and some date to the earliest arrival of humans on the South Plains.

Within a relatively short time after their arrival on the plains, bison hunters appeared in regions south of the Panhandle. Most of present-day West Texas was also covered with savanna-like grasslands or parklands of grass and trees, but the rougher terrain along the lower Pecos and the Río Grande immediately below Big Bend proved to be especially helpful in the killing of large animals. On at least three occasions about 10,000 years ago, hunters drove herds of giant bison over a cliff into the deep canyon near present-day Langtry. Approximately 120 animals were killed, many by the fall and others by men who found them easy targets due to injuries. Hunters then rolled or dragged the carcasses into a large rock shelter under the canyon wall and butchered them. Bonfire Shelter, as this site is now known, remained a favorite hunting spot for centuries.

Early big game hunters also moved into the central part of the present-day state—defined broadly as the area between the plains region in the north, the Trinity River in the east, the Gulf coast in the south, and the Nueces River in the west—between 12,000 and 10,000 years ago. This region was well watered, especially along the Brazos and Colorado Rivers, and covered with savanna-like grasslands that attracted mammoth and giant bison for at least the first 1,000 years of human habitation there. Hunters killed mammoths on the Brazos near Bryan and butchered bison at rock shelters near Waco, Austin, and Kerrville. Near Uvalde on the Sabinal River, one group wounded an animal with at least five Folsom points, but it escaped into a shelter under a cliff, where it died. More than 10,000 years later, archeologists excavating the Kincaid Shelter discovered the unlucky (or unskilled) hunters' kill.

The first humans to reach the coastal plains of Texas 12,000 to 10,000 years ago found the Gulf of Mexico some 300 feet below its modern sea level, due to the water frozen in still-existing ice fields in the northern part of the continent. As in other regions of the state, the climate along the coast was cooler and more humid with less seasonal variation than at present. The strip of land nearest the Gulf was covered by marshes; farther inland, forests covered most of the upper coast and savanna-like vegetation characterized the rest. The early big game hunters' favorite prey—mammoths and bison—roamed the entire region from the Río Grande to the Sabine River. On the upper coast they were joined by even more exotic animals such as the giant tortoise and saber-toothed cat.

The woodland environment found inland along the upper coast may have encouraged large animals to disperse rather than form herds. That, plus the absence of natural features such as deep canyons into which they could drive the animals, made it more difficult for big game hunters to kill their prey. Flint spear points found in the region indicate the presence of hunters—who met with enough success to ensure survival—but no kill sites like the Lipscomb Bison Quarry or Bonfire Shelter have been found near the Gulf coast.

Moreover, since there were no especially inviting sites for habitation such as rock shelters, early Texans along the coast did not occupy any single spot long enough to leave a significant archeological record. This absence of kill sites and campsites means that relatively little is known of how the first human residents of the area hunted or lived.

The heavily forested region now known as East Texas was populated very lightly if at all during the period from 12,000 to 7,000 years ago. Giant bison, the primary target of early hunters, did not range far enough east to provide subsistence for humans there.

The Hunter-Gatherers

After four to five centuries of survival based primarily on hunting big game, early Texans began to face a decline in the numbers of their favorite prey, as mammoths and long-horned bison became extinct. Reasons for the extinction of "megafauna" in the region remain unknown, but the most likely explanation points to changes in climate that became noticeable when the long-term trend toward warmer and drier weather that marked the end of the Ice Age accelerated. The relatively cool, humid climate that had existed year round for centuries was gradually replaced by conditions more like those in modern Texas—less rainfall, greater heat much of the year, and more extreme cold at times in the winter.

Hotter and drier weather and more seasonal variation meant smaller streams and rivers and less vegetation, which in turn decreased the quantity and variety of the food supply for big animals. Apparently, large mammals did not have adequate food to remain healthy and reproduce. This change in climate moved slowly into Texas from the southwest, affecting the lower Pecos River valley first and then covering the whole region from the plains to the Gulf coast. Decreases in the number of big game animals matched changes in the weather. As early as 9,000 years ago, bison began to disappear from the lower Pecos valley, and some 1,000 to 1,500 years later the same trend appeared on the plains and in central Texas. Archeologists have found virtually no bones of giant bison at sites across the present-day state that date to between 8,000 and 4,500 years before the present. Bison reappeared after that period, but they were the smaller animals of modern times rather than the giant bison found by the earliest human habitants of Texas.

Early Texans, like all humans faced with changes in climate and food supply, had to adapt or die. So, adapt they did, primarily by developing a hunter-gatherer approach to subsistence. The change probably came grudgingly, given the usual tendency to hold on to old ways, but it is likely, in spite of a lack of archeological evidence, that early big game hunters had always supplemented their diets by gathering plants, fruits, berries, and such. The transition probably came more as a matter of a shift in emphasis than as a wrenching move from old to new. In any case, 8,000 to 7,000 years ago, the first Texans entered a new stage (the "Archaic" in the language of archeologists) on

the road to historic times, a stage that would last about six millennia and end 2,000 to 1,500 years before the present.

Inhabitants of rock shelters along the canyons of the lower Pecos left the best record available today of how early hunter-gatherers lived. Fossilized feces (coprolites) at Hinds Cave in present-day Val Verde County indicate that occupants 6,000 years ago ate at least twenty-three different animals and twenty-two plants. The animals included deer, cottontail and jackrabbits, raccoon, coyotes, fish (especially catfish), snakes, birds, lizards, rats, and mice. Among the plants were hackberries, persimmons, grapes, wild onions, prickly pear stems and fruit (called tuna in Spanish), grass seeds, sotol (a spiny-leafed plant of the lily family), and yucca (a plant of the agave family). Some of the plants were eaten raw, and the fruit of others such as the yucca were dried.

As they foraged for a living, hunter-gatherers in this region added the manufacture of textiles to flintknapping as the first Texas "industries." Hunters, who had not yet invented the bow and arrow, continued to kill larger game with stone-tipped spears thrown with the aid of an atlatl and to take smaller game such as rabbits with clubs. Flintknappers, working in much the same way that they had for thousands of years on the plains (except the lower Pecos where the necessary raw material was readily at hand), made a variety of spear points, scrapers, and cutting and grinding tools. Gatherers, however, needed carrying containers such as baskets and bags, which could be made from the leaves and fibers of the yucca and sotol plants. Thus early Texans developed the manufacture of cords of twisted fibers and the use of such cordage in making baskets, sandals, snares, and netting. The well-equipped forager some 8,000 years ago could venture out wearing sandals to protect his feet, carrying a throw net to catch fish and string to build snares, and taking a basket or large bag to hold any plants or small animals of value that he might find.

The population of hunter-gatherers on the lower Pecos was small—at any given time an estimated 1,000 humans scattered over 14,000 square miles—and social units must have been small as well. Most individuals probably lived in bands of twenty-five or thirty extended family members that managed enough stability to create at least semi-permanent residences. Occupants of Hinds Cave, for example, compartmentalized their space to include living areas with floors covered by prickly pear stems and hearths for fires; sleeping areas that had shallow pits lined with grass, twigs, and other "mattress" materials; and distinct latrine areas.

Survival undoubtedly required virtually all the energy of these early foragers, and the threat of starvation could never have been far from their minds, especially during the colder months from November to March. But like all humans, they believed that their world also depended on the supernatural, on unseen forces that might somehow be called to their aid. Dramatic evidence of this faith is found in the pictographs created on the walls of caves and rock shelters along the lower Pecos River between 4,500 and 2,000 years ago. Painted in colors of dark and light red, yellow, and orange (all created from ocher),

white (from clay), and black (from carbon)—either by applying the colors in liquid form with a brush or by using a crayon of molded pigment—the pictographs' most striking feature is the appearance of figures representing shamans or medicine men. Some shamans are less than a foot in height, but many are in excess of 10 feet. They generally wear elaborate costumes and headdresses and stand with arms outstretched. With them are figures (generally smaller) depicting ordinary humans and pictures of animals such as deer and panthers. One panther found on the wall of a cave in Val Verde County measures 19 feet from its head to the tip of its tail. The deer often are pierced with spears, but the cougars are not.

Who created these pictographs, and what do they mean? More than likely, shamans themselves were the artists, painting an account of drug-induced visits to the world of the supernatural. Mescal beans (seeds of the Texas mountain laurel) and peyote (from cactus), both powerful hallucinogens, have been found in many of the caves containing rock art. Apparently, shamans under the influence of these drugs saw visions of successful hunts for deer, hunts on which they were accompanied by cougars. The cougar, which was expert in finding and killing deer, may have been regarded as a source of supernatural aid for hunters and perhaps of power and knowledge in general. Shamans also painted humans killed by spears and darts, visions no doubt of victory in warfare.

Whatever its exact meaning, this rock art is proof that early Texans facing the constant struggle for survival as hunter-gatherers at times enjoyed dramatic ceremonies that brought color and excitement to their lives. Seeing a shaman depict the miraculous world of spirits that explained so much of what lay beyond their own experiences must have been wonderful indeed. Against all odds these first Texans expressed imagination and creativity.

Humans living along the lower Pecos thus adapted with reasonable success to the changes in climate and animal life that ushered in the Archaic stage in Texas. However, those who occupied the plains region found the transition more difficult. Thinning vegetation and the extinction of mammoth and giant bison ended big game hunting and forced a change, but the plains environment, lacking many of the small animals and plants found on the Pecos, proved inhospitable to the development of a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. The human population there declined beginning about 8,000 years ago and remained small until the appearance of the modern bison nearly four millennia later. Then, from approximately 4,500 to 1,500 years before the present (the last 3,000 years of the Archaic stage), the first Texans in the plains region lived primarily as nomadic hunters, leaving very little record of their culture.

In contrast to the plains, climatic changes in central Texas made the region more inviting to human inhabitants. Hunters found deer and smaller animals reasonably plentiful, and gatherers located numerous edible roots, seeds, and fruits. Archeological evidence dating to 7,000 or 8,000 years ago, located especially in middens of burned and fire-cracked hearthstones and other camp debris, is so plentiful that it suggests an increase in population over the earlier big game hunting era. Bands of hunter-gatherers probably ranged over the

Painting from Panther Cave, Val Verde County. The panther is nineteen feet long from its nose to the tip of its tail. Note the shaman beneath the panther and, beneath him, the "hole" through which he traveled to a world beyond the cave. Credit: Courtesy of the Witte Museum, San Antonio, Texas.

area and camped along its streams, traveling a good deal more than did their contemporaries in the Pecos region, as they moved from place to place according to the availability of food.

Early Texans living along the Gulf coast could hardly have noticed the change, but with the warming and drying of their climate that began some 7,000 years ago came a slow rise in sea level. The trend toward higher temperatures all over Eurasia and North America reduced ice packs and during the next three to four centuries raised the level of the Gulf of Mexico some 300 feet. Approximately 3,000 years ago the coastline of Texas reached its present-day position.

The rise in sea level covered much archeological evidence from the Archaic period, but it seems likely that the first several thousand years of change in climate brought a great reduction in population. Eventually, however, humans along the coast adjusted and, like their contemporaries in other areas of Texas, lived as hunter-gatherers. Their proximity to the sea provided one resource that could be gathered for food—shellfish—not available in other regions. Middens at open campsites such as one excavated in Harris County during the 1960s are filled with the shells of clams and oysters. Shells as well as stone and bone were used to fashion tools.

