A HISTORY | 2E

TEXAS

CROSSROADS OF NORTH AMERICA

JESÚS F. DE LA TEJA
RON TYLER
NANCY BECK YOUNG

TEXAS

To Magdalena Hernández de la Teja, Paula Eyrich Tyler, and Mark E. Young for their love and support.

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2e

Crossroads of North America

Jesús F. de la Teja
Texas State University

Ron Tyler
Amon Carter Museum of American Art, retired

Nancy Beck Young
University of Houston

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Jesús F. de la Teja, Ron Tyler, and Nancy Beck Young

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Preface

The idea for this textbook arose out of the experience of the first edition authors as consultants for the Bob Bullock Texas State History Museum in Austin. In struggling to present the entire scope of the Texas experience within the limited confines of three floors of approximately 30,000 square feet of exhibit space, we were forced to hone the messages we wanted visitors to gain during their visit. The more we thought about the contexts that could only be hinted at in the museum, the more attractive the idea of a Texas history survey became to us. We wanted to tell a balanced story that would appeal to an increasingly diverse twenty-first century Texas audience.

For this second edition, that process of reflecting and honing, now taking into account reaction to what we did and did not do well in the first edition, has taken on new twists. Concern for the need to cover the republic era separately from the first statehood period and the need to treat recent events in more detail required a major reorganization. Part 1 now covers the history of Texas up to the revolution, requiring the regrouping of material for the Spanish colonial period. Part 2 still covers the Texas frontier experience with five chapters detailing the story from the struggle for independence from Mexico to the end of the nineteenth century. And, the material in Part 3 has been regrouped and a chapter has been added to bring the story well into the twenty-first century.

Reassignment of writing responsibilities also took place because of the departure for personal reasons of first edition coauthor Paul Marks. As a replacement, we are fortunate to have Nancy Beck Young, a scholar of twentieth-century political history. Consequently, the book's 15 chapters have been equally divided among the three of us, with Jesús de la Teja responsible for Part 1, Ron Tyler responsible for Part 2, and Dr. Young responsible for Part 3.

Themes

In *Texas: Crossroads of North America*, second edition, we tell the story of this region as a dynamic process, beginning with the ways in which people—natives, adventurers, government representatives, immigrants, and residents—perceived the opportunities offered on this Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo frontier, in this republic and state. That suggests our first major theme—that Texas was a crossroads of intersecting geographies and cultures. People pursued these opportunities both as individuals and groups, first in the land itself, then

through more complex ways of achieving social, economic, and political independence and power, which reflects our second major theme of opportunity. They found often formidable challenges, in part by coming into contact with representatives of other cultural and ethnic groups with different perspectives and agendas. As certain groups gained power—including the power to define "Texas" and "Texans" in their way—their definitions were repeatedly challenged by the vastness and energetic diversity of the state and its population, which suggests our third major theme of Texas as a "cultural centrifuge." In this geographic and cultural mix, myth and reality have combined to make and keep Texas a distinctive place.

Approach

This is a distinctly modern history of Texas. We tell the story that constitutes one of the most dramatic and colorful histories of any state in the nation, but we try to make sense of that legacy and show how it relates to present-day Texans and those to come. We haven't lost the focus on our Hispanic, African American, or German heritage, or on the courageous soldiers who participated in the Texas Revolution, the war with Mexico, the Civil War, World Wars I and II, and more recent conflicts, but we also show the many roles of Mexican Americans, African Americans, and women, and the struggle for civil rights that continues as society becomes ever more mindful of inequities in opportunity. While not forgetting the accomplishments of Cabeza de Vaca, Stephen F. Austin, Sam Houston, James Stephen Hogg, Lyndon B. Johnson, or the presidents Bush, we have also told the stories of Rosa María Hinojosa de Ballí, Ignacio Pérez, Oveta Culp Hobby, Barbara Jordan, and Michael Dell. We recognize the enduring contributions of the Texas Rangers, one of the most storied law enforcement organizations in the country, but we also tell the story of the brave citizens who helped reform the Rangers and restore them as a useful state agency when others would have disbanded them.

Texas: Crossroads of North America, second edition, tells the story of the people who lived within the state's borders before there was any idea of Texas or when Texas was defined in very different terms than it is today. Our text recognizes that the building blocks of today's Lone Star State have been in the making for not hundreds, but for thousands of years. This book offers a dynamic introduction to Texas as a place by emphasizing the interrelationship between people and nature as soon as people arrived. It stresses the cultural diversity of the native peoples of Texas, relying on recent archeological findings and newer interpretations of the ethnographic evidence. Throughout Part 1 there is a concern for reminding the student that the indigenous peoples of the region were autonomous actors in their own right.

Just as *Texas: Crossroads of North America* pays greater attention to the indigenous background it also gives greater emphasis to the story of Spain and Mexico in what is now Texas. Among the strengths of our textbook is a concern with keeping in mind the stories of those parts of today's state that were part of other jurisdictions in the past. Consequently, considerable attention is given to settlement in the El Paso and lower Rio Grande, areas that have greatly contributed to the state's unique cultural legacy. Whether talking about Nacogdoches, San Antonio, or Paso del Norte, a conscious effort has been made to balance the lives of missionaries and soldiers with those of ranchers and merchants. Integrated into these stories is extensive coverage of women's roles in the development of the Spanish frontier.

In moving the chapter on Mexican Texas to Part 1, the authors feel strongly that they are laying out a more coherent foundation for students to understand and appreciate the advent and process of Anglo-American colonization. We strive to show more fully how this colonization occurred within the context of the new Mexican nation and of local Mexican frontier governing structures, and what opportunities and challenges it posed for the existing Mexican population of Texas. This foundation helps us make more sense of the cultural context in which our Mexican American population is more fully appreciated as part of the Texas experience. In other words, we show how the Mexican period was one of transition, a period marked by Mexico's search for nationhood out of its colonial past, and how that search created a space for settlers from the United States who grew increasingly frustrated by Mexico's inability to achieve political stability.

We devote a full chapter to the Texas Revolution. In part because of its strength as a "creation myth" for Texas, it remains the most dramatically engaging point of entry into the state's modern history and a cornerstone of a distinctly Texan identity for many readers. We think it important to illuminate the confusion and complexity of the struggle, to get beyond simplistic and ethnocentric understandings, to see the revolution as an event within Mexico itself, with a varied and sometimes conflicted cast of characters.

In the republic era, we point up the political and economic fragility of the fledgling nation, and the uncertainty of opportunity, particularly for increasingly marginalized groups. In the early statehood era, we trace Texas's increasing identification as a southern state, and therefore one willing to throw away its hard-won annexation to join the confederacy.

We try to provide a broad and varied picture of Texas and Texans during the Civil War, including those Texans who resisted identification with the southern cause. Our emphasis in Reconstruction is on laying out clearly the various policies and requirements of the federal government, how Texans responded, and how and why the state reverted to conservative Democratic policies as soon as possible, undercutting any hoped-for gains by African Americans.

While Texas was still largely an agricultural state in 1900, we point out that in addition to being among the most productive agriculturally, these years also witnessed the beginnings of industrialization. The huge growth in population,

the spread of railroads throughout the state, the fluctuations of the cotton market, and the discovery of oil at Spindletop in 1901 all characterized the state's modernization in the early twentieth century. A parallel development was the emergence of one-party rule and its impact on economic and cultural problems. The economic structure, based on one-crop agriculture began to falter in the aftermath of World War I and would have collapsed under the weight of the Great Depression of the 1930s, had not politicians in Washington, D.C., come to the rescue. This story reveals the state's increased reliance on and contributions to the federal government, a major theme in twentieth-century Texas history. During and after World War II the cultural superstructure did collapse in the face of civil rights challenges by women, Mexican Americans, and African Americans, and we have not yet finished its reconstruction.

The increasingly significant role that the federal government played in the state's development proved contentious even as it boosted the region's economy. World War II, in particular, spurred development in Texas, with the completion of the "Big Inch" and "Little Inch" pipelines and the construction of the world's largest petrochemical complex along the Gulf coast. Federal government expenditures in Texas, which today dwarf the state's own budget, suggest its huge role in the state, and the state's significant role in the federal government. The impact of all these factors combined with increasing challenges of taxation, civil rights, education, water, and continued growth helps explain why the Democratic Party, for decades the only relevant forum for discussion of the state's problems and goals, began splitting between its liberal and conservative branches in the postwar years. Just as important in the making of two party Texas was the highly successful Republican challenge.

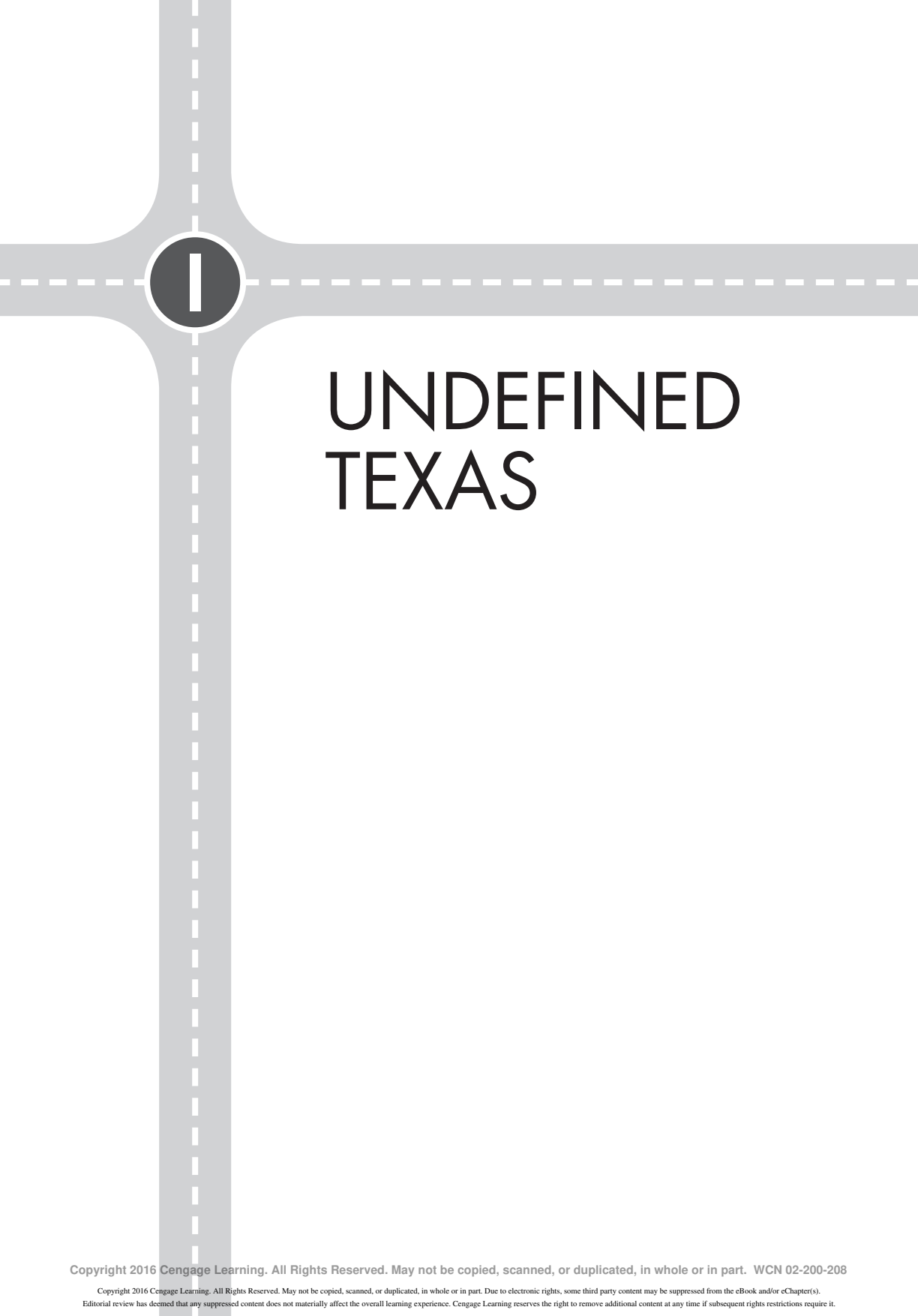
Recent history can easily descend into a general recitation of diverse events and developments. In dealing with the end of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century, we have identified three significant themes—the ways in which Texas exhibits old and new identities in both politics and economics; the challenges of governing a state experiencing uneven growth and opportunity; and awareness of environmental issues, particularly in regard to water needs and availability—and we have examined them from the perspective of the ongoing conflicts regarding modernization and interaction with the federal government.

Throughout this work, we have tried to engage where possible with individual stories, with the ways in which people have responded to the opportunities and challenges they found in Texas, and how these responses have led to the geographic, cultural, political, and economic landscape we have today. As a result, *Texas: Crossroads of North America* is as much a history of Texans as it is of Texas.

In writing this book the authors benefited from discussing subject matter or having chapters read by a number of knowledgeable individuals. Among those with whom we consulted were William H. Goetzmann, Creekmore Fath, and Will Wilson, Sr., all now deceased. Along with those readers for the first edition,

we also wish to thank Timothy Perttula, Juliana Barr, Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez, Robert Utley, Randolph B. Campbell, Stephen L. Hardin, and Patrick Cox for reading portions of the new text, and Naomi Friedman, our new editor, who has been sympathetic to our vision for the work while challenging us to be clearer in how we present it to our audience.

Jesús F. de la Teja
Ron Tyler
Nancy Beck Young



1 UNDEFINED TEXAS

It was not a destination for the European adventurers who traipsed across the southern half of North America in the early sixteenth century. It was not a final destination for hunter-gatherer bands that followed the buffalo, the seasons, and the spirits throughout central North America in the same era. It was not a recognizable political unit, even for the widely dispersed and varied native peoples who made it their home then. It would be hundreds of years before Texas resembled the place we recognize today as the second largest state in the Union. For three centuries, conflict, competition, and cooperation among Euro-Americans and indigenous peoples continually reshaped and redefined Texas.

The history of Texas—that is, the story found in records—begins during the age of the conquistadors, but the story of what is now Texas stretches back thousands of years before the Spaniards' arrival. From the very earliest Paleoindian hunters to cross what are now the state's borders and begin the occupation of every environmental zone of Texas, to the advanced but very distinctive agricultural societies of East and far West Texas on the eve of European contact, people made Texas their home even though they did not think of their home as Texas.

The same motives that led them to explore the rest of the New World brought the first Spaniards to Texas from the 1520s to the 1540s: the search for fabulous treasures to plunder, natural resources to exploit, and civilizations to subjugate and put to work. A century later, other Spaniards, such as military men and religious missionaries, began to explore the region with a much different purpose: the defense of Spanish claims against rivals and the search for souls to save. Accompanying them were soldiers, their wives and families and, eventually, artisans and merchants. These early settlers faced many obstacles: great distances between settlements, a difficult climate, and Indian resistance to encroachment into their territories.

Relatively few thought of themselves as *Tejanos* (Hispanic residents of Texas) and for them Texas began just south of San Antonio and stretched beyond the Sabine River into what is today western Louisiana. The ranching communities that occupied the lower Rio Grande valley were part of Nuevo Santander. The people who lived in these settlements traded with Texas settlements, but identified themselves in terms of what is today the state of Tamaulipas. Neither were the residents of the Paso del Norte area, what is today El Paso-Juárez, Tejanos. Living on both sides of the river, these people descended from the sixteenth-century settlers of New Mexico, from some of the Pueblo groups that had allied themselves with the Spanish, and from

other Spanish colonials who found the area perfect for cultivating the vine and raising livestock. Also, the various native peoples who predated the arrival of the Spaniards and the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century migrant tribes that moved south of the Red River and onto the Texas plains certainly did not see themselves as Texans.

It took events far beyond the control of the people living north of the Rio Grande at the start of the nineteenth century to alter and expand the definition of Texas. The Louisiana Purchase, the Mexican War of Independence, and the consequent political upheavals and new migration patterns brought new and very different people into the region: Euro-Americans, African Americans, and eastern Indians. Texas became contested ground as the newcomers saw opportunities west of the Sabine—rich cotton bottomlands, vast and fecund hunting grounds. That Texas had no large and prosperous cities, no grand cathedrals or imposing public monuments, and no well-developed roads or ports helped foster the impression that it was a wilderness ready to be tamed. Neither the millennia of Indian habitation nor a century of Spanish settlement could be easily wiped away, however. And, without understanding that history we cannot understand who Texans are today.

CHAPTER 1

First Texans, First Encounters: Prehistory to 1554

Looking out from behind the dune vegetation of what is now Follets Island on a crisp November morning in 1528, the area's inhabitants beheld a strange sight. In the wreckage of a large makeshift boat, a group of strangely dressed men sat close together, shivering and muttering in an incomprehensible language. In the days that followed, the scene was repeated three more times on other Texas barrier islands. In all, over 200 members of Pánfilo de Narváez's Florida expedition had by happenstance become the first Europeans to arrive in Texas. This first recorded meeting between Texas Indians and Europeans took place on peaceful terms. The Indians offered fish, roots, and nuts, while the Spaniards reciprocated with hawkbells and beads. The chronicler of this meeting, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, records that when he and his men were unable to relaunch their boat and lost all their possessions in the heavy surf, "the Indians, at sight of what had befallen us, and our state of suffering and melancholy destitution, sat down among us, and from the sorrow and pity they felt, they all began to lament so earnestly that they might have been heard at a distance, and continued so doing more than half an hour." In the months to come, the shrinking number of survivors, undernourished, suffering from exposure, and increasingly at odds with the local inhabitants, would transfer some of their negative feelings to the island, naming it Mal Hado ("Misfortune.") Eventually, only four men, Cabeza de Vaca and two other Spaniards along with the North African slave belonging to one of them, returned to Christendom. Their adventures inspired other Spaniards to venture into the interior of North America and participate in other encounters with the land's original inhabitants during the opening chapters of Texas's modern history.

Chapter 1 First Texans, First Encounters: Prehistory to 1554	
2.4 MILLION–10,000 YEARS AGO	Palo Duro canyon cut, Padre Island and other barrier islands begin to form, modern Texas ecosystems emerge
13,000 YEARS AGO	Arrival and spread of Paleoindian hunter-gatherers
10,000 TO 2,000 YEARS AGO	Archaic period cultures—increased cultural specialization by region
2,000 TO 800 YEARS AGO	Emergence of Jornada Mogollón culture in far West Texas, Antelope Creek Phase culture in the Panhandle, Caddo culture in East Texas, and Karankawa culture in coastal Texas
1,300 YEARS AGO	Arrival of Proto-Apaches on southern plains
1492	Christopher Columbus's voyage opens Western Hemisphere to European exploitation
1519	Álvarez de Pineda becomes first European to explore Texas coast
1521	Hernán Cortés completes Spain's conquest of the Aztec Empire
1528	Narváez's expedition to Florida marooned on Texas coast; survivors Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and companions provide earliest information on Texas Indians
1541	Francisco Vázquez de Coronado visits the Texas Panhandle during his 1540–42 expedition to Arizona, New Mexico, and the Plains
1542	Luis de Moscoso leads the remains of the Soto expedition (1539–43) into East Texas before returning to the Mississippi River
1554	Hurricane wrecks Spanish treasure fleet off Padre Island, confirming accounts of hostile Indians

When humans first set foot on what is now Texas soil, the natural history of the region was already hundreds of millions of years in the making. Understanding the processes that shaped the landscapes and environments of Texas seems the best place to begin the story of the Lone Star State. Texas contains all of the major land forms and most climatic environments to be found in the Western Hemisphere, making it a natural crossroads of North America.