Hunter-gatherers also occupied East Texas during the Archaic period, but the soils of that region, which are not conducive to preservation, have yielded relatively little evidence on their lives. The Wolfshead site in San Augustine County, however, provided an assortment of stone spear points, knives, and scrapers comparable to those used elsewhere in Texas at the time. Flint is not common in the region, forcing the use of an available substitute—petrified wood. This material, which was laminated and easily broken into thin sheets, apparently was plentiful in an area that had been heavily forested for millions of years. Texans who pride themselves on the ability to "make do" with what is at hand should be pleased at the thought of early craftsmen chipping weapons and implements out of petrified wood.

The Development of Agriculture

The first Texans remained "Archaic" hunter-gatherers for five to six millennia, but approximately 1,500 years ago an agricultural revolution began, marking the onset of the Late Prehistoric period. Over the next millennium, the development of farming, accompanied by the creation of pottery and the adoption of the bow and arrow, changed the lives of most early Texans. Agriculture brought some relief from the constant quest for food and allowed time for other pursuits. Of course, these changes did not come to all regions of a place as large as Texas at the same time or in precisely the same way. Some of the early Texans whom Europeans would "discover" less than five hundred years ago (in 1528 to be exact) continued to live largely as their forebears had for thousands of years, but many others had developed a far more comfortable life and sophisticated society than they could have built as hunter-gatherers. (For the geographical distribution of these early Texans, see map: Late Prehistoric Indians of Texas.)

The first Texans to adopt a lifestyle based essentially on agriculture lived in the mixed oak-pine-hickory woodlands of the eastern part of the state. Europeans would call these people the "Caddo," from the French abbreviation of "Kadohadacho," a word that meant "real chief" in the Caddoan language. Their ancestors broke the usual pattern of arrival in Texas by migrating from the east up the tributaries of the Mississippi River rather than from the northwest. They lived at first (some 4,000 to 2,500 years ago) as hunter-gatherers, finding abundant food sources in the forested areas along the Red River, but then, like other Indians to the east, they began to cultivate crops such as corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and sunflowers. Corn became the staple crop. Although hunters continued to kill deer, bear, and small game such as turkeys, squirrels, and rabbits, and gatherers still collected nuts, fruits, and other plant foods, the success of agriculture allowed the Caddos to build an advanced and rich culture that began to flourish in their woodlands environment around 700 A.D. Adopting a settlement pattern not unlike that found in much of East Texas to this day, the Caddos lived on scattered farmsteads, in small hamlets, and in a few larger towns. They built permanent, beehive-shaped residences of canes covered with grasses. A completed dwelling averaged 40 or 50 feet in height

Late Prehistoric Indians of Texas

and 60 feet in width, and its construction required the joint efforts of everyone in the community. Elevated beds lined the walls, mats covered the well-swept floor, and a fire always burned in the center.

The Caddos used chipped-stone tools to clear trees and brush and to turn the soil. As in the building of houses, the entire community planted crops, beginning with the fields of the elite and continuing down to those of ordinary members of the community. Women harvested the corn, shelled it, and stored it in reed baskets. The best ears were kept as part of a two years' supply of seed corn.

Caddo hunters were armed with stone-tipped arrows and bows made of bois d'arc wood. Craftsmen fashioned reed baskets for use in gathering, but for purposes of cooking, serving, and storing foods Caddos relied on their ability, unsurpassed among Texas Indians, for making ceramics from locally abundant clays. In addition to vessels with practical purposes, some of which

were 2 feet in height and diameter, potters also created beautifully decorated bowls and bottles.

Another important craft, practiced by the women, involved dressing deer, bear, and buffalo skins so that, in the words of one historical observer, they resembled "fine cloth." Finished skins were dyed and bordered with beads or fringe. Women wore skirts and blouses made of this "cloth"; men, a breechcloth in summer and a buffalo skin blanket or robe in winter. Both wore moccasins of deerskin.

The Caddos' successes in agriculture and crafts provided the basis for yet another cultural advance—the development and maintenance of long-distance trade with other Indian groups. Making contacts hundreds of miles from their homeland, they traded hides, ceramics, bows, arrows, baskets, and salt (which was available locally) for marine shells, copper, cotton, and turquoise. Shells obviously came from the coast, but the cotton was grown in the Southwest and the turquoise originated in the vicinity of present-day Albuquerque, New Mexico. Clearly, then, the Caddos' economy produced a surplus that, used as trade goods, brought greater comfort and even luxury to their lives.

Caddoan religious and political organization depended on a hierarchy of leaders who inherited their positions. Spiritual leadership in each group or band came from the *xinesi*, who served as intermediaries between ordinary people and the supreme god, the *Caddi Ayo*. The *xinesi* also performed all rites related to the supernatural and presided over harvest and naming ceremonies. Political leadership rested in the hands of a *caddi*, the headman of local communities who, in consultation with advisors called *canahas*, made important civil decisions and decided questions of war and peace. Only men acted as *xinesi* and *caddi*, but the line of descent in Caddo society was matrilineal. Hereditary status, including the family name, passed through the mother rather than the father.

Family life among the Caddos tended to depend on the community more than on married couples. Several families occupied each house. First marriages were arranged by parents and the *caddi*, but few couples remained together for life, and second marriages did not require parental consent. Divorce and remarriage were so common that the first Catholic priests to live among the Caddos complained that unions of men and women amounted only to serial monogamy. When couples divorced, children went with their mother. Caddo spiritual life centered on belief in a supreme god, a creator of the universe who rewarded good and punished evil. All who died went up to a "House of Death" in the sky where they waited in a state of happiness until the souls of all the tribe had been gathered. Then, all began a new life in another world. Only their enemies' souls went to the house of the devil to be punished.

Like most early Texans, the Caddos engaged in warfare only sporadically, and their military forays amounted to little more than organized raids to take a few prisoners or scalps. War leaders and warriors in each band, called the *amayxoya*, did not inherit their positions; rather, they earned that status by success in battle. The Caddos' culture reached its zenith between 800 and 1350. Their prosperity and well-developed religious and political system were

reflected in the building of civic-ceremonial centers characterized by huge earthen mounds. One such center, located a little west of present-day Nacogdoches, had two flat-topped mounds, on which spiritual leaders performed religious rites, and a conical burial mound. Generally, the graves of members of the Caddo social elite in burial mounds contained extremely valuable goods such as engraved pottery and conch shells, copper ornaments, clay pipes, quartz crystals, and carefully chipped arrowheads placed in quivers.

Beginning about 1350, a long-term climatic change brought a decline in rainfall that affected the Caddos by making the production of corn and other crops less certain. Those who lived north of the Red River suffered the most from the drought and tended over time to move south to join the groups living along the river and in East Texas. Caddoan culture remained strong in those areas, but even there the building of ceremonial centers with earthen mounds ceased. By 1500, the Caddos were organized into three affiliated kin-based groups often called confederacies—the Natchitoches of northwestern Louisiana, the Kadohadacho of the Red River in far northeastern Texas and southwestern Arkansas, and the Hasinai of the East Texas area along the Sabine, Angelina, and Neches Rivers. The total population of the three confederacies at that time probably numbered 200,000. Tragically, as residents of America, they had no exposure to European diseases, and their settled lifestyle and lack of immunities would make them especially vulnerable to smallpox, measles, and cholera. It is estimated that during the two centuries following their first contact with Europeans, the Caddos' population declined to about 15,000, a loss of more than 90 percent.

Incidentally, when the Spanish arrived in Texas, they turned the Caddo word *techas*, which means "friend," into "Tejas" and began to use their word as the name for that entire group of Indians. The transition from "Tejas" to "Texas" came easily (since *x* and *j* have the same pronunciation in Spanish—like an English *h*) and appeared as early as 1689. Texas thus derived its name from a Caddo word, and the state's motto, "Friendship," still reflects that heritage.

Along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico southwestward to the Río Grande, lived the least culturally developed Indians in late prehistoric Texas—the Atakapans, Karankawas, and Coahuiltecans. Living on the coastal plain, which was largely unsuitable for agriculture because of salt water flooding, infertile soils, and limited rainfall at certain times of the year, these groups could not rely on growing food crops. Instead, they lived largely by hunting, fishing, and gathering and generally moved about rather than settling into permanent residences. They used the bow and arrow effectively, but advances in the manufacture of ceramics and basket making were limited.

The Atakapans lived in southwestern Louisiana and in southeast Texas from the Sabine to the San Jacinto Rivers. Most hunted deer and bear, fished in the shallows with small spears, collected shellfish such as oysters, and gathered birds' eggs along with edible plants. The alligator, which they killed by spearing through the eye, was especially important for its meat and hide and for the oil that served as an insect repellent. Alligator grease had a terrible

odor, but apparently desire to escape the attack of coastal insects easily overcame any objections to the smell.

Because they lived in small dispersed bands that moved often, the Atakapans had only a rudimentary social organization. Each band had a headman, but there was no tribal chief who brought all the groups together for a common meeting. Their spiritual beliefs centered on a creation myth that told of the first men being cast up from the sea in large oyster shells. Men were ordered by a supreme being to do no evil. Those who obeyed went above at death, and those who did not descended under the earth.

"Atakapa" meant "eaters of men" in Choctaw, a description that they deserved. Their cannibalism, however, was of the ritualistic kind practiced by other Texas Indians as well. They believed that a man who was eaten by other men could not enter a second life and was eternally damned. Cannibalism thus served as the ultimate punishment of an enemy. Another purpose of ritualistic cannibalism was to take on the "essence" of the victim—the courage of a particularly brave warrior, for example.

The Karankawas lived southwest of the Atakapans, along the Gulf coast from Galveston Bay to Corpus Christi Bay. "Karankawa" probably meant "dog lovers" or "dog raisers" because the group kept coyote-like dogs. Living amidst the islands, lagoons, and salt marshes close to the coast, the Karankawas did not practice any form of agriculture. Instead, like most of the Atakapans, they subsisted on hunting, fishing, and gathering what their habitat had to offer on a seasonal basis. During the fall and winter Karankawa bands lived on the shorelines of bays and lagoons and relied on fish for food. They also ate shellfish and killed white-tailed deer. In the spring and summer the Karankawas moved short distances inland and established camps along rivers and creeks. There, they gathered summer greens, fruits, pecans, and seeds and also hunted deer and bison.

The Karankawas traveled in canoes made from hollowed-out tree trunks and lived in easily movable wigwams. The dugout canoes, propelled by poles, were large enough to carry a family across shallow lagoons and inlets, but they were unsuited for deep, open water. Wigwams or "ba-aks" consisted of a dozen or so willow poles that could be pushed into the ground at one end, tied together at the other, and covered with skins. Because they seldom had food to store, the Karankawas had relatively little need for pottery. However, they manufactured cooking pots that were coated inside and decorated outside with asphaltum, a tar-like substance found on beaches. Some of their baskets also had asphaltum coatings for waterproofing. Like their coastal neighbors, they smeared their bodies with alligator or shark grease to repel insects.