Humans adapted to life in these varied ecological zones, from the semitropical riverine environment of South Texas to the humid pine forests of East Texas to the short grass plains of the Panhandle. For well over 10,000 years the first Texans hunted, fished, farmed, and made war in what became a crossroads of native cultures. When Europeans finally arrived on the scene, what they perceived as a wilderness was in reality the home of well-adapted and diverse cultures. They brought with them, however, the seeds of radical change, physical and cultural, that eventually would make Texas a crossroads of empires.

As you read this chapter, consider the following questions:

1. How did changing environmental conditions affect the development of human cultures in Texas from Paleoindian to Late Prehistoric times?
2. What evidence exists supporting the assertion that the Texas region's Indian peoples during the Late Prehistoric period were not isolated, backward natives as we commonly think?
3. The earliest European exploration of Texas took place during the initial phase of Spain's conquest of Mexico, yet Spaniards did not immediately colonize Texas. Why?

Texas Takes Shape

A little over a billion years ago, give or take a hundred million years, in the last quarter of the Precambrian era, what is now North America collided with another continental plate. As in an automobile accident, some parts went flying, others crumpled, and still others were completely consumed by the collision. Mother Nature cleared the wreckage over the next few hundred million years—mountains flattened out through erosion, sediment covered depressions—but today we can still see the effects of that earth-shattering event. In Llano County, at Enchanted Rock State Park, for example, a granite dome sticks up out of the countryside, a beautiful reminder of the intense heat and pressures created by that long-ago collision that also brought granite near the surface as far east as Marble Falls. Texas underwent numerous cycles of uplifting and submergence, cooling and heating, wetness and drying out, and countless species of animals and plants arose and vanished before humans arrived to claim the land for themselves about 15,000 years ago.

The last Ice Age, which lasted from about 2.4 million to about 10,000 years ago, brought about the final major changes to the North American landscape, both topographical and biological, that created present-day Texas. Erosion did its job on West Texas, producing the magnificent Palo Duro Canyon and the impressive Caprock Escarpment. The state's major streams moved the eroded sediments eastward to the gulf coast, where they continued to add to the Texas landmass—that is, until the Ice Age glaciers began to melt about 15,000 years ago. Then, sea levels began to rise rapidly, flooding the lower courses of most Texas streams to create the distinctive shallow bays and estuaries of the Texas coast. The silt and sand that continued to flow southeastward now formed barrier islands such as Galveston and Padre Island, which have proven so valuable to students seeking a respite from the arduousness of college coursework each spring.

Life in Texas was also seriously affected by the Ice Age. Megafauna such as mastodons and mammoths, giant sloths, longhorn bison, camels, and horses all died out completely. The long-horned bison (ancestor of the American buffalo),

which had crossed the land bridge also died out. Most species of cat predators also disappeared, the mountain lion and jaguar remaining as the dominant representatives of the group in the Lone Star State. Modern bears also survived.

By the time the first Texans arrived, approximately 13,000 to 15,000 years ago, the land looked much as it does today, as nature had rearranged the flora. The warming climate sent the conifer and juniper (Texas cedar) forests of West Texas back up the mountain slopes from where they had descended during the Ice Age, and grasslands returned with a vengeance to the West Texas plains. Piñon pines and junipers disappeared from the canyons of the Rio Grande and Pecos River and tributaries as this part of the state became increasingly arid. They were replaced with desert plants such as cacti and sotol. In the central Texas Hill Country, scrub oaks took the place of piñon pines next to junipers, while east of the Balcones Escarpment the older deciduous species of the Ice Age were replaced with warmer weather varieties, such as walnuts and pecans, oaks and elms. Also on the scene were loblolly pines, which although not yet dominant, made up an increasing proportion of the East Texas woods. The drying of the climate also played a major hand in the retreat of South Texas scrub oaks to protected and moist areas, allowing for the spread of cacti and mesquite throughout the flat and underwatered region.

Although no Garden of Eden, the land that we call Texas today had much to offer: abundant woods and water, fertile soils and mineral wealth, and ample herds and flocks. Not surprisingly, the first Texans quickly moved to occupy just about every ecological niche the land had to offer. The human story of Texas was about to begin.

Early Prehistoric Texas, 13,000-1 BC

It is hard to know exactly when the first human residents of Texas arrived within the modern state's boundaries. New archaeological discoveries and increasingly sophisticated scientific techniques continue to readjust the timeframe for the movement into Texas of the first hunter-gatherer family groups that made up North America's Paleoindian population. Assertions about a human presence in Texas earlier than 12,000 years ago and perhaps as early as 40,000 years ago remain controversial. Also controversial is where the earliest Texans came from. The traditional North Asian Beringia land bridge between Siberia and Alaska view remains prevalent, but some researchers argue for seaborne South Asian and even European migrations, as well as seaborne migrations along the western coast of North America.

Whenever they arrived and wherever they came from, the earliest Texans soon spread throughout the state. They became the base population for some (but not all) of the cultures found in Texas when Europeans first arrived in the early sixteenth century. The story of the first Texans is shrouded in the mysteries of stone tools, scarred animal bones, geometrically decorated rocks, the remains of cooking pits, and several human burial grounds. Yet archaeologists, with the assistance of other scientists, have begun putting more and more clues together, allowing us to understand the dawn of Texas history in ever greater detail.

Radiocarbon dating, site and artifact interpretation, and differences in methodological approaches all conspire to prevent the development of a single narrative framework for the story. In general, the Paleoindians were the first humans to make a home in North America, and a particular stone tools technology known as Clovis (from a site in New Mexico) has been given the distinction of representing this earliest culture in North America. As these first people adjusted to environmental changes and developed adaptations to deal with new conditions their cultures diversified, and scientists have grouped these changes into a long period they call the Archaic, from a Greek word for old. Finally, the Late Prehistoric refers to the few thousand years, when the arrival of new technologies and domesticated crops created the cultural patterns present when Europeans arrived.

Where the divisions between the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Late Prehistoric periods should come remains unsettled, mostly because it is clear that the cultural attributes associated with the different periods are present—or in some cases not present—at different times in different parts of Texas. When did the first humans arrive in Texas? Did early cultures succeed each other or overlap? How much and exactly what plants did Paleoindians gather compared to their Archaic successors? We do know enough to tell the basic story of the original settlement of Texas, a story as full of danger, adventure, and adaptation as any from the days of Spanish explorers or Anglo-American frontiersmen.

Big-Game Hunters Populate the Land

Although there is some controversial evidence for a pre-Clovis human presence in Texas, for instance at Cueva Quebrada in Val Verde County or the Debra Friedkin site in Bell County, a solid archaeological record dates to about 13,000 years ago and is associated with Clovis technology. The Clovis toolkit, which includes not only the famous fluted projectile points but also blades, scrapers, and hammerstones, has been found from the Trans-Pecos to East Texas, most importantly at a central Texas site known as Gault. The same site provides clear evidence for the presence of the successor technologies to Clovis during the Paleoindian period such as Folsom (also from a site in eastern New Mexico), which in some parts of Texas lasted until about 11,500 years ago. These excavations make clear that Paleo-Texans were not just mobile, but adaptive. They were not just big-game hunters but versatile foragers. Where mammoths were scarce, they turned to the last remaining populations of elephant, camel, horse, and giant bison for meat, and even to frogs, birds, and small mammals, along with a large variety of plant foods.

In general, hunting provided the principal subsistence for Paleoindians, and they were efficient and resourceful killers. They took special care to select the finest flints from which to make their lethal projectile points, which changed over time to reflect changing prey species. Around cooking pits and campfires in the days and weeks preceding a communal hunt, a group's hunters sat

exchanging stories and ideas and meticulously working flint cobbles collected at sites such as what is now Alibates Flint Quarries National Monument in the Texas Panhandle. When all was ready, the group would venture near the herd. Their strategies included going after the matriarch, the weakened or wounded peripheral animals, or cornering groups of animals in blind canyons as well as driving them off cliffs.

Just how long the good life lasted for Paleo-Texans is not clear. As the climate dried and the megafauna died out, the first Texans were challenged to adopt new subsistence practices. About 11,500 years ago a new, smaller and more versatile projectile point specifically associated with South Texas known as Golondrina appeared. It indicates a switch in quarry for hunters who attached the un-fluted points to both spears and knives. These and related Paleoindian descendants of the early Paleo-Texans also increasingly relied on foraging practices that made ever greater use of plants.

For centuries Texas provided well for Paleoindians. Hunting was good, water was plentiful, and a bounty of useful plants provided whatever they might need, even as the climate became drier and warmer and the biggest of the megafauna died out. Around the campfires there was leisure time, evidenced by the production of stones with geometric designs and the presence of shells, ochre, and decorative stones, canine tooth necklaces, and bone needles. The careful burials of a young female at Leander, near Austin, and two males near Lake Whitney, along the banks of the Brazos River, suggest that Paleo-Texans also gave thought to the vastness of the universe and the possibility of a hereafter.

Diversifying Ways of Life

The transition from Paleoindian to Early Archaic ways of life happened between about 10,000 and 9,000 years ago depending on the region. Greater experimentation with tool forms, particularly projectile points, and increasing reliance on more varied foodstuffs denote the arrival of a new age in Texas, one marked by greater cultural diversity in response to environmental changes. For the next 7,000 to 8,000 years, Texas was home to an increasing number of more regionalized hunting and foraging cultures; this period is known as the Archaic. Population growth fostered both trade and territoriality, evidence for both of which can be found in Archaic-period cemeteries such as the Ernest Witte site near the Brazos River in Austin County.

The Early Archaic period was marked by a greater reliance on locally available resources. Early Archaic Texans launched their darts, generally tipped with small points made from locally available stone, from atlatls, but now they aimed them at smaller mammals. Around their hearths they probably worked on developing new methods of catching animals such as traps and nets. Early Texas women also probably spent an increasing amount of time experimenting with new ways of preparing and cooking the plant foods that they gathered and that now made up a greater share of their diet.

Photo Courtsey of Texas Parks & Wildlife 2003, TPWD

Rock shelters such as Fate Bell at Seminole Canyon State Historical Park, near the confluence of the Rio Grande and Pecos River, served as housing for early Texans. Paintings on the shelter's walls have survived thousands of years of weathering to remind us of our kinship with the Paleoindians, who dreamed of great hunts and spiritual journeys.

Successful adaptation to Texas environments created a population boom beginning about 4,500 to 5,000 years ago. Over the next 2,500 years Texas hunter-gatherers became so adept at exploiting the regional ecosystems that territoriality emerged as a cultural characteristic. Some groups occupied coastal bays and estuaries; other groups claimed more arid, but still fertile, environmental niches in western and southwestern Texas. From the Panhandle to central Texas some cultures maintained an ancestral connection to the bison. Farther south, along the middle stretches of the Rio Grande, resourceful desert dwellers relied on smaller game and a wide variety of plants. Growing archaeological evidence suggests that at least some far West Texas Archaic communities began cultivating corn as early as 4,000 to 3,500 years ago. Fish and shellfish furnished a plentiful food supply to coastal groups for a large part of the year. For the remainder of the year, these groups also lived off the small game and various plants available on the coastal prairies.

Emerging Sense of Place

These hunter-gatherer groups adapted so successfully to their local environments that the temporary rock shelters and stream-side camps they had established in the past became more permanent homes. In far West Texas archaeologists have uncovered the remains of circular structures dating to between 5,000 and 3,500 years ago. A sense of home is also evident among Archaic peoples in their

treatment of the dead, their evolving aesthetic, and the diversity of their material goods. Well-defined burial grounds in which men, women, and children found a final resting place are further marks of increasing attachment to place. Settlement sites cannot be considered villages in the modern sense, for the hunter-gatherer bands needed to move, at least seasonally, to ensure adequate food supplies. However, within their well-established ranges, which would also have included mineral and flint deposits, they used the same campsites over numerous generations, providing groups with a sense of identity.

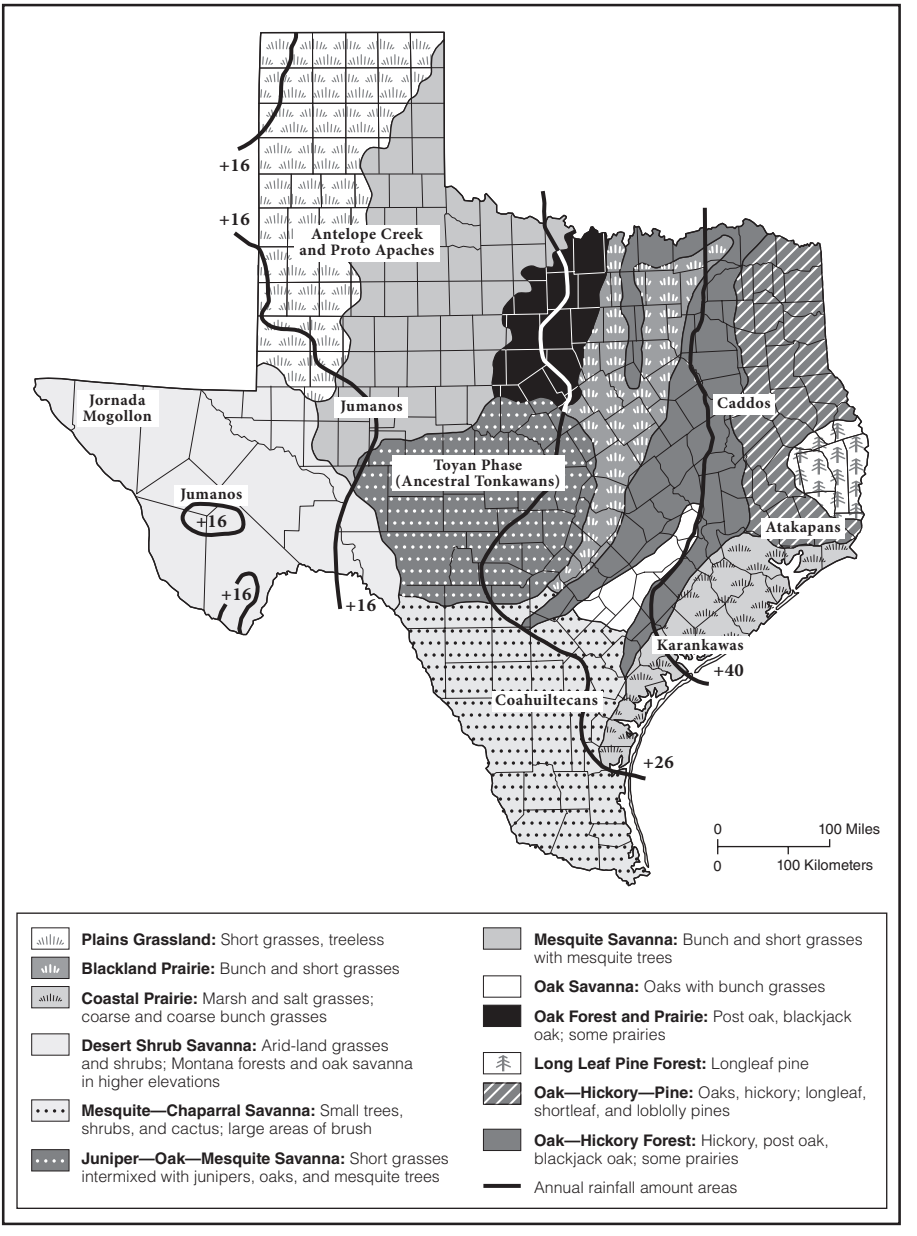
Seasonally occupied sites at rock shelters became canvases for the early Texans' imagination. Archaic artists decorated their dwellings with inspired representations of the natural and supernatural world around them. Archaic rock artists transformed anonymous caves and megaliths into recognizable places where a band communed with the spirit worlds. Each succeeding generation reinforced the group's association with a place and continuity in religious beliefs by adding to the earlier artwork—the inclusion of men on horses and images of buildings with crosses on them implying continuity well into the modern era.

Elaborate burials also attest to the increasing value placed on status and material possessions and the development of trade networks. The presence of stones from as far away as the Ouachita Mountains of Arkansas and Oklahoma is evidence that territoriality had fostered the development of long-distance trade, another sign of increased materialism. Shell ornaments, chert knives, and even deer skulls in some graves may have been intended to introduce the departed to the afterlife as an important individual. Dart points embedded in the bones of some corpses bespeak the darker side of increased contact between groups—violent competition for land and resources.

The last centuries of the Archaic period also mark the end of a purely hunter-gatherer Texas. Far to the south, in today's central and southern Mexico, human cultural evolution had followed a similar track until about 6,000 years ago, when people started planting the seeds of various plants whose wild relatives they had been gathering for generations. By about 5,500 years ago, early gardeners had transformed the wild teosinte into domesticated corn. Farming eventually produced sedentary populations of considerable size, with increasingly sophisticated cultures. At the same time, technological and agricultural developments in what is now the U.S. Midwest and Southeast, where sunflowers were domesticated 4,000 to 5,000 years ago, also influenced the development of complex sedentary societies. In time their technologies spread into the American Southwest, where they had an impact on the cultural development of Texas.

Late Prehistoric Texas, 1–1528 AD

About two millennia ago the increasing diversification of cultures moved Texas into the last period of prehistory. For some groups from central Texas to the Panhandle, the buffalo and other large mammals remained basic to human



Late Prehistoric Indian cultures map

subsistence, while others along the Texas coast and the southernmost prairies continued to rely on seasonal migration to exploit locally available resources, even as they refined their toolkits and adopted the bow and arrow around 1,300 years ago. But, at the eastern and western ends of what one day became Texas, sedentary agricultural societies representing two very different cultural

traditions tied the region to cultural developments in adjoining parts of North America and Mesoamerica. All of these native groups were active in an expanding east–west and north–south trade system that made Texas a crossroads of cultural and technological exchange that Europeans little understood when they began to intrude themselves into the lives of the region's peoples in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Buffalo Hunters of Western Texas

In the case of central and Panhandle Texas, the paucity of archaeological evidence makes it difficult to tie Archaic and Late Prehistoric populations to those groups encountered by Spaniards in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The history of the Panhandle–Llano Estacado region is easier to piece together than that of central Texas. Late Archaic hunter-gatherers in the Panhandle either were absorbed by eastward-moving Puebloans and Mogollón peoples, or were pushed farther east to the Hill Country of central Texas. The result was that between 800 and 500 years ago, during a period called the Antelope Creek phase, the broad expanse of northwestern Texas was home to a culture that combined bison hunting with horticulture and the construction of permanent stone dwellings.