The Karankawas depended on the bow and arrow for hunting, fishing, and fighting their enemies. They fashioned bows from red cedar and strung them with deer sinew. Their arrows were made of cane, feathered, and fitted with implants of wood at each end, one shaped to hold the arrow head and the other notched to fit the bow string. Bows, which were custom-made according to the height and strength of their users, propelled yard-long arrows with terrific force. One historical observer reported seeing a Karankawa warrior shoot

an arrow at a three-year-old bear in the top of a tree and send it through "the brute's body" and "forty or fifty yards beyond."

Unlike most Indians who had a subsistence lifestyle, the Karankawas were magnificent physically. The men were tall and muscular and went nude or wore only a deerskin breechcloth. They painted and tattooed their bodies extensively and pierced their nipples and lower lips with small pieces of cane. They loved contests of physical skill and were so adept at wrestling that other Indians referred to them as the Wrestlers. Women also had tattoos and wore skirts of skin or Spanish moss that reached to the knee. European observers recorded that unmarried women had a single stripe of paint running from the forehead across the nose and lips to the chin, and married women painted themselves with designs representing animals, birds, and flowers.

Social organization among the Karankawas depended on kinship-based groups of thirty or forty individuals, each with its own chief. The most basic unit, however, was the family. Men arranged marriages with the parents of their brides who, because of an incest taboo, had to be from other bands. The couple then lived with the husband's family, and an in-law taboo existed between the husband and the bride's family. They never spoke or looked at each other. This taboo probably was meant to prevent conflict between groups.

Husbands and wives apparently paid little attention to issues of marital fidelity, but they generally remained together unless they failed to produce children. Parents especially loved their children, in spite of the constant struggle to find food for family members. Europeans reported in amazement that Karankawa children nursed until they were twelve years of age, the reason being that the practice was essential to the health of the young when mature individuals might have to go without food for two or three days at a time. Of course, as soon as they could, children had to contribute to their family's subsistence.

Karankawa spiritual life depended on a belief in two gods with whom shamans served as intermediaries. Several ceremonies or *mitotes* conducted by shamans marked key events of religious significance. After especially successful fishing or hunting expeditions, huge quantities of an intoxicating tea were made from leaves of the yaupon, a shrub-like tree native to south Texas. Men drank and danced for three days; women were prohibited from even passing by the pot while the tea was cooking. Ceremonies of thanksgiving took place immediately and ended in a relatively short time, but rites following deaths took much time. When a boy or young man died, his parents and kin wept for him three times a day for an entire year. Burials, except for those of shamans, were in shallow graves near campsites. Shamans were cremated, and a year later relatives drank their ashes mixed with water, more than likely with the purpose of keeping their magic alive.

Southwest of the Karankawas, in the region stretching from the Guadalupe River southward across the Río Grande and including all of southern Texas, lived yet another group of hunters and gatherers—the Coahuiltecans. The name for these Indians derived from the Spanish adjective meaning "native of Coahuila," but the extent to which they shared any ethnic or cultural unity

with each other or with Indians from the Mexican state of Coahuila remains unknown. Divided and subdivided into several hundred autonomous groups, the Coahuiltecans may not even have spoken dialects of the same language. Clearly, however, they had the same basic lifestyle, drawing a crude subsistence from the land.

The Coahuiltecans lived in the poorest part of Texas in terms of natural resources and roved constantly in search of food. Deer and javelina provided meat, but apparently these animals were not numerous and could not be killed without considerable effort or ingenuity. Sometimes the Indians, showing almost unimaginable endurance, simply ran down a deer. On other occasions hunters drove deer into the Gulf where the animals drowned. Plant foods were available, too, including several not generally known to gatherers farther north on the coast. Pecan trees grew along the Guadalupe and Nueces, and mesquite thickets were common from the Nueces to the Río Grande. Coahuiltecans used mesquite beans, which are sweet and nutritious, as a staple in their diet. Pounded into coarse flour, the beans could be prepared in many ways and stored as well. Finally, like the first Texas hunter-gatherers in the lower Pecos Valley, the South Texas Indians also ate the fruit or tuna of the prickly pear cactus and the bulb of the sotol plant. The tuna were consumed raw or preserved by drying, and sotol bulbs were roasted in pits and ground into flour.

Regardless of this seemingly broad array of food sources, the Coahuiltecans, either out of necessity or practice, ate virtually anything that the human digestive system could handle. They consumed everything that moved—spiders, worms, lizards, and snakes, for example—and some things that did not, including ant eggs, rotten wood, and deer dung. Uncleaned fish were roasted and then set aside long enough for the larvae of flies and other insects to develop in the rotting meat. Then, the larvae were consumed as a delicacy, along with the rest of the fish. Modern sensibilities are offended by such omnivorous people, but only an adequate food supply stands between most humans and the willingness to eat whatever is available.

Coahuiltecans had few tools and weapons. They lived in small, movable huts made of bent saplings covered with reed mats or hides. Curved sticks served as all-purpose tools used to dig and to throw at small game. Gourds rather than ceramics provided storage for mesquite or sotol flour and water. Large net bags made of plant fibers held most of the things that were transported from place to place. The bow and arrow was their primary weapon.

Social organization and spiritual life among the Coahuiltecans generally resembled that among their fellow hunter-gatherers along the Gulf coast. They spent most of their time in family units, joining others to form larger groups during certain hunting and harvest seasons. Bands had headmen and shamans, but the authority of these leaders was limited, particularly when it came to the "every man for himself" matter of obtaining food. Like the Karankawas, the Coahuiltecans had strong beliefs in the supernatural and celebrated thanksgivings or appealed for approval and assistance from the gods in numerous ceremonies or *mitotes*. They differed from the Karankawas, however,

in having the potent hallucinogen, peyote, as a stimulant in their celebrations. A typical *mitote* began around sundown with the arrival of guests from other groups and the building of a fire to cook meat. Men and women, after eating peyote or drinking it as tea, then danced through the night to the rhythm provided by a drum and a gourd rattle. Dancing around the fire in a close-knit circle and continuing to consume peyote, some of the dancers fell into trances from which they were aroused by being scratched with a pointed instrument. The ceremony ended at daybreak. No doubt such *mitotes* were as much a social event as a religious experience, but many peoples blend the two.

Coahuiltecan bands did not have the resources or unity to be warlike, but they constantly feuded with each other and occasionally fought small-scale wars. Conflicts generally arose, as might be expected, over food sources such as tuna cactus grounds.

The poorest of all Indians in late prehistoric Texas, the Coahuiltecans, would be the only group genuinely accepting of missionary efforts by the Spanish. Perhaps their lack of organization and the constant struggle for subsistence made them less secure in their own ways and therefore more susceptible to the promise of a mission lifestyle.

To the northwest of the Coahuiltecans in the region where the Pecos River reaches the Río Grande, Indians continued to live for the last thousand years before the arrival of Europeans essentially as they had for the previous five millennia. Having successfully combined a hunter-gatherer economy with using rock shelters and caves as homes, they made no basic changes such as developing the crop production or ceramics manufacture found elsewhere in Texas. They continued to eat deer, small game, and fish and to collect plants, seeds, and berries. Eventually they began to use the bow and arrow, but in general their implements remained the same.

No historic name such as Caddo or Karankawa can be given to these Indians of the lower Pecos in the late prehistoric years. By the time Europeans arrived, they had disappeared as a distinct group. Perhaps some moved south into Mexico; others may have joined nomadic groups to the west. Apparently, the resources that had supported at least a small human population for some 9,000 years became inadequate in the eyes of residents—and have largely been seen that way ever since.

The land along the middle Río Grande from the Big Bend to present-day El Paso served as a home in the late prehistoric period to a people called the Jumanos, one of the least known groups of early Texans. The origins of their language are unclear, and they did not share a common ethnic background or a tightly unified culture. They may have been related to the Puebloan civilization of New Mexico or simply descended from prehistoric ancestors in that particular region. In any case, it seems reasonably clear that the Jumanos grew corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers in the valleys near the Río Grande that had enough moisture to produce crops as a result of runoff or occasional stream rises. The Jumanos also hunted buffalo on the plains to the north where they killed the animals with bows and arrows and brought home hides and dried meat. Early Spanish explorers reported that the Jumanos were especially

active as traders, carrying out the exchange of food, pottery and blankets, and salt between groups as far apart as the Caddos of East Texas and the Pueblos of New Mexico.

The Jumanos who lived along the Río Grande did not build multi-roomed, several-storied dwellings typical of the Puebloan people but instead lived in separate houses clustered together. Rectangular in shape and about 28 to 30 feet in size, most of the houses were sunken half below ground level, with the half above ground constructed of adobe bricks. Saplings and brush covered with adobe made the roofs. Inside walls were plastered and painted in places. Such buildings were adapted perfectly to the environment, offering cool quarters during the summer and suffering little damage from the region's light rainfall.

Jumanos used hard gourds very effectively in a form of cooking known as stone-boiling. Cooks began by filling a gourd with water and building a fire to heat stones. They then placed the stones in the gourd to bring the water to a boil, after which the food to be cooked was added. Cooling stones were replaced with hot ones until the meal was ready.

Physically, the Jumanos resembled the Karankawas, being impressively tall and muscular. Men wore a minimum of clothing, but women had ponchos and skirts of deerskin. Little is known of their social or political organization, but personal conflict and warfare between groups seems to have been minimal. Their culture flourished from approximately 1000 to the early 1700s and then declined rapidly, probably due to the increasingly arid climate, which ruined their crops and drove away the buffalo, and due to disease brought by Europeans.

During the years of Jumano domination in the Trans-Pecos, another group, one destined to be of far greater importance in the early history of Texas, appeared in the Panhandle-Plains region. Called Apaches, they spoke Athapaskan, a language common to Indians in Alaska and Canada. Attracted by the wealth of the Puebloans of New Mexico, they broke away from their northern brethren and moved south along the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains in the twelfth or thirteenth century until they reached the Southwest. They warred with Indians already in the region—their name probably came from the Zuni word for "enemy"—and after about 1300 established themselves in Texas as the primary residents of the present-day Panhandle and the plains area from the headwaters of the Brazos River westward into New Mexico. The easternmost group, those destined to play the most important role in Texas, became known as Lipan Apaches. Mescalero Apaches occupied the region west of the Pecos River.

During the late prehistoric period, Apaches—or more specifically, Apache women—practiced some agriculture, growing corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins. Even then, however, most drew their subsistence primarily from the buffalo. Hunts took place in the spring and fall when huge herds appeared on the South Plains. Hunters surrounded the animals and moved in for the kill with bows and arrows. In the off-season when buffalo were less plentiful, individual hunters waited in ambush at watering places. When an Apache killed a buffalo, very little went to waste. All the meat not consumed on the spot

was smoked or sun dried. Hides provided clothing, tent covers, and shields. Sinews were used as bow strings and thongs. Stomachs served as portable water containers. The hunters were successful and efficient enough to produce a surplus of meat and hides that they traded with Pueblo groups in New Mexico for cotton blankets and pottery.

Apache bands in Texas lived part of the time near the crops they cultivated, but they also moved regularly in pursuit of the buffalo. Women loaded tipi covers and other belongings on travois that were dragged by large shaggy dogs. Historical observers expressed surprise at how well trained the dogs were, but eventually of course they would be replaced as a beast of burden by the horse.