Antelope Creek people settled near playa (rainwater) lakes and permanent springs fed by the Ogallala Aquifer and adapted to local conditions by adding buffalo hunting to their agricultural subsistence strategy. Antelope Creek people became important intermediaries in a trade network that linked agricultural societies to the east and west. With buffalo hides and, perhaps, dried meat as trade items, they acquired ceramics from both the Pueblos of present-day New Mexico and the Caddo peoples to the east. They also traded luxury items such as turquoise, Alibates lithic raw material, obsidian, and seashells.

Successful as they were in adapting to conditions on the southern Plains, the Antelope Creek people were incapable of meeting the long-term challenge of a new intruder group that arrived in the Panhandle region about 700 years ago as the climate cooled and became wetter. For over 1,000 years, Athabaskan-speaking bands of hunter-gatherers had been moving down the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, adapting to conditions on the fringes of the Great Plains on the way to becoming the most formidable pre-horse buffalo people of Texas. Between 700 and 600 years ago, as buffalo herds moved into the increasingly verdant southern plains, they were followed by bands of these Athabaskan-speaking hunters, who in historic times came to be known as Apaches. Some groups of proto-Apaches settled east and others west of the Rockies. Highly adaptive, the eastern proto-Apaches not only became the most proficient bison hunters of West Texas, but they also took up gardening, mimicking to a small degree the subsistence strategy of the Antelope Creek people they eventually replaced, sometimes violently as the archaeological record makes clear. Dominant in northwestern Texas on the eve of the arrival of the Spaniards to the interior of North America, the ancestral Plains Apaches were among the earliest people to be described by Spanish explorers.

The prehistory of the people inhabiting central Texas is not as well established because European penetration of this region came rather late—in the last decades of the seventeenth century. For a long time, informed opinion maintained that the Tonkawas were the descendants of the region's Archaic Indians. The current consensus is that the Tonkawas represent the merger of late-arriving southern Plains hunters and surviving central Texas hunter-gatherer bands that were no longer independently viable.

Regardless, for 1,000 years before the arrival of Europeans, central Texas was home to a succession of hunter-gatherer cultures that relied extensively on the buffalo for subsistence. Highly mobile, and continuing to make use of rock shelters, by 1,300 years ago these Indians had adopted the bow and arrow and made use of pottery. Within the next few centuries, the central Texas Indians joined in the interregional trade system that had developed across the expanse of Texas. Ceramics imported from the east as wells as seashells and stone from hundreds of miles away survive to point out the extent of this trade. But the life of these Toyah-phase people (the name given to the central Texas culture dated to 1300–1700 AD) was not an entirely idyllic life of following the buffalo and gathering berries and nuts. They were, it seems, basically territorial, and some of their burials, with arrowheads found among the skeletal remains, indicate that the deceased suffered violent death.

Foragers and Fishermen of South Texas and the Gulf Coast

The violence experienced by the Toyah-phase people may have been the result of conflict with some of their southeastern hunter-gatherer neighbors. The assemblage of culturally similar hunter-gatherer groups inhabiting most of southern Texas and neighboring northern Coahuila and Tamaulipas is commonly referred to as Coahuiltecan. Up the coast from the Coahuiltecans lived another culture group with distinct characteristics and a long history of interaction with Euro-Americans in historic times. Collectively known as the Karankawas, these people of the bays and barrier islands from Corpus Christi to the lower Brazos River can be traced through the archaeological evidence to about 800 years ago. And, from Galveston Bay eastward and inland into the coastal prairie lived hunter-gatherers with many of the same characteristics as the Karankawas.

These cultural groups shared common traits that permitted such successful adaptation to local environmental conditions that agriculture did not take hold among them. The absence of manos and metates (hand stones and grinding slabs) at their sites indicates that they did not experiment with corn or other seeds requiring heavy grinding, although they most certainly had contacts with neighboring corn-farming Jornada Mogollón and Caddo peoples.

Generally, Coahuiltecan, Karankawa, and Galveston Bay peoples were mobile band communities that occupied open campsites and relied on temporary brush or hide shelters to protect them from the elements. All were ceramic-making cultures among which about 1,300 years ago the bow and arrow made an appearance. As hunter-gatherers, the ancestral Coahuiltecans relied mostly on small

mammals such as rabbits and rodents, snakes, and freshwater fish and shellfish for the meat portion of their diet. As the bison moved south in the centuries immediately preceding the arrival of Europeans, the Coahuiltecans increasingly hunted buffalo, an adaptation that may well have brought them into conflict with bison hunters to the north as their hunting ranges overlapped.

Coastal Coahuiltecans, Karankawas, and Galveston Bay peoples made extensive use of marine resources. They employed seashells for a wide variety of purposes: whelks became hammers, sunray clams became scrapers, and some turned conch and clamshells into projectile points. They also used shells to create jewelry and other ornamentation for exchange purposes. Coastal Coahuiltecans, for instance, traded their shell creations with other hunter-gatherer cultures of the interior and with the Mesoamerican cultures of central Mexico, from whom they received ceramics, obsidian, and jadeite.

Arriving at their winter campsites in the fall after hunting season in the interior, Coastal Coahuiltecans, Karankawas, and Galveston Bay bands repaired or constructed dugout canoes, prepared fishing nets and traps, and chipped away at flint cobbles or shells to fashion the arrowheads and other stone tools necessary to process the catch of fish and shellfish on which the group would feed until early spring. Some group members, mostly women and children, did not go fishing or hunting but went out to gather roots, nuts, and leaves for food, basketry, and dyes. Some returned to camp at the end of the day with supplies of clay for pottery and asphaltum (naturally occurring marine tar) with which to coat or decorate pottery and to waterproof baskets.

Surviving funerary evidence suggests a wide range of beliefs regarding territoriality and the afterlife. Their individual and scattered burials indicate that interior Coahuiltecans seem to have had little attachment to specific sites, while well-established Karankawa cemeteries in which individuals were buried with personal belongings indicate both a strong sense of place and of a hereafter. Group movement for most bands, therefore, took place in the context of seasonal needs in combination with territorial boundaries. Evident in the remains of the camps of both Rockport area Karankawas and interior Coahuiltecans is shared use of their boundary area, for the sites of the former indicate spring-summer use while the camps of the latter indicate fall-winter use.

The archaeological record clearly demonstrates that the successful subsistence strategies of Coahuiltecans, Karankawas, and Galveston Bay peoples provided a level of material prosperity that allowed them to reject a sedentary way of life. Contrary to Spanish judgment, Coahuiltecans were not backward people. Although violence is part of the archaeological record, there is nothing in it to suggest excessive belligerence. Contrary to common opinion, the Karankawas were not cannibals. However, because their success depended on strict management of population size to avoid outstripping the environment of its capacity to support them, South and coastal Texas peoples came under severe pressure when caught between the advance of Spaniards from the south and powerful Indian adversaries from the north. Violence was a natural response.

Desert Farmers of West Texas

The people of far West Texas began combining some gardening with their hunting and gathering ways at the latest by about 3,500 years ago, during the Late Archaic era. For hundreds of years various hunter-gatherer groups experimented with gardens of corn, squash, beans, and local plants, while still relying on foraging and hunting for their basic subsistence needs. By about 2,000 years ago, some of the communities in the region had adopted a more sedentary way of life that included technological and cultural characteristics known as Mogollón, a culture area extending west to southern Arizona and New Mexico and south into Chihuahua. These farmers built pit houses next to their fields of corn and beans. As soon as the harvest was in, however, it was off to hunt and gather in order to meet the rest of the year's subsistence needs. Seasonally occupied villages thus became a common settlement pattern for hundreds of years.

Even in the best of times, farming was a challenge in this perennially arid region. There is no evidence that the Jornada Mogollón people ever attempted irrigation agriculture on a sizable scale, as the Hohokam did in Arizona, but they did divert runoff. By placing their fields at the foot of a mountain, the Jornada Mogollón could tap spring rain runoff to give their crops a chance. In time, some communities developed on the margins of the area's playas and settlement construction followed more complex Puebloan "apartment" style dwellings. Nevertheless, these settlements were hit-and-miss propositions, and many farming and village sites had to be abandoned after a year or two, when they were unable to support group needs.

At a select few sites, conditions were right for long-term settlement. As the pit-house dwellers succeeded in raising surpluses of corn and beans, they began to construct simple adobe pueblos, usually consisting of a number of apartments arranged in a row and containing a large room thought to be a ceremonial or communal space. Builders often plastered the floors of their pueblos and built a variety of outbuildings and cooking pits. Even in pueblo times the Jornada Mogollón did not entirely abandon their traveling ways. In some villages, including Firecracker Pueblo (so named for an abandoned fireworks stand across the road from the site north of El Paso), they scooped out storage pits in which to keep corn and other food supplies during their absences.

Increasing dependence on corn made the Jornada Mogollón people focus increasingly on developing agricultural tools and instruments. They had to make manos and metates and transport them to the village from wherever the stone deposits were located, sometimes a considerable distance away. Given its fragility, they had to make pottery on a regular basis for storage, cooking, and eating purposes. Utilitarian as the pots, bowls, pitchers, and ladles they made were, the human need for artistic expression found its way into animal motifs and geometric designs that have acquired the designation "El Paso polychrome style."