Families served as the basic social unit in Apache life. Quite the opposite of the Karankawa practice, marriage among the Apaches meant that the man, in addition to providing numerous gifts to his bride's family, took up residence with them. Thus, families consisted of parents, unmarried sons, daughters, and sons-in-law. When sons married, they moved away, leaving the sons-in-law to provide for the family. Even if a married daughter died, the son-in-law had a responsibility to her family and could not leave. The family usually provided another wife, if possible a sister or cousin of the deceased.

Several extended families lived together and joined other similar units to form bands for purposes of defense and offense. Each band had a leader chosen for his bravery and wisdom, but the position was not necessarily hereditary. Younger men, seeking to demonstrate their courage and thus become leaders, tended to ignore older chiefs. This approach to leadership made it difficult for Europeans to deal with the Texas Apaches—an agreement with one band did not always bind all its members, let alone any other group.

There is no indication that the Apaches fought earlier inhabitants for land in Texas, as they had in New Mexico and Arizona, but successful warriors always had places of honor in Apache society. A man who could "count coup" by touching a living enemy in battle or take captives to become slaves was assured of respect.

Three groups to be considered last among the Indians of prehistoric Texas occupied the northern Panhandle and the prairies of north-central Texas at about the same time that the Apaches approached the Panhandle and plains region from the west. These groups had a lifestyle that differed notably from the Apaches, however, and all disappeared before the arrival of Europeans, leaving only a fascinating archeological record from about 1200 to 1500. None of these groups has a historical name, so they are known by cultural designations assigned by archeologists. The first, the Antelope Creek Phase, includes Indians who lived in villages extending across the northern Panhandle along the Canadian River; the second, the Henrietta Focus, includes those who occupied sites in north-central Texas on the upper Brazos River and its tributaries; the third, the Wylie Focus, includes residents of the area in and around the cross timbers on the upper reaches of the Trinity River.

All three groups of these late prehistoric Indians depended on hunting, gathering, and agriculture. Bison were, of course, the preferred animal, but

they also killed deer, antelope, and smaller animals. They collected local plant products such as hackberries and grew corn, squash, and beans in fields near the streams. All used the bow and arrow in hunting, and they had a wide array of stone and bone tools. One especially interesting adaptation was the use of the scapula (the large flat "shoulder blade") of buffalo as a hoe for cultivating crops. Their ceramics appear to have come primarily through trade with the Caddos to the east and the Pueblos to the west.

Indians who shaped the Antelope Creek Phase differed dramatically from all their neighbors in one respect—the architecture of their homes. Borrowing, it seems, from the Puebloan people of New Mexico, they built villages that consisted of large rectangular buildings divided into a number of adjoining rooms. Foundations consisted of stone slabs, and walls were of masonry or adobe. Four interior posts situated around a central hearth in the main room supported the roof, which was either flat or hipped with grass thatch. The larger main room had benches in a work area; some of the smaller auxiliary rooms had storage pits. Located on high ground overlooking the Canadian River, these pueblo-style structures undoubtedly provided comfortable homes, and yet the culture their residents built lasted only a relatively short time.

By 1500 the Antelope Creek Phase and the Henrietta and Wylie Focuses in the northern Panhandle and north-central Texas had disappeared—destroyed, it seems, by drought and other Indians. The peoples who created these cultures cannot be connected with certainty to historical Indian groups. Many archeologists, however, believe that the Wichita Indians descended in part from peoples of the Henrietta Focus.

Humans occupied Texas for more than 10,000 years before the arrival of Europeans early in the sixteenth century. These first Texans proved remarkably adaptive in finding ways to survive as climatic changes altered plant and animal life in the region. Much of Texas, as its weather slowly became drier and hotter, presented ever-increasing challenges to survival, but from the early big game hunters to the late prehistoric Indians, those challenges were met. Some of the first Texans, most notably the Caddos, eventually built advanced cultures and lived in considerable comfort; others led extremely difficult lives. In general, those who depended primarily on hunting and therefore needed the strength of men and their ability to kill animals formed patrilineal societies that emphasized male leadership, and those who depended heavily on agriculture and therefore needed women to cultivate crops and prepare meals organized their societies along matrilineal lines that gave leadership of the family to females. All, however, exhibited inventiveness and a tenacious will to live.

Chapter 2

EXPLORATION AND ADVENTURE, 1519–1689

The first Europeans to reach Texas came from Spain, a development that was anything but accidental. Having spent nearly eight hundred years reconquering their own country, the Spanish were uniquely qualified to conquer new frontiers. Muslims from North Africa called Moors occupied virtually all of Spain in 711–718, and the fight to drive the invaders out continued intermittently until the fall of Granada in 1492. This war of reconquest brought unity to Spain and inextricably linked the Roman Catholic Church with the government. When Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, who married in 1469, took over the thrones of their respective kingdoms ten years later, Spain had the unity necessary not only to defeat the Moors but to expand into other lands as well. Centuries of fighting Muslim invaders intensified Spanish Catholicism, providing a spiritual motivation for further conquests. Once Ferdinand and Isabella neared their goal—"one nation, one monarchy, one faith"—at home, they were well prepared to look outward for new worlds to conquer.

In addition to building political unity and religious motivation, the reconquest prepared Spain for exploration and conquest in one other way as well. It elevated the profession of soldier to equal that of priest or lawyer in Spanish society. War brought excitement and glory and placed a premium on individual courage and pride. After the defeat of the Moors, young men, especially those from proud but poor families, needed new opportunities to realize their ambitions and serve their faith. The accidental discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 was an answer to their dreams. As one conqueror later said when asked his reasons for going to Mexico: "We came to serve God and get rich." Perhaps he misstated his priorities, but the two objectives did go hand in hand. Would-be conquistadors believed many fantastic legends about the New World, but above all they expected to find incredible riches. As it turned out, the Americas provided enough gold and silver to cause inflation in Europe, but men who sought mountains of silver and gold so plentiful that Indians tipped arrows with them would be sorely disappointed in Texas.

The First Spanish Explorers in Texas

Columbus's first voyage of discovery quickly led to the creation of a Spanish empire in America, based first on islands in the Caribbean Sea. In 1493, Columbus himself settled a permanent colony on Hispaniola, later called Santo Domingo, and other explorers soon took over Puerto Rico (1508), Jamaica (1509), and Cuba (1511). (See map: The Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico.) Indians on these islands resisted, but the Spanish had far too many advantages over the natives. First, and most important, weapons made of steel and the use of gunpowder overmatched anything the Indians could offer in a fight. Second, the Spanish had the ships to cover long distances of open sea and carry supplies. Third, their horses provided mobility and speed that the Indians could not match on land. Fourth, the Spanish brought Old World diseases such as smallpox, measles, and cholera that would eventually decimate the Indians. Conquering the Caribbean proved relatively easy.

Building on their base of island colonies, the Spanish next entered the Gulf of Mexico and began to explore the coast of North America. By 1519, Spanish explorers had sailed the Gulf along the western coast of Florida and the coast of Mexico from Yucatán north to the site of present-day Tampico. The possibility remained, however, that somewhere between Florida and Mexico a water route to Asia existed. With this in mind, Francisco de Garay, the governor of Jamaica, financed an exploration of the northern Gulf. He outfitted an expedition of four ships and 270 men and put it under the command of Alonso Alvarez de Pineda. Leaving Jamaica early in 1519, the explorers sailed to Florida and

The Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico

then westward along the Gulf coast to a point north of present-day Veracruz in Mexico. On July 2, Pineda noted a tremendous discharge of fresh water into the Gulf from a river that he called the Río del Espíritu Santo because of the feast day on which it was discovered. Eventually this river would become known by its Indian name, Mississippi, meaning "Big River." Soon after passing the Mississippi, Pineda and his men became the first Europeans to see and chart the coast of Texas. He described good land and fine looking rivers and ports.

For some years nothing came of Pineda's observation of the Texas coast, but then the famed conqueror of Mexico, Hernando Cortés, had a hand in creating the next Spanish contact with Texas. The chain of events unfolded as follows: Cortés's sponsor for the expedition to Mexico in 1519, Governor Diego de Velázquez of Cuba, quickly discovered that the man he had chosen as commander was far too independent. The governor therefore sent an army under the command of Panfilo de Narváez to Mexico in 1520 to arrest Cortés and take over the expedition. Cortés, however, defeated the force sent after him, and in the battle Narváez took a spear thrust that gouged out his right eye. Disgraced, Narváez eventually returned to Spain where he complained bitterly to royal officials about his treatment by the conqueror. Compensation finally came to the "one-eyed casualty" in November 1526 in the form of a royal contract permitting him to settle a colony in Florida, at that time meaning the entire Gulf coast from present-day Florida to the Río Pánuco in Mexico. In 1528 Narváez and some of his men would unintentionally reach Texas while trying to sail from Florida to Mexico. Thus, a spear thrust by one of Cortés's soldiers in 1520 led Spaniards to the shores of Texas eight years later.

Narváez raised an expedition of six hundred men that left Spain for the Caribbean in June 1527. His second in command and treasurer, a man destined to become far more famous than the commander, had the strange name Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Translated "Cow's Head," this family name carried considerable prestige, dating back to 1200, and descended from Cabeza de Vaca's mother rather than his father, another indication that it was a point of pride. Nearly forty at the time, Cabeza de Vaca received the appointment because of his record as a soldier and faithful servant of Emperor Charles V. A better man could not have been chosen.

The Narváez expedition spent the winter of 1527–1528 in the Caribbean, stopping at Hispaniola and Cuba. Ill-fated practically from the beginning, it lost 140 men to desertion in Hispaniola and suffered through a devastating hurricane on Cuba. After refitting, five ships and four hundred men sailed from Cuba to the western coast of Florida in April 1528. Narváez then decided to take three hundred men and go inland to find gold and a site for settlement, while sending the ships ahead to meet them at another point on the coast. The men who went inland soon became hopelessly separated from the ships. After reaching northwestern Florida in mid-June, they camped for three months and then, facing food shortages and unfriendly Indians, returned to the coast. Using great ingenuity, Narváez and his men built five boats of rough-sawn timber caulked with pine resin and made sails from their own clothes.

Food came from slaughtering their horses, whose hides covered the boats and hair made rigging for the sails.

Leaving Florida in late September 1528, about 250 men in the five boats attempted to sail along the coast westward to Mexico. All went well for a month, but then water and food supplies ran short and storms separated the crude small craft. Two, including the one carrying Cabeza de Vaca, were swept toward the upper Texas coast. As Cabeza de Vaca's boat approached land, a great wave, in his words, lifted it "out of the water as far as a horseshoe can be tossed." He and the others who were able to walk scrambled overboard and struggled to shore through the surf. The date was November 6, 1528, and the weather was bitterly cold. On the previous day, another boat had landed nearby with about forty-eight survivors. The first European immigrants in Texas thus arrived involuntarily under anything but auspicious circumstances. They landed most likely on San Luis, a small island just west of Galveston Island, but their name for it, "Isla de Malhado," island of misfortune, best expressed their feelings.

Karankawa Indians soon found the Spaniards, who made no effort to fight because, in the words of Cabeza de Vaca, "there were scarcely six men who could even get up from the ground." The Karankawas were not hostile, however, and the next day brought food to the castaways. Strengthened by food and water, Cabeza de Vaca's group attempted to launch their boat again, but it capsized, drowning three of the men and casting the remainder up on the same beach. The survivors, he wrote, "were as naked as the day they were born." Indeed, naked and miserably cold, they presented such a sad spectacle that the Karankawas sat down with them and cried for half an hour. Seeing themselves the objects of pity by such "brutes" caused the Spanish to feel even worse, a foretaste of many things that would test their belief in inherent Christian superiority.

By the spring of 1529 only fifteen of the Spaniards remained alive. The rest had died of exposure, hunger, and dysentery. Some who survived did so by cannibalizing the bodies of those who died; an act that shocked the Indians who, although they practiced ritualistic cannibalism, could not imagine eating one of their own.

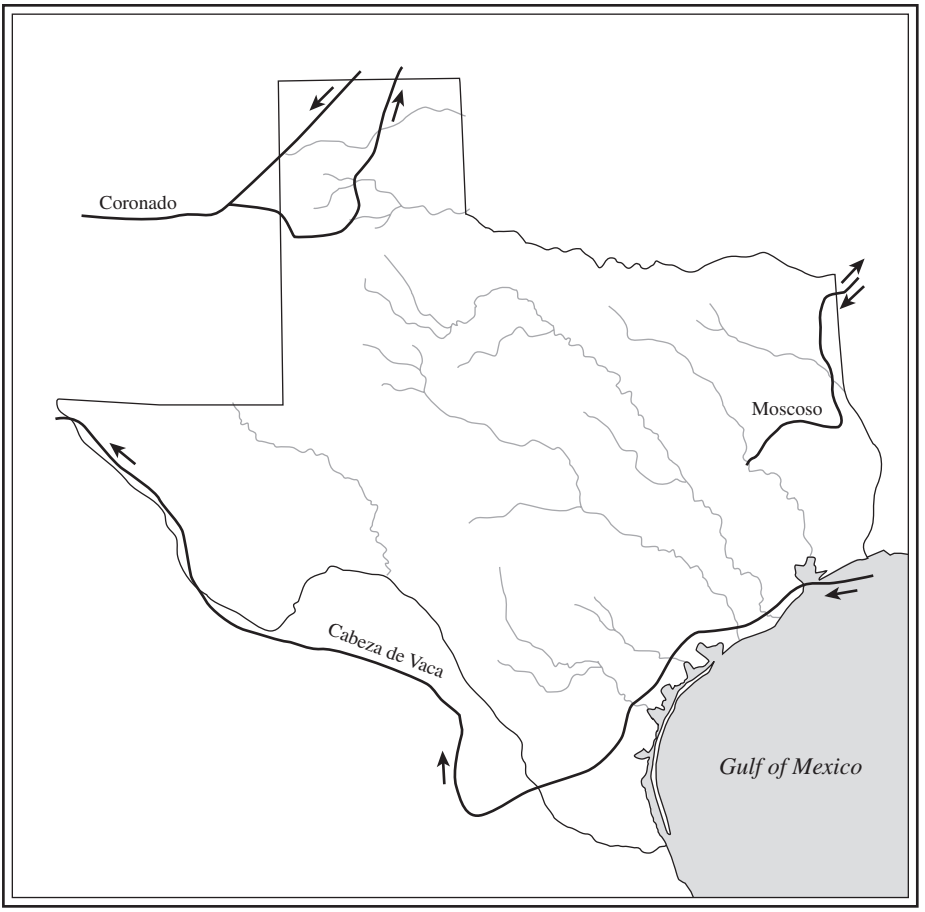
Cabeza de Vaca survived the winter of 1528–1529, but near the beginning of spring, he traveled to the Texas mainland and became seriously ill there. Believing him dead, all but two of those still alive left Malhado to travel along the coast toward Mexico. After their departure, Cabeza de Vaca recovered and returned to Malhado, which he used as a home base for nearly four more years.

During the years he spent in the Galveston area, Cabeza de Vaca was at various times a doctor, a slave, and a merchant. The Karankawas demanded that he treat their ill, "without testing or asking for any degrees," he wrote. His ministrations, which consisted of reciting prayers, making the sign of the cross, and breathing on patients, apparently satisfied the Karankawas. For nearly a year, however, he was forced to live with other Indians who treated him almost like a slave. Later, he escaped and lived the life of a trader, taking coastal products such as seashells and sea snails into the interior and bringing back hides, red ocher, and flint for arrowheads and weapons.

Cabeza de Vaca remained near Malhado for such a long time in part because he did not want to leave the two Spaniards who stayed behind when the others departed in 1529. Finally, late in 1532, after one of the men died, he convinced the other to go with him. Traveling westward along the coast they met Indians who told of three other men like them who were being held captive and badly mistreated by another group of natives. To illustrate the plight of the other Spaniards, the Indians slapped and beat Cabeza de Vaca and his companion, so frightening the latter that he turned back toward Malhado and disappeared from history. Cabeza de Vaca, obviously much less faint of heart, continued on, and several days later in the area of the Guadalupe River met Alonso Castillo Maldonado, Andrés Dorantes de Carranza, and Estevanico, a slave who belonged to Dorantes. (Estevanico, a nonwhite native of Azamor on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, was the first of many enslaved people of African descent who would come to Texas.) The "Four Ragged Castaways," as they became known, would continue their adventure together for about four years.

Cabeza de Vaca joined Dorantes, Estevanico, and Maldonado as a slave to groups of Coahuiltecan Indians. They immediately began to plan an escape, but for one reason or another nearly two years passed before a good opportunity presented itself. Finally, in September 1534 the four escaped and headed south. Exactly where they went during the next two years is subject to much debate among historians, but the best evidence indicates that their route took them in a southerly direction across the Río Grande to the area of present-day Monterrey, Mexico, then to the northwest back into Texas at present-day Presidio, and finally in a western direction across the Río Grande south of El Paso and through northern Mexico to the outpost of Culiacán near the Pacific Ocean. (See map: Routes of Exploration: Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, and Moscoso.)

The Four Ragged Castaways reached Culiacán early in 1536, having traveled about 2,000 miles by foot in less than two years. In 1542 Cabeza de Vaca published an account of his adventures that has the distinction of being the first book relating to Texas. Best known as the *Relación*, this book is especially important for the observations of Indian life that made Cabeza de Vaca the first ethnologist of Texas. He offered accounts of Karankawa and Coahuiltecan cultural practices in often chilling detail. Consider, for example, his description of how several Coahuiltecan groups treated female infants: "When their daughters are born they cast them to the dogs, which eat them. The reason for doing this, according to them, is that all the people of that land are their enemies with whom they are constantly at war, and if their enemies were to marry their daughters, they would multiply so much that they would conquer them and take them as slaves. For this reason they preferred to kill their daughters rather than have them bear offspring who would be their enemies. We asked them why they did not marry their daughters to their own men and they replied that they considered it an unseemly thing to marry them to their relatives and that it was better to kill them than to give them to their relatives or their enemies. . . . When they want to get married, they buy wives from their enemies, each one paying the price of the best bow he has and two arrows. . . . They kill their own children and buy the children of strangers."



Routes of Exploration: Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, and Moscoso

Cabeza de Vaca described the Jumanos of the Trans-Pecos region as "Cow People," because they hunted buffalo once a year. Actually, he was probably the first European to see bison, having come in contact with them while enslaved by the Coahuiltecans. These "cows," he wrote, "have two small horns, like Moorish cattle, and very long hair, like a fine blanket made from the wool of merino sheep. Some are brownish and others black. It seems to me that they have more and better meat than cattle here in Spain. From the small ones the Indians make blankets to cover themselves, and from the large ones they make shoes and shields."

Cabeza de Vaca also continued to act as a physician while on the trek to the west. In northern Mexico he removed an arrowhead from the chest of an Indian, thus performing the first surgery by a European in the American Southwest. To this day, the insignia of the Texas Surgical Society features the skull of a cow and an arrow.

The Spaniards who met Cabeza de Vaca and his Spanish companions near Culiacán barely recognized them as coming from Europe. For that matter, Indians in the area had the same difficulty, although for different reasons. They were confused by the differences between the Four Ragged Castaways and the Spanish, who were engaged in capturing slaves. You, they said to Cabeza de Vaca, "healed the sick and they killed the healthy." You "gave away everything that was given to [you] and kept none of it, while the sole purpose of the others was to steal everything they found. . . ."

Reaching Mexico City in July 1536, the castaways found a highly motivated listener to their stories of adventure in the person of Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain. Mendoza especially liked Cabeza de Vaca's claim that he had seen "undeniable indications of gold" in northwestern Mexico and that Indians had told him of a great city to the north. These stories revived a belief in the legendary Seven Cities of Cíbola, fabulously rich cities supposedly settled by seven Portuguese bishops fleeing Muslim invaders in the eighth century, and led to the first authorized expedition into the northern borderlands of New Spain.

In the spring of 1539, Viceroy Mendoza sent Fray Marcos de Niza, a priest with experience in the conquest of Central and South America, to explore northern Mexico. Estevanico, who served as a guide, probably because Mendoza had bought him from Dorantes, tired of the party's slow pace and convinced Niza to permit him to scout ahead. He was to communicate by sending crosses back to the main party; the larger the cross, the greater the amount of wealth he had found. Estevanico sent back progressively larger and larger crosses but, apparently carried away by his independence, he began to enter Indian towns and make excessive demands on his own. As a result, Zuni Indians in Hawikuh, a village in what is now western New Mexico, killed him. Fray de Niza, frightened and frustrated, returned to Mendoza and reported that Estevanico had lost his life in a city larger than Mexico City. He claimed to have seen it himself from a distance and predicted that Cíbola, as Hawikuh and the other pueblos north of it became known, would yield more gold and silver than any previous Spanish conquest.

Viceroy Mendoza, now more interested than ever in conquering Cíbola before some other adventurer arrived, organized an army of 370 Spaniards and 1,000 Indians under the command of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and sent it north early in 1540. Coronado was a classic, if inexperienced, conquistador. He had come to Mexico with Mendoza in 1535 and rose quickly under the viceroy's patronage. His borderlands expedition would not bring the riches he sought, but it would enshrine his name in the history of Texas.

Guided by Fray Niza, Coronado reached Cíbola in July 1540, but instead of cities of gold, he found only shabby pueblos inhabited by hostile Indians. Coronado sent scouting parties to the west where they found Hopi towns and viewed the Grand Canyon, but, again, found no riches. In the meantime, encouraged by Indians from the east who spoke of towns and "cattle" beyond the mountains, he sent a small force to explore in that direction. This party reached the country of the Tiguex Indians on the Río Grande just north of present-day

Albuquerque and moved on to Pecos, a point east of present-day Santa Fe where pueblo and plains Indians met to trade. At Pecos the Spanish acquired the services of two plains Indians as guides. Ysopete and the Turk, as the Spanish called them, led the explorers down the Pecos River and then eastward along the headwaters of the Canadian River. Near the Texas Panhandle, they encountered bison so numerous that one Spaniard compared them to "fish in the sea." The thrill of seeing and killing buffalo quickly paled, however, when the Turk began to tell about Quivira, a land of great riches on the plains to the north, a place where "golden jingle bells" hung from a tree. This exciting lie caused the scouting party to rush back to the main army on the Río Grande.