The Jornada Mogollón people remained foragers and hunters, and archaeological sites have turned up dozens of nondomesticated plant species, including cacti and mesquite, that were in common use. Animal protein, leather, bone,

Courtesy www.texasbeyondhistory.net, Texas Archeological Research Labororatory, The University of Texas at Austin

Firecracker pueblo was a small settlement of the Jornada Mogollón culture just north of El Paso. Used during the part of the year when its residents were tending to their neighboring fields, the village was left vacant during long stretches when the inhabitants dispersed to hunt and forage for the rest of their subsistence needs.

and sinew were essential products that could only be obtained through the hunt. Whereas rabbits, rodents, birds, and snakes provided everyday meals, deer, antelope, and bison supplied not only the village table, but its workshops as well. Killed, skinned, and butchered in the field, the animals' hide, meat, and useful bones were brought back to the village for processing. Because the Jornada Mogollón people used stone tools, they were forced to spend a considerable amount of time preparing arrow tips, dart points, scrapers, knives, and hammers from stones that sometimes came from hundreds of miles away.

And travel, whether to hunt, gather, or procure stone for tools, brought the Jornada Mogollón into contact with neighboring groups and cultures. Sometimes they brought back a pot or bowl from one of the western Mogollón or Hohokam villages, or from an Anasazi pueblo. From exchanges with other hunting parties, they obtained obsidian, turquoise, and even seashell beads. Although more important symbolically than economically, these interactions provided the Jornada Mogollón with vital links to the technological and cultural trends of the region.

By the early fourteenth century, the Jornada Mogollón peoples of the Trans-Pecos were entering a period of crisis. So successful during earlier (and wetter) times in establishing a corn-farming subsistence base for themselves, they had outstripped their capacity to survive prolonged drought and underproduction. This was not unique to the Jornada Mogollón, for the Hohokam, Anasazi, and western Mogollón were suffering from the same combination of environmental and demographic factors. Drought conditions emptied reservoirs and meant that

not enough runoff came down mountain slopes to allow the large pueblos to survive. Dispersing in their efforts to survive, some of the Jornada Mogollón moved north into the Rio Grande valley of central New Mexico to join Anasazi migrants from the northwest. Other Jornada Mogollón groups entirely abandoned agriculture and returned to a hunter-gatherer way of life, especially the easternmost groups, which had easy access to migratory buffalo herds on the southern Plains.

By the time they arrived in the region, sixteenth-century Spaniards identified various Indian groups inhabiting the lower parts of the southern Plains and parts of the Trans-Pecos as Jumanos. Although they described some of these groups as purely bison-hunting societies, they described others as floodplain agriculturalists. At least some of these groups were undoubtedly the descendants of the Jornada Mogollón culture, some of which had clung to their agricultural ways and others of which had become important traders across Texas. Slowly over the next two centuries, the Jumanos disappeared from the scene, some incorporated into other regional culture groups and others absorbed into northern Mexican colonial society.

Mound-Building Farmers of East Texas

As late as the last decades of the seventeenth century, Jumano traders were crossing the great expanse of Texas to trade with agricultural peoples, the Caddos, who inhabited the eastern fringes of the Great Plains and the western river valleys of the Mississippi basin. Some of these Caddos lived as far west as the Trinity River and represented an even more successful Texas agricultural tradition than the Jornada Mogollón. By the time the Spanish arrived, their culture extended back about a thousand years, and they would continue to be an important factor in Spanish colonial Texas history up to the eve of Mexican independence.

About 2,000 years ago the peoples of the Sabine River and nearby drainages had begun to practice some gardening, making or acquiring utilitarian ceramics, and practicing a more sedentary life way, creating a tradition that had much in common with other Indian cultures of the eastern United States known as Woodland. Mound-building, ceremonial centers, and dispersed villages eventually became a part of the settlement pattern after about 800 AD in northeastern Texas. Some ceramics shared features with those of other Trans-Mississippi groups, and trade goods found in burials indicate long-range trade connections with other peoples.

Out of these Woodland-period developments, about 1,200 years ago, there emerged a distinctive culture that has come to be known as Caddo. The Caddo culture area centered on the Red, Sabine, Angelina, and Neches rivers of Texas and adjacent portions of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. The Caddo spoke one of a number of related languages called Caddoan today, of which Wichita, Pawnee, and Arikara are other examples, and eventually the Caddo language developed dialects associated with the major political divisions of the Caddos that Europeans encountered in the four-state region.

In time, the Caddos became the dominant culture of the region, a process that took place over hundreds of years during which Caddo society developed into a sophisticated system of interrelated kinship-based political

entities that late seventeenth-century Europeans described as confederacies. In fact, the three confederacies of historic times—the Kadohadacho, Hasinai, and Natchitoches—were the product of successful adaptations to environmental conditions in East Texas, western Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, and southeastern Oklahoma. In this well-watered and heavily forested region, early Caddo farmers took advantage of abundant natural resources that enabled them to establish dispersed sedentary communities. By about 800 years ago corn became the principal staple, while squash, beans, sunflowers, and a variety of other annuals and nuts rounded out the plant base of Caddo subsistence. Caddos also hunted deer and turkey, as well as small game, to meet the balance of their dietary requirements. The occasional bear and bison provided leather and furs for other needs.

Like Mississippian cultures to the east, the Caddos were prolific mound builders. As their culture became more sophisticated, they developed a settlement pattern based on scattered agricultural villages of widely dispersed conical-shaped thatch dwellings and specialized ceremonial centers. Mounds near villages continued to serve the basic purpose of containing the remains of high-status individuals, and mounds were also built at a number of these ceremonial centers that served to elevate temples in which Caddo priests and leaders could commune with the spirit world.

The prosperity indicated by widespread mound building is also evidenced by extensive interregional trade and sophisticated crafts activities. Through Plains intermediaries, Caddos exchanged their bois d'arc bows, ceramics, tanned goods, and perhaps even corn, for turquoise from New Mexico, copper from the Great Lakes region, seashells from the Gulf of Mexico, and buffalo hides from the Plains. They produced sophisticated agricultural and woodworking toolkits of stone and shell that included digging tools, hoes, and axes for clearing timber. In the stone-scarce environment in which they lived, the Caddo even relied on wood to make the large

Courtesy of Friends of Northeast Texas Archaeology and Timothy K. Perttula

The Caddo were prolific pottery makers who took advantage of East Texas's abundant clay resources. Vessels such as this one, from a site in Camp County and dating from ca. 1600 CE, were part of the trade goods that Caddos exchanged with neighboring groups.

mortars and long wooden pestles they used to grind corn into meal. Caddo pottery and basketry from the centuries immediately preceding the arrival of Europeans was among the finest in North America. French and Spanish descriptions of their tanned and decorated animal-skin apparel indicate a long tradition of craftsmanship.

Due to extensive observation by Europeans in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a great deal can be inferred about Caddo society on the eve of the arrival of Europeans. Overall, the Caddos were largely peaceful tribes before the eighteenth century, although defensive warfare was part of life. At the most basic level of society—the family—organization was matrilineal, meaning that descent was traced on the mother's side. Marriage took place between members of different clans, and families were grouped in clans, usually named for animals, which were hierarchically ranked. Commoner families typically lived in individual homesteads surrounded by the agricultural field assigned to them.

Political organization outside the home combined egalitarian and hierarchical practices and was partly theocratic in nature. Chiefdoms composed of groups of scattered homesteads, one or more villages, and a ceremonial center, operated under the leadership of a hereditary caddi, or community chief. He governed with the support of elders called canahas, but in times of war villages would select war chiefs from among proven warriors. Religious leadership in each Caddo tribal group was in the hands of the Xinesi, also a hereditary position in the male line, who conducted ceremonies to communicate with the spirit world. His mediation with the supreme being, and his leadership during important annual feasts to celebrate planting, harvesting, and the hunt, were indispensable to the continuation of Caddo society.

The decline of Caddo fortunes coincides with sustained European contact, which brought new diseases and economic disruptions that were intensified by a number of factors. Warfare with neighboring Indian groups such as the Choctaws, Osages, Wichitas, and Tonkawas became more violent as the region's animal resources became a source of contention in trade relations with the French. Epidemic diseases, which may have struck even before the first European set foot in East Texas in the 1540s, but certainly had a documented effect after the 1680s, decimated whole villages, forcing survivors to consolidate into fewer and fewer groups. Attempting to adapt to the changing conditions of the eighteenth century, the Texas Caddos became involved in the French fur trade and began to hunt bison on horseback, an adaptation that brought them into the realm of people for whom the buffalo had always been at the core of life and culture.

European Arrival, 1528–1554

The first Spaniards to explore Texas lived during that restless period of frenzied searching for precious metals and great civilizations that we refer to as the Age of Conquest. From their experiences in the Caribbean and Mesoamerica (Mexico and Central America), Spaniards looked upon the conquest of Indian peoples and the plunder of their wealth as legitimate goals of exploration. In fact, it was Hernán

Cortés's triumph over the Aztec Empire that created high expectations for what might be found in the rest of North America. From the 1520s through the 1540s, numerous expeditions made their way north from Cuba and the land of the Aztecs seeking other Mexicos. Eventually, members of three of these expeditions came into contact with most of Texas's geographic regions and many of its culture groups.