Coronado's army left the Tiguex region in April 1541 and moved eastward, retracing the route to Pecos taken by the small exploring party the previous year. The expedition's exact route from that point on will never be known, but a "Coronado Corridor," as one scholar has termed it, may be traced with reasonable certainty. A few weeks' travel in a southeasterly direction from Pecos brought the army within sight of a giant mesa that would be called the Llano Estacado, literally the "stockaded plain," because the rimrock that marked its edge looked like the walls of a stockade or palisade. Perhaps the reconnoitering force had seen the Llano Estacado in 1540, but if so they had made no effort to describe this tableland topped by 30,000 square miles of virtually flat grassland. Everyone had to see and describe it for himself. In the words of Coronado, the plains had "no more landmarks than as if we had been swallowed up in the sea, . . . because there was not a stone, nor a bit of rising ground, nor a tree, nor a shrub, nor anything to go by."

In mid-May 1541, the Spaniards, at the direction of the Turk, climbed onto the Llano a little southeast of present-day Tucumcari, New Mexico, and made their way forward on the sea of grass. They encountered groups of eastern Apaches who lived primarily by hunting the countless buffalo that virtually were never out of sight. The Querechos, as the Spanish called them, knew nothing, however, of Quivira as the Turk described it. After several weeks of following their guide's vague directions and changing their course to avoid huge buffalo herds, Coronado's army became lost. They were probably somewhere on the virtually flat, featureless plain between present-day Lubbock and Plainview. Coronado still wanted to believe the Turk about the riches of Quivira, but he no longer trusted him as a guide on the Llano. Using scouting parties and sea compasses, the commander moved his army in a northeasterly direction until it reached the canyon country on tributaries of the Red River, probably in present-day Briscoe County.

Coronado's men doubtless breathed a sigh of relief upon descending into Tule Canyon. Almost immediately, however, a massive afternoon thunderstorm gave the Spaniards another lesson in the harsh West Texas environment. Strong winds and heavy rain were accompanied by torrents of hailstones "as big as bowls and larger." Hail dented helmets, knocked holes in tents, broke crockery, and stampeded the horses. As they surveyed the damage, the Spanish had to be thankful that at least the storm had not caught them on the open plain.

Indians whom the Spanish called the Teyas lived at the edge of the Llano Estacado and in the canyon country. The Teyas provided guides to the region and helped with the gathering of food but did not offer any encouraging information on Quivira. Refusing to give up, Coronado decided to take a party of thirty mounted men and push ahead. The rest of his army would return to the Tiguex country and wait. Coronado's party, guided now by Ysopete because the Spanish had lost faith in the Turk, left the canyon country and traveled north by northeast through the Texas Panhandle, across the Oklahoma Panhandle, and into present-day Kansas. After crossing the Arkansas River they came to Quivira near the modern town of Lindsborg, Kansas. Instead of cities of gold and silver, however, they found only the grass huts and cornfields of the Wichita Indians. Coronado ordered the execution of the Turk who had been held in chains since misleading the army on the Llano, and his party returned to the Río Grande by a route that took them across the northwestern part of the Texas Panhandle near modern Dalhart. After wintering in the Tiguex country, the expedition returned to Mexico in 1542.

Coronado's expedition, in addition to being a great adventure story, provided information on the land, resources, and Indians of the Panhandle. His leadership, especially in crossing the Llano Estacado, was admirable. And yet, he and his superiors considered the expedition a failure. It found no riches, only people who, in his words, "do not plant anything and do not have any houses except of skins and sticks [and] wander around with the cows." Coronado lived another dozen years in Mexico, but he never commanded another venture of any sort.

While Coronado explored the western reaches of Texas in 1541, another Spanish expedition approached the region from the east. Hernando de Soto, an adventurer who served with Francisco Pizarro in the conquest of Peru and became rich, had parlayed his fortune into a grant from the Spanish throne in 1537 that gave him permission to explore and settle a huge colony somewhere within the expanse then known as Florida. Soto landed in present-day Florida with six hundred men in May 1539 and spent the next three years moving about the region from there to Louisiana. His frankly avowed purpose of stealing anything he found of value meant constant trouble with the Indians but no riches. Finally, while camped on the Mississippi River in Louisiana, Soto died, and his men sank his body in the river to protect it from the Indians.

Upon Soto's death, Luis de Moscoso Alvarado took command of the army and moved to the west, intending to travel overland to Mexico. His exact route, like those of Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado, is a matter of debate, but the best evidence is that in August 1542 his party entered East Texas in modern Cass County. Turning south, Moscoso traveled through Harrison County and on to the vicinity of San Augustine where he took a westward course across the Neches River and beyond the Trinity River in Houston County.

While in East Texas, Moscoso's army encountered an Indian woman who may have set records for adventure and bad luck, even in an age of explorations frequently marked by misfortune. She had been a prisoner of one of Coronado's captains, escaped while in the canyon country of the Panhandle in 1541, and

made her way to East Texas where she wound up a captive of Moscoso in 1542. He, however, refused to believe her story about other white men to the west and retraced his route to the Mississippi. Had Moscoso taken her word, his army might have succeeded in marching overland to Mexico. As it was, they built boats, floated down the Mississippi, and made their way along the coast to their objective in 1543. They were forced ashore by a storm at one point, possibly at the mouth of the Sabine River, and used the opportunity to caulk their leaky boats with crude petroleum that surfaced naturally in the region. (Some 350 years later the Spindletop gusher would be brought in a few miles to the north.)

Moscoso had explored the land and made the first recorded contact with the Caddo Indians of East Texas, but he, like Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado, had found no riches. All of these great explorers and many of their companions wrote reports on the lands and peoples they visited, and all concluded that Texas was a gigantic expanse populated by generally inhospitable savages who had no gold or silver. They saw little purpose in further explorations and no reason to occupy the region. Thus, for fifty years following the explorations of the 1530s–1540s, the Spanish gave virtually no attention to Texas.

Spanish Colonization of Northern Mexico and New Mexico

In 1546, only a few years after the return of Coronado and Moscoso, the Spanish found new sources of riches much closer to Mexico City than in faraway Texas when an exploring party discovered a mountain of silver ore at Zacatecas in the north-central plateau region. (See map: The Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1550–1710.) The resulting mining boom required roads to connect Zacatecas with Mexico City and moved the frontier north. Settlement of the region led to warfare with the Chichimeca Indians, a conflict that was unlike any previously experienced by the Spanish in Mexico and led to the development of new institutions of conquest and colonization. Eventually, those new institutions, the presidio and the mission, would be vital to the settlement of Texas.

The Chichimecas, a diverse group of northern tribes described by the Aztecs and Spanish alike as "barbarians," did not live a sedentary, agricultural life. Instead, they were nomads who subsisted as hunter-gatherers and had awe-inspiring skills with the bow and arrow. Chichimeca bowmen could hit an orange thrown in the air and kill rabbits on the run. And their arrows struck with enough force to go through the neck of a horse and penetrate the armored breastplate of its rider. They prepared for battle with peyote and alcohol and entered the fight totally nude, "for the effect," the Spanish said.

War with the Chichimecas began in 1550 and continued unsuccessfully for the remainder of the century. Institutions that worked well to control sedentary Indians—for example, the *encomienda*, which gave control of the labor and spiritual lives of all the natives in a particular town or area to a wealthy Spanish settler—were of no use in dealing with nomads. Thus, out of necessity the Spanish developed the presidio and mission system.

Presidios were garrisons of soldiers responsible for the security of a particular point or area. Built first along the road from Zacatecas to Mexico City,

The Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1550–1710

presidios probably angered the Chichimecas rather than pacifying them. Stationary fortresses rarely defeat mobile enemies. Nevertheless, presidios maintained a military presence on the frontier and offered protection to Spaniards in the immediate vicinity.

Missions were religious establishments staffed by Franciscan padres, members of the Roman Catholic order established by St. Francis of Assisi in 1206. Franciscan missions had three purposes: to bring the Indians to a settled life and Christianize them; to make the Indians into civilized, tax-paying subjects of the King of Spain; and to uphold Spanish claims against any other nation attempting to enter the area. Missionaries were chosen by the Franciscan college that trained them, but they were paid by the crown. In contrast, then, to the conquistadors who came for "God and gold," the Franciscans worked for "God and country."

Presidios and missions, which were generally established near each other, did not defeat the Chichimecas, but by 1600 the Spanish had worn down or bought off the Indians. In the meantime, the mining and ranching frontier pushed farther and farther north in Mexico. One leader in this expansion, Luis de Carvajal, may have actually reached Texas as early as 1573. Operating under a commission from Viceroy Martín Enríquez, Carvajal explored northeastern Mexico and went to the mouth of the Río Grande to punish Indians for their treatment of shipwrecked Spanish sailors. One of the soldiers with

this expedition testified that they crossed the river, which, if true, made them the first Spaniards to enter Texas from that direction on the lower Río Grande. Later, Carvajal went to Spain and in 1579 petitioned successfully for a huge grant that stretched from the Río Pánuco northward beyond the site of modern San Antonio, Texas. Returning to Mexico, he created a small settlement at modern-day Monclova and supposedly reconnoitered his land in Texas, although there are no records of such an exploration. Eventually Carvajal ran afoul of laws against enslaving Indians and died in prison, one of the first promoters to see grandiose plans involving Texas come to little or nothing.

Farther west in the 1560s and 1570s, miners and ranchers founded Santa Bárbara and San Bartolomé on tributaries of the Río Conchos, a river that flowed north to the Río Grande. These settlements soon became gateways for new explorations of New Mexico that also led into Texas. Expeditions in 1581 and 1582 reached El Paso and followed the Río Grande as far north as present-day Albuquerque. On its return, the second of these passed near present-day Fort Davis and Marfa and thus became the first Europeans to see the Trans-Pecos region of Texas; none would return for a century.

Renewed explorations of New Mexico led the Spanish government to authorize pacification of the Pueblo country by a private individual. Finding the right person took time, but finally in 1595 the contract was given to Juan de Oñate, a wealthy descendant of a discoverer of the silver mines at Zacatecas. In the meantime, a "wildcat" venture in colonizing New Mexico led to an interesting contact with Texas. Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, the lieutenant governor of Nuevo León, attempted in 1590 to make a settlement in New Mexico regardless of the fact that he had no authorization from the crown. Thinking, apparently, that success would cause officials to overlook illegal actions, Castaño de Sosa led a party of 170 men, women, and children across the Río Grande at the site of today's Del Rio and then up the Pecos all the way to the Pecos Pueblo east of modern Santa Fe. They fought their way into Pecos and then moved west to the Río Grande. Unfortunately for Castaño de Sosa, Spanish soldiers arrived in 1591 and sent him back to Mexico in chains for invading "lands of peaceable Indians." His expedition had pioneered a new route across Texas to New Mexico and a means of transportation as well, the use of two-wheeled carts on the plains.

Oñate acted on his contract, which obviously made it legal for him to occupy the lands of peaceable Indians, and colonized New Mexico in 1598. Three years later, still dreaming of riches in Quivira, he led an expedition to Kansas that crossed the Texas Panhandle on a route that followed the Canadian River. He confirmed Coronado's experience with Quivira and returned to New Mexico by the same route. Oñate resigned as governor in 1607, and two years later his successor, Pedro de Peralta, established Santa Fe as the capital of New Mexico, making it the third-oldest permanent European settlement in the present-day continental United States. Only St. Augustine, Florida (1565), and Jamestown, Virginia (1607), were older.

The move to occupy New Mexico thus brought some Spanish contact with the western reaches of Texas during the second half of the sixteenth century,

but government officials still saw little reason to move into the interior. Religious leaders busied themselves with missionary work in New Mexico and gave little thought to Texas either—until a truly strange occurrence in 1629. In July of that year, a group of Jumanos from the Trans-Pecos area arrived at the Franciscan convent near Albuquerque, having come, they said, on the advice of a beautiful young woman who had mysteriously appeared to them in Texas. From her they claimed to have gained basic knowledge of Christianity, especially the sign of the cross. Moreover, the "Lady in Blue," as she became known because she wore a blue cloak with her habit, had urged the Indians to go to New Mexico to find religious teachers.

The arrival of the Jumanos, which would have excited the Franciscans under any circumstances, was doubly amazing because of a letter they had just received from the archbishop of New Spain concerning the claims of a young nun in Spain. María de Jesús de Agreda, a member of the Poor Clares Order of Franciscan nuns, had fallen into deep trances on hundreds of occasions during the 1620s and dreamed of visiting Indians on the northern frontier of New Spain. These experiences led her to claim miraculous bilocation, the feat of appearing physically in Texas and New Mexico without ever leaving her convent in Spain. María de Jesús told her confessor of the bilocations, and he in turn informed the archbishop of New Spain. The latter then wrote a letter of inquiry to the New Mexico Franciscans, the one that arrived just before the visit by the Jumanos.

Excited by the combination of events, the Franciscans sent two of their number back to Texas with the Jumanos. The padres visited with large numbers of Indians who expressed a friendly interest in Christianity and talked of the "Lady in Blue" who had come to them as a "light at sunset." Upon their return, Father Alonso de Benavides went to Mexico City to report on these developments and then in 1630 continued to Spain to meet María de Jesús in person at her convent in Agreda. The nun claimed to recognize Father Benavides from her visits to New Mexico and described other persons with whom he was familiar there. She also gave him a written account of "what happened in the provinces of New Mexico, Quivira, and Jumanas, and the other nations . . . to whom I was carried by the will of God, and by the hand and the assistance of the Angels. . . ."

The Franciscans in New Mexico sent two priests on another visit to the Jumanos in 1632, but no permanent mission was established. María de Jesús later admitted that some of her claims may have been "exaggerated or misunderstood," and that "either it was all the work of my imagination or that God showed me those things by means of abstract images. . . . Neither then nor now was, or am, I capable of knowing the way it happened." Historian David J. Weber has suggested that María de Jesús, who often fasted for days in her extreme desire for spiritual perfection, may have had visions as the result of a form of anorexia. Others insist to this day that she actually experienced miraculous bilocation and deserves sainthood. Belief in miracles is an individual matter, of course, but legends associated with the "Lady in Blue" likely will live forever. One of the best came from the Indians who said that on the

morning after her last visit they awoke to find the fields covered with flowers of a deep blue color like her cloak—the first Texas bluebonnets.

Early Spanish Influence in West Texas

Well into the second half of the seventeenth century, more than 150 years after the first explorations of Texas, colonizing efforts on New Spain's northern frontier focused only on New Mexico and the area south of the Río Grande around Monterrey and Saltillo. Settlement near El Paso, a key point on the route to New Mexico, began in the 1650s at modern Ciduad Juárez across the river from Texas. Several expeditions crossed the lower Río Grande during the 1660s and 1670s, either in pursuit of marauding Indians or with the thought of establishing missions to the Indians, but nothing came of them. Even without settling in Texas, however, the Spanish, simply by their presence in New Mexico and along the Río Grande, had an important impact on life in Texas between 1600 and 1680. For one thing, European manufactures such as metal and cloth began to filter eastward from New Mexico. Far more important, however, was the introduction of the horse.

Horses were, in the words of one historian, "the perfect animal for the Indians of Texas." They extended the range and effectiveness of hunters. Imagine, for example, the advantages of hunting buffalo from horseback as opposed to on foot. They provided a means of moving a camp faster and farther. They changed the face of warfare on the plains, making warriors into cavalrymen who could raid and fight far more effectively than foot soldiers. They were even a food source if necessary. It is not surprising that horses became a valued commodity and status symbol among the first Texans.

Oñate's settlement of New Mexico in the late 1590s provided the first opportunity for Texas Indians to acquire horses in significant numbers. The Spanish forced the Pueblos, whom they had conquered, to take care of their livestock. Soon, however, the prisoners began to escape, taking with them horses that they sold or traded to Indians in Texas. In the 1650s mounted Apache warriors began to raid the Spanish settlements in New Mexico, carrying off hundreds of additional horses. By the end of the century, the horse spread from the plains of West Texas far to the east into the woodlands home of the Caddos.

Generally called *mesteños* (mustangs), the Spanish horses acquired by Indians in Texas had a mixed ancestry but were perfectly suited to the plains country. Most had Arabian blood and had proved their fitness by surviving the trip from Spain, a voyage that took a toll of about one in every three horses that began it. Although not large (14 hands high and weighing 700 pounds on the average) or well formed, they proved to have tremendous endurance, toughness, and speed. Texas Indians had only the crudest forms of bridles and saddles, but they became, in the words of one scholar, "incomparably magnificent horsemen." Thus, the Spanish made an important difference in the lives of Texans long before they came to Texas to stay.

In 1680, the Spanish in New Mexico suffered a disaster that soon led to a lasting settlement in Texas. By that date, approximately 2,800 Spaniards—missionaries,

traders, and ranchers—lived in the Pueblo country on the Río Grande. They had infuriated the Indians in numerous ways, especially by attempting to suppress their religion. As a result the Pueblos organized a revolt that killed four hundred Spaniards and drove the survivors and many friendly Indians down the Río Grande to El Paso where they located at first on the Mexico side of the river. Among the refugees were a sizable number of Indians from the Tiguex Pueblo, and to separate them from the Spanish, the mission and pueblo of Corpus Christi de la Isleta was established in 1682. Located a few miles east of El Paso at the site of modern-day Ysleta, it was the first permanent European settlement within the present-day boundaries of Texas. (Ysleta was in Mexico until the Río Grande changed its course in the early nineteenth century.)

Developments by the early 1680s suggest that in time, had nothing interfered, Spanish migrants from Mexico would have settled Texas by a gradual movement from the west and southwest across the state. A "logical" progression of this sort from settled to unsettled lands likely would have built the defense system, transportation network, and economic base necessary to support colonists in numbers large enough to control the frontier as it advanced. Perhaps the harsh climate and unrewarding land of western Texas made it impossible for settlement to begin there; nevertheless, it seems certain that, but for special circumstances, the Spanish would have attempted to move in from the southwest. Whatever might have happened, however, changed dramatically in the late 1680s, thanks to a Frenchman named René Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle.

The French Threat and Spain's "Wilderness Manhunt"

Born the son of a wealthy merchant in Rouen in 1643, La Salle went to Canada in 1667 and became a fur trader and adventurer. He explored west from Canada in 1669, but Père Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet reached the Mississippi River ahead of him in 1673. Returning to France in 1674 and 1677, La Salle received a trade concession to western Canada and developed plans to build a string of posts across the Illinois country and down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. In the winter of 1682, he traveled down the frozen Illinois River by sled and then, after the spring thaw, his party canoed down the Mississippi to the eastern passes of its delta's mouth on the Gulf. Arriving in April, he claimed all the lands drained by the Mississippi—merely one-half of the continental United States—for France and named the region Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV.

La Salle, even this early in his career, demonstrated an ability to accomplish great things in spite of having the sort of personality and behavior that led many to question his mental stability. Always suspicious, secretive, and willing to heed no man's opinion except his own, his moods swung wildly from exhilaration during extreme effort to deep depression when an adventure ended in failure. He showed no concern for those who served with him and reacted in paranoid fashion to criticism. There were good men who served

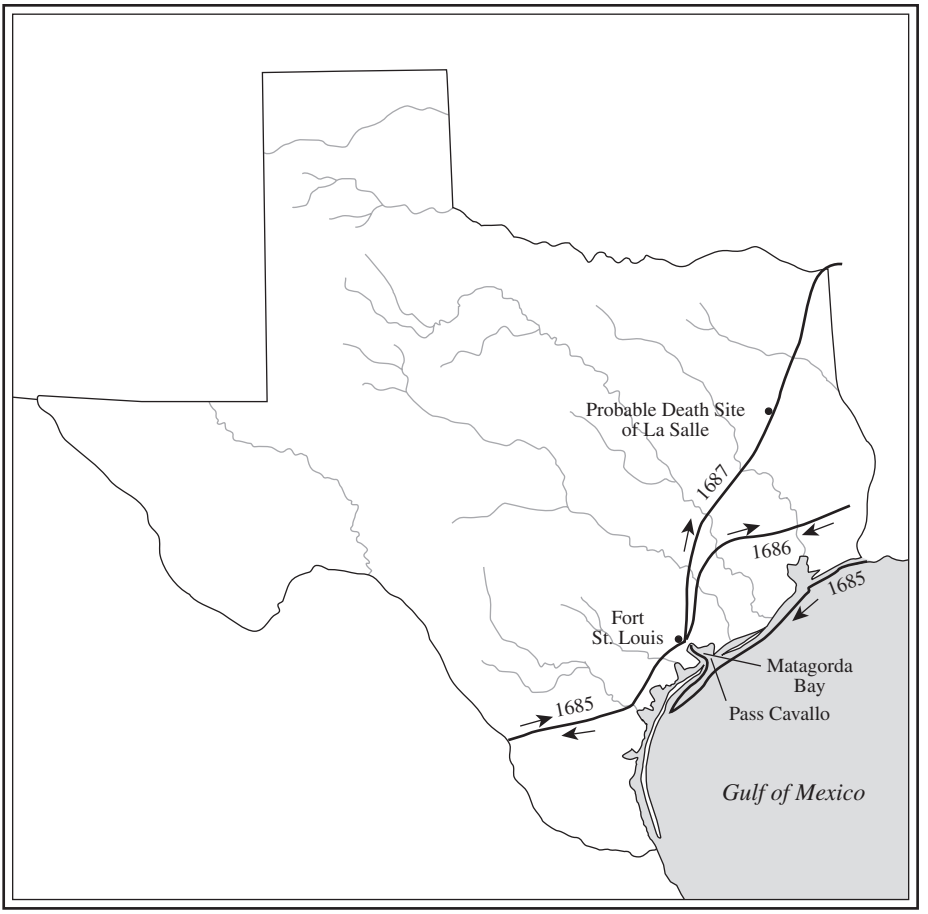
him faithfully, but he always had more enemies than friends, a fact testified to by four plots or attempts to kill him before 1682.