Spain and Europe in the Age of Conquest

The Spaniards who followed Christopher Columbus to the New World in the early sixteenth century were part of a highly militarized culture that combined martial virtues with militant Christianity. For seven centuries Spaniards had participated in their own crusade against Iberian Muslim kingdoms that came to be known as the Reconquista. This Christian recovery of the Iberian Peninsula from the descendants of North African invaders who had overrun Visigothic Spain and Portugal in the early eighth century gave Spain its strong Catholic identity. It was an identity that its rulers at the end of the fifteenth century, Fernando of Aragón and Isabel of Castile, took advantage of in advancing their aims to make their respective kingdoms strong and wealthy. Strength and wealth could best be accomplished by securing cultural cohesion and expanding dynastic and economic opportunities beyond the borders of Spain. Not surprisingly, then, 1492 was the year of the first published European vernacular language grammar—Castilian; it was also the year that Jews were forced to convert to Christianity or leave the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón; and, it was the year in which Christopher Columbus undertook his royally sanctioned voyage of exploration, really an economic reconnaissance mission with unexpected consequences.

That voyage itself was the product of cultural and technological changes in Europe that had been in process for centuries. Unlike the Americas, which by about 7,000 years ago had become isolated from the other continents, Europe was part of the "Old World," interacting with Asia and Africa and benefiting from those interactions in ways that would make the continent home to the world's modern empires. As the heirs to ancient Mediterranean civilizations, Europeans shared a number of characteristics, including written languages, agricultural technologies such as numerous cultigens (domesticated plants) and livestock (domesticated fowl and mammals), advanced metallurgy, and similar architectural and cultural forms. From Portugal to Austria and Norway to Italy, Europeans operated under similar political principles, economic rules, social conventions, and cultural practices. Most importantly, they felt themselves superior to non-European peoples.

Trade and warfare, including the Crusades of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, contributed to the emergence of a powerful Europe by the sixteenth century. From their Asian visits, European merchants brought home new technologies like gunpowder and paper along with the silk and spices that constituted the bulk of intercontinental trade. Europeans adapted Middle Eastern maritime technologies for oceanic travel and continuously improved instruments and charts that gave them greater ability to navigate farther and farther from home.

And, most importantly, the homegrown invention of the printing press allowed Europeans to quickly and efficiently share all of that new information, producing a snowball effect.

With the 1492 conquest of Granada, the last Muslim kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula, all of Western Europe was uniformly Christian and ready to take on the world. Much of that Europe was already engaged in a struggle with the Ottoman Empire, a Muslim polity that controlled significant portions of southeastern Europe and most of the Middle East. And, even as they fought Muslims in the east, Christian Europeans fought among themselves for dynastic and economic reasons; as the sixteenth century progressed they would also fight over competing versions of Christianity. The quest for a competitive advantage, particularly with regard to what is referred to as the "spice trade," provided an opening to men such as Christopher Columbus.

A merchant explorer who advanced the theory that Asia could be reached by sailing west across the Atlantic, Columbus shopped his ideas among European monarchs until he found a receptive hearing in Castile. Columbus did not propose to discover a "New World" but a new way to get to the other end of the Old World. Norsemen and fishermen had pushed northwest beyond Greenland and Iceland, so educated Europeans also had some idea of the presence of western lands. Columbus hoped to prove it was possible to reach Asia by sailing across the Atlantic Ocean before water and provisions ran out onboard the tiny ships. As it turned out, if the American continents had not stood in the way, Columbus would have been literally dead wrong, for by the time his three-ship fleet reached the Bahamas in October 1492, there were not enough supplies remaining for a return voyage.

The Conquest Begins

Columbus's gamble did not pay off personally in the long run. He remained convinced that he had reached Asia (all the evidence to the contrary, and with the result of the indigenous population mistakenly being referred to as Indians), he mismanaged the settlements that he established, and he failed to make good on his promise of Spanish access to the riches of the Orient. Instead, he enslaved the island populations to produce a source labor in the new settlements and to generate revenue back in Spain, where slavery was still common as a result of the interethnic warfare between Iberians and North Africans. Ironically, following his third voyage, Columbus returned to Spain in chains to face criminal charges of maladministration and cruelty.

From the beginning, then, Spanish settlement in the New World relied on an indigenous population that was often subjected to brutal forced labor practices. Pope Alexander IV's bull (decree) of 1493, *Inter Caetera*, issued shortly after Columbus's return to Spain, granted the Catholic Kings of Spain dominion over most of the newly discovered lands. Spain, in return, was responsible for assuring the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. It was an obligation that Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas and other clergymen would not let the Crown forget. In 1511, Spanish jurists had drawn up a document called the *Requerimiento* to be

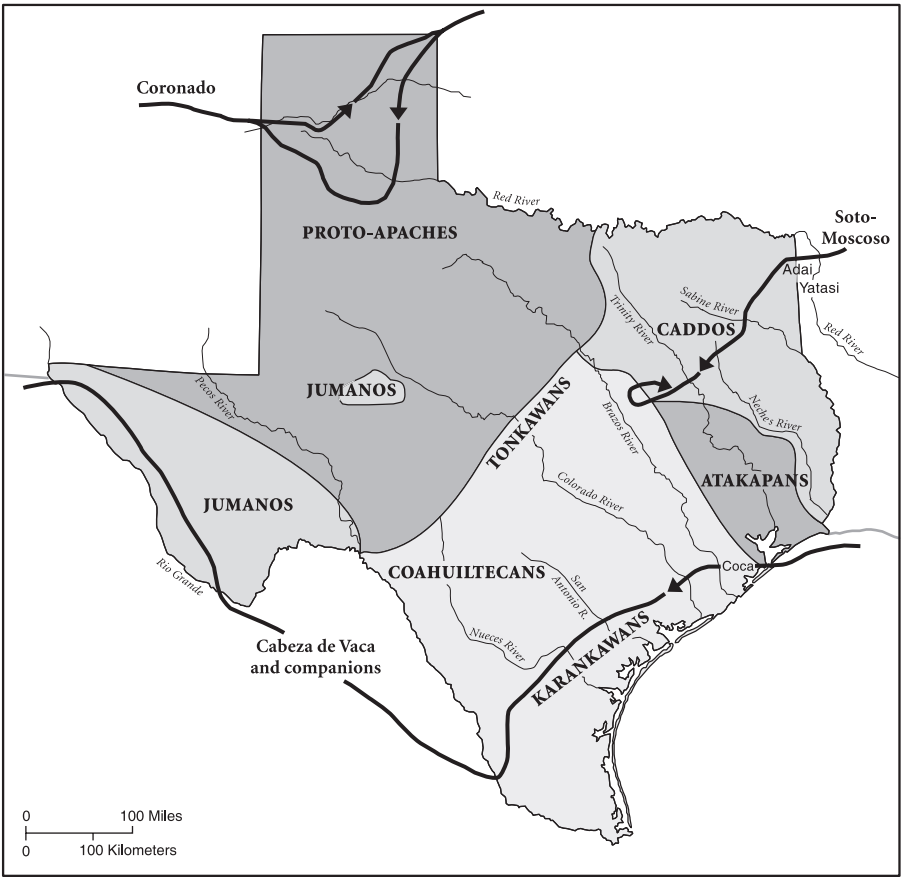
read to Indian communities that Spaniards were about to subjugate; it traced the history of the world from a biblical perspective, explained the Pope's decree, and required those hearing it to submit willingly or be subjugated by force. Catholic missionaries, especially Franciscans and Jesuits, soon became part of the machinery of empire, accompanying expeditions or sometimes leading them. Almost from the beginning a spiritual conquest of the New World accompanied its physical conquest.

Just as important to the Crown as the harvest of souls, if not more so, was the acquisition of wealth. Working from medieval precedents established during the Reconquista, Castilian monarchs issued *capitulaciones* (royal charters) to *adelantados* (leaders) for *entradas* (conquest, colonization, or settlement expeditions) that granted specific privileges in return for the *quinto real*, the Crown's one-fifth share of the proceeds of the endeavor. In this arrangement the members of the expedition outfitted themselves, bore all the expenses and, therefore, the risk, while the Crown gambled little. In the event an entrada met success, some of its members would certainly receive *encomiendas* (grants of Indian tribute, either as labor or goods), which would divert tax income from the royal treasury to the encomenderos' pockets, but that was a small price to pay for bringing new lands under Spanish control. And, after all, as in the case of Columbus, there were ways of terminating agreements that were not favorable to the Crown.

In the years after Columbus's voyages, Spaniards expanded their area of control to the major islands of the Caribbean and soon came into contact with the more sophisticated societies of Mesoamerica. By 1519, the governor of Cuba had set his sights on the nearby Yucatán Peninsula, from which accounts had been received of advanced societies that offered better business opportunities than had so far been discovered. To lead this initial commercial venture he appointed Hernán Cortés, an ambitious conquistador who had participated in the conquest of Cuba. After initial stops along the Yucatán Peninsula, Cortés landed on the Mexican coast, founded the town of Vera Cruz, had the new settlement's officials (whom he had chosen) vote him their governor, and broke away from the authority of Cuba's governor. In two years' time, through a combination of brute force, masterful diplomacy, and artful betrayals Cortés brought down the Aztec Empire, launching the Spanish conquest of Mexico, a process still not completed 300 years later when Spain's presence in North America came to an end.

The First Conquistadors in Texas

When Pánfilo de Narváez presented his petition to King Charles I of Spain (better known as Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor) to conquer Florida in 1526, he was hoping to surpass the accomplishments of his rival and personal enemy, Cortés. From various slaving expeditions and explorations in the 1510s, including one by Álvarez de Pineda in 1519 that mapped the entire gulf coast from Florida to Tampico, Spaniards became curious about the vast land north of Mexico that came to be known as Florida. Narváez, who had sided with the governor of Cuba against Cortés during the conquest of Mexico, had lost an eye in



Sixteenth-century Texas conquistadors and native peoples.

battle attempting to arrest the conqueror of the Aztecs. Captured, humiliated, and then abandoned, he had returned to Spain intent on getting his due; this, he believed, could be accomplished in Florida.