Once La Salle's exploration proved in 1683 that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico rather than the Gulf of California as earlier adventurers had hoped, an effort by the French to colonize near the mouth of the river made sense for several reasons. First, the Spanish already had colonies in Florida and Mexico. If they were to close the gap between, the French would have no access to the Gulf from Canada. Second, a French colony would increase their influence over the Indians and the rich fur trade and bring them closer to the Spanish silver mines in northern Mexico. La Salle therefore went to France in 1683 and persuaded the king to support his plan for entering the Mississippi from the Gulf and planting a French colony "a secure distance" up the river. Louis XIV subsequently provided La Salle with two of his four ships and generous amounts of supplies and munitions.

Knowing that the Spanish had become aware of some sort of French designs on northern New Spain, La Salle outfitted his expedition of some three hundred colonists and soldiers, including perhaps a dozen women and children, and left France under the utmost secrecy. Even the naval commander, Sieur de Beaujeu, was uncertain of the precise destination when his ships sailed from La Rochelle on August 1, 1684. Ill fortune plagued the expedition from the beginning, but in November 1684, his ships ventured into the Gulf of Mexico in search of the mouth of the Mississippi River.

La Salle overshot the mouth of the Mississippi by some 400 miles and landed at Matagorda Bay on the coast of Texas in February 1685. (See map: La Salle in Texas.) Some historians, finding such a mistake in navigation incredible, have argued that the Frenchman deliberately sought to place his colony closer to the silver mines of Mexico, but in all likelihood he simply miscalculated very badly. Existing maps, showing the continent's greatest river flowing straight south into a large bay at its mouth, were grossly inaccurate. La Salle, having approached the mouth of the Mississippi from the north and explored only the eastern passes (rather than the entire delta), assumed the existence of a solid land mass to the west. Therefore, a stream called the "Río Escondido" (the present-day Nueces River), which flows into Corpus Christi Bay, appeared on the maps most like his understanding of the Mississippi. Having no reliable readings of the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, he set course for the "Escondido" and struck the coast of Texas. Even then, he remained convinced that he had made landfall near the great river.

Carefully exploring the coast, La Salle discovered Aransas Pass, which opens into Corpus Christi Bay, but decided that the Mississippi was behind him. So, he landed a party of soldiers who marched back along Matagorda Island until they came to Pass Cavallo, the entry to Matagorda Bay. One ship, the *Belle*, successfully marked the channel through the pass, and preparations were made for landing the colonists at a temporary camp on Matagorda Island. Then, on February 20, 1685, a second vessel, the *Aimable*, carrying most of the settlers and supplies, attempted to sail through the narrow, shallow channel and grounded on a mud bar. Beaujeu had advised against the attempt, but La



La Salle in Texas

Salle ordered it—and provided wine to fortify the nerve, if not the judgment, of *Aimable*'s captain and pilot. La Salle, of course, blamed the captain. In any case, although a great deal of the ship's cargo was salvaged and piled on the beach, its loss dealt a serious blow to the expedition.

As if the would-be colonists did not have enough problems, they immediately ran into difficulties with Karankawa Indians. Groups of Karankawas helped themselves to supplies on the beach, and when the French went to retrieve the goods or get canoes in exchange, violence broke out. Two Frenchmen were killed, establishing a hostile relationship that plagued the colony to the end.

Captain Beaujeu, standing safely offshore on board the warship *Joly*, offered to do additional exploring of the coast or to sail to Martinique in the Caribbean for supplies, but La Salle declined. The *Joly* then sailed for France on March 12, 1685, leaving the approximately two hundred colonists who

remained huddled in a temporary camp on Matagorda Island. La Salle finally admitted that he had missed the main mouth of the Mississippi but insisted that he was on a small western channel of the river and would continue his venture there.

After the departure of *Joly*, La Salle explored northward across Matagorda Bay to the head of Lavaca Bay in search of a more suitable temporary site for his colony until he could transplant it to the Mississippi's main channel. The French outpost, he decided, would be built on elevated ground near Garcitas Creek about 5 miles from its mouth on Lavaca Bay. The settlers began to transport building materials and supplies from the mouth of the bar to the new camp, using the *Belle* as far as possible and canoes for the last 18 miles. La Salle worked his men mercilessly and then became infuriated at delays due to illness and death as disease, poisonous fruits, snake bites, and Indian attacks wore away at the colony. Finally, in October 1685, with the post still incomplete, he decided to make an extended exploration of the region, still intending to "go up the Mississippi again and carry out the rest of the enterprise." To the undoubted dismay of the settlers, he had the *Belle* reloaded with supplies that had just been carried to the fort with great difficulty.

La Salle's actions over the next few months remain largely a mystery. After exploring Lavaca Bay for some time, in January 1686 he took a small party of men and headed west, a strange direction to go in looking for the Mississippi River. He returned in late March, claiming to have reached the Mississippi, when in fact his party had walked all the way to the Río Grande, possibly to its confluence with the Pecos River, and back. Only a few of those who left with La Salle lived through the adventure, and then to add to the colony's woes, it was discovered that the *Belle* had run aground and was lost.

Having lost all their ships, the only means of escape left to the French colonists on the Texas coast was to go overland thousands of miles to Canada. La Salle led an exploring party in that direction in April 1686, going as far as the region inhabited by the Hasinai group of Caddo Indians between the Trinity and Sabine Rivers. The Hasinais received the French in a friendly manner and traded food and horses for metal goods such as axes. Indeed, so hospitable were the Indians that four of the Frenchmen deserted to live with them. Shortly afterward, La Salle became ill and broke off the exploration. Only eight of twenty men who left the French post in April returned in August. While crossing the Brazos River, La Salle's personal servant met an especially grisly fate, being pulled off a raft by an alligator.

By January 1687, only about forty-one of two hundred settlers who had stayed in Texas when *Joly* left in March 1685 remained alive, and four of those had deserted to live with Indians. La Salle then took seventeen of the most fit and again headed toward Canada, leaving only "missionaries, women and children, and the disabled" behind at the colony on Garcitas Creek. His party crossed the Trinity in March, but then a dispute among a small group sent out to hunt led to the murder of three of its members. Two days later, as La Salle came to investigate why the hunters had not returned, he was shot from ambush and killed instantly. Eventually, seven of the Frenchmen with La Salle

moved on toward Canada. Five survived the trip to report on La Salle's fate; the others, as did the earlier deserters, remained in East Texas with the Hasinais.

The colonists on Garcitas Creek survived for almost two years after the death of La Salle. However, around Christmas 1688 the Karankawas attacked and killed everyone except five children. Karankawa women took the children and a woman with a three-month-old infant, the first European baby born in Texas, to their camp, but once the warriors returned, they killed the woman and smashed the baby's brains out against a tree. The children were adopted into the tribe.

La Salle's venture thus ended horribly, and the whole affair might have amounted to little more than a tragic footnote in the story of Texas had it not been for Spain's reaction. When they learned of the French intrusion, the Spanish mounted a frantic effort to locate and destroy La Salle's colony. And this "wilderness manhunt" led in turn to the creation of settlements in East Texas well ahead of the time that they would otherwise have been attempted. So, La Salle unintentionally acted as a painful thorn in the side of Spanish complacency about the northern Gulf coast and Texas.

Spanish officials learned of La Salle's plans from sailors who had deserted his expedition in Santo Domingo in 1684 before it even reached Texas and joined pirates who preyed on settlements along the coast of Mexico. In September 1685, a Spanish warship captured one of the pirate ships. The Spanish executed the pirates, but not before a thorough interrogation elicited information from the French deserters about La Salle's intention to settle on a river called the "Micipipi." Although they did not know the exact location of either the river or the colony, Spanish officials quickly concluded that a French colony anywhere in the area was a threat to their shipping in the Gulf and their control of northern New Spain. It had to be found and destroyed.

From 1686 to 1689, the Spanish dispatched five sea and six land expeditions in their hunt for La Salle and his colony. The first search by sea discovered nothing, but the second, which left Veracruz in December 1686, was more successful. This expedition located Pass Cavallo in April 1687 and, upon entering Matagorda Bay, found the wreck of the *Belle* and pieces of *Aimable*. The Spanish searched Matagorda Bay but did not go into Lavaca Bay, a step that might well have led them to the post on Garcitas Creek. More than likely by that time the few survivors there would have welcomed a Spanish prison. Three more searches by sea in 1687–1688 added new knowledge of the Texas coast and its rivers—the fifth actually sailed 100 miles up the Río Grande—but it did not find anything more of significance concerning the location of the French outpost.

The land searches for La Salle's colony had far greater importance for the future of Texas than did those made by sea. Spanish authorities in Mexico City gave responsibility for overland expeditions to the governor of Nuevo León, the marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, who in turn selected an experienced forty-six-year-old explorer, Alonso de León, to lead the first one. De León, the son of a man by the same name who had participated in dozens of campaigns of discovery in northeastern Mexico, had been educated in Spain and then

returned to take up a career similar to his father's. He would eventually find the site of La Salle's colony and in the process make key contributions to the colonization of Texas.

De León's first expedition moved north from Nuevo León in the summer of 1686, reached the Río Grande, and followed it to the coast. Of course, he found nothing of the French. Not satisfied, the marqués de Aguayo sent de León north again early in 1687. This second expedition crossed the Río Grande near present-day Roma, moved down the Texas side to the Gulf of Mexico, and then went northeast along the coast to the area of modern Kingsville before returning to Mexico empty-handed again. Fortunately for de León, these failures to find evidence of La Salle's colony did not harm his career. Instead, in July 1687 he received an appointment as governor of Coahuila, a position that assured him a continuing role in the "wilderness manhunt."

Just as de León became governor, Father Damián Massanet, the resident priest at Mission Caldera in Coahuila, informed him of stories about a white man who lived with the Indians some distance across the Río Grande. An Indian contact attempted to bring the white man to Mexico, but when that failed, de León took a small party of soldiers in May 1688 and went to Texas to find him. In modern Kinney County, the governor found a Frenchman named Jean Jarry living among a group of Coahuiltecan Indians who apparently venerated him as a king. Naked, tattooed, and mentally confused, Jarry, although almost certainly a survivor of La Salle's colony, proved at first a very poor source of information. However, his very presence concerned Spanish authorities, and they authorized a fourth expedition in 1689.

With a force of 114 men, including Father Massanet, de León forded the Río Grande in April and moved toward Matagorda Bay. Some of his route would become part of the Camino Real, the King's Highway, that eventually extended from Mexico City northward through Coahuila across Texas to beyond the Louisiana border. He crossed the Nueces and Guadalupe Rivers, naming them in the process, and on April 22, 1689, with Jarry as a guide, marched down Garcitas Creek and found the remains of the French colony. There were, he recorded, "six houses, not very large, built with poles plastered with mud, and roofed with buffalo hides, another house where pigs were fattened and a wooden fort made from the hulk of a wrecked vessel." Three bodies, one with the remains of a dress on its bones, lay among the ruins as did eight cannon. Massanet presided over a burial mass for the French victims. De León buried the cannon and explored the Bay region where he saw the remains of the *Aimable*.

Even before finding the post, de León learned from the Indians that four Frenchmen, recent visitors in the area, lived with the Hasinai branch of the Caddos in East Texas. He immediately sent a letter inviting the Frenchmen to join him and return to civilization. Two agreed, and a party of soldiers went to meet them on the Colorado River in the area of modern La Grange. The Frenchmen provided details on the fate of La Salle's outpost and explained that they and several others had buried most of the victims. Doubtless de León and Massanet listened to their two prisoners with fascination, but they were at