There would be no quinto real from this venture, however, and no spoils for Narváez and his men, either. Misfortune dogged the expedition from the time its five small ships reached the Caribbean. One hundred forty men deserted at Santo Domingo, and then a hurricane off the Cuban coast sank two ships and killed the sixty men on board. After wintering in Cuba, the expedition again set sail in February, encountering other storms that threatened disaster. Finally, in April 1528, the Spaniards reached the gulf coast of Florida, where they entered what was probably Tampa Bay. Their luck did not improve, however. Despite the warnings of his treasurer Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca that the land forces should not separate from the fleet, Narváez marched his men inland in a futile attempt to reach the supposedly gold-rich Kingdom of Apalachee. After four months of hostilities with Indians and forced marches through swamps and jungles, the men had found no gold or other tangible wealth and there was no sight

of the expedition's fleet. The entrada's morale was broken. In September the men constructed five crude boats at St. Mark's Bay, Florida. Overcrowded with almost 250 survivors, they set sail for Mexico.

Soon after passing the mouth of the Mississippi a storm battered the boats toward the Texas coast. In the days that followed Narváez's boat was lost, and in early November, one after another of the remaining craft beached just south of Galveston Island. Suffering from exposure, starvation, and dehydration, the would-be conquistadors were at the mercy of the Indians who inhabited the area. The initially friendly meeting between Indians and Spaniards soon took a turn for the worse as misunderstandings between the two cultures developed. Some Spaniards died of exposure and others disappeared in attempts to reach civilization; a fortunate few found "employment" among the Indian groups that took them in. Of the dwindling number of expeditionaries, only four would live to tell the tale. One of these four was Cabeza de Vaca.

For six years, the survivors dwelt among the Galveston Bay, Karankawa, and Coahuiltecan Indians of coastal and South Texas, sometimes as "slaves," sometimes as merchants, but also as healers. In 1532, Cabeza de Vaca finally abandoned his single remaining companion, Lope de Oviedo, and made his way inland. Captured by another group of Indians, he soon discovered the presence in the region of three fellow Spaniards, Captains Alonzo del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes and the latter's North African slave, Estebanico. Two years of planning resulted in a successful escape from their captors, and the beginning of an odyssey that took the four Christians across parts of present-day Texas, New Mexico, and northern Mexico, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of California between 1534 and 1536. Everything he could remember having seen and heard during his odyssey Cabeza de Vaca wrote down in his *Relación*, the first Texas literature and the first ethnographic work on North America.

Coronado and the Seven Cities of Gold

Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain, as greater Mexico was known during the 300 years of Spanish rule, had only recently arrived in the New World when Cabeza de Vaca came out of the northern "wilderness." For Mendoza, who was the Spanish king's chief administrator in New Spain, underwriting an expedition to discover and conquer the "Seven Cities of Gold" that the wanderers reported hearing about would be financially rewarding, would reduce the slave raiding that contributed to social and economic instability in the country, and would be a way to rid central Mexico of the large number of idle Spanish "gentlemen" who were a constant source of trouble. A prudent and sensible administrator, however, Mendoza was not about to invest his limited financial resources and reputation on unsubstantiated rumor. To establish the veracity of Cabeza de Vaca's reports, he sent out a scout: a Franciscan friar with considerable New World experience, Marcos de Niza. He was to be guided by none other than Estebanico, Cabeza de Vaca's companion, whom the viceroy purchased from Dorantes because none of the three Spaniards was willing to retrace their steps into the interior.

Although the 1539 Niza–Estebanico expedition turned out to be an utter disaster, with Estebanico being killed by the Zuni inhabitants of Hawikuh in present-day Arizona, Niza's assertion that the town was "bigger than Mexico City," gave Viceroy Mendoza the answer he wanted. To carry out the conquest, Mendoza turned to Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. Already the governor of Nueva Galicia, at age thirty, Coronado now had the honor of leading an expedition that would bring new glory and subjects to the Crown, new souls to Christ, and great wealth to himself, the viceroy, and those sturdy enough to see the enterprise to its conclusion. A thousand Spanish men-at-arms, thousands more Indian servants and camp followers, immense herds of horses, mules, and cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats, marched out of Culiacán, Sinaloa, in April 1540.

What the villagers of Hawikuh thought of armored Spaniards riding horses making unintelligible demands for shiny yellow and white metals they had never seen can only be imagined. Coronado, not to be denied, took the town by storm on July 7, 1540. Having found no gold or silver in the first city of Cíbola, as the region was called initially by Spaniards, the expedition moved on to the other cities, then eastward to the Rio Grande and Pecos River pueblos (towns), where bloodshed and disappointment mixed. Niza's enthusiasm had proved a lie. At the Pecos River pueblo of Cicuye, however, the Indians gave reason for hope. Far to the east, beyond the great flat lands, they promised, was the Kingdom of Quivira, where gold and silver awaited the Spaniards in plenty.

Quivira turned out to be another disappointment for Coronado and his men. To get there they had to cross a portion of today's northwestern and Panhandle Texas. In the spring of 1541 they visited the Blanco and Tule canyons region, where they recorded their impressions of the unprecedented flatness of the land, the region's immense bison herds, and the tipi-dwelling, buffalo-hunting proto-Apaches who had recently made the southern Plains their home. And, when they got to Quivira, actually Wichita Indian villages in central Kansas, they found no gold or silver, or anything else that they valued for that matter. Although some of his men desired to stay in the country, Coronado, broken both psychologically and physically (a fall from his horse had caused permanent injuries), brought his humbled expeditionaries back to Culiacán in the spring of 1542 with nothing to show for their efforts.

Their reports on the Rio Grande country, although optimistic about future prospects for the region, did not encourage Spanish settlement. The High Plains of Texas, remote and almost totally devoid of human residents, offered even fewer attractions. One lasting legacy of Coronado's bold venture seems to have been a lingering resentment on the part of the town-dwelling Indians, who henceforth would be called Pueblos by the Spaniards, and who within fifty years would confront more determined Spanish conquerors.

Conquistadors in East Texas

Cabeza de Vaca had his own ideas about how Spanish settlement of Florida might best be carried out, and he hoped to gain permission from Emperor Charles V to attempt a new colonization effort. He returned to Spain in the summer of 1537 to find

that he had been preempted by one of the heroes of the conquest of the Inca Empire, Hernando de Soto. This ruthless conquistador had come away from the Peruvian adventure a rich and powerful man. For him, as for most of his contemporaries, adventure and conquest had become an addiction. God, gold, and glory, although usually not in that order, were his driving motives. In the spring of 1536 Soto arrived in Spain laden down with his share of the spoils taken from the Incas and by the end of April 1537, he had obtained the governorship of Cuba, a knighthood in the Order of Santiago, and a charter to colonize Florida. Wisely, Cabeza de Vaca turned down Soto's offer of a place in his expedition when the conquistadors met.

In the spring of 1539, after almost a year of final preparations in Cuba, Soto landed his 600-man expedition somewhere in the Tampa Bay area of Florida. He was much better equipped than Narváez had been a decade earlier on his Florida misadventure, but Soto's quest for the wealth that had eluded that earlier expedition turned out no better. Wherever he and his men traveled throughout southeastern North America between May 1539 and May 1542, the least resistance from the indigenous peoples they encountered was met with steel, lead, and war dogs. Finally, racked with fever and discouraged by his failure to find

Shortly after Cabeza de Vaca's 1555 edition appeared, the Gentleman of Elvas published his account of the Soto-Moscoso expedition at Evora, Portugal, in 1557. His account is the first European report on the Caddo country of East Texas.

the precious metals that lured him to North America, Soto died on the banks of the Mississippi River, leaving behind only a legacy of slaughter and destruction that imperiled the expedition's survival.

Succeeding Soto in command was Luis Moscoso de Alvarado, who held a council at which the Spaniards decided to abandon the enterprise. Having decided to try for an overland march to New Spain, as the region conquered by Cortés and his successors was called, Moscoso led his men across the Red River in the summer of 1542. Only slightly less brutal now that Soto was no longer in command, expedition members fought and tortured their way through the Caddo country of northeast Texas. The Caddos encountered by the Spaniards in Texas, members of the Kadohadacho and Hasinai confederacies, must have had word of the Spaniards ahead of time. For, according to a Portuguese chronicler, as soon as Moscoso and his men approached,

> The people were called out, who, as fast they could get together, came by fifties and hundreds on the road, to give battle. While some encountered us, others fell upon our rear; and when we followed up those, these pursued us. The attack continued during the greater part of the day, until we arrived at their town. Some men were injured, and some horses, but nothing so as to hinder travel, there being not one dangerous wound among all. The Indians suffered great slaughter.

Despite the rumors of Christians far to the south or the west, and certain knowledge that New Spain lay to the southwest, Moscoso and the other expedition leaders based their decision to abandon the overland march on Cabeza de Vaca's experience. They recognized the country they were entering to be the one in which, according to Cabeza de Vaca, "the Indians wandered like Arabs, having no settled place of residence, living on prickly pears, and the roots of plants, and game; and that if this should be so, and they, entering upon that tract, found no provision for sustenance during winter, they must inevitably perish." At that point, the conquistadors retraced their steps to the Mississippi, where they wintered and built boats to carry them to New Spain. In September 1543, the surviving 311 members of Soto's great expedition arrived at Pánuco. They left behind a trail of destruction from the Atlantic coast to eastern Texas. Most disruptive were epidemic diseases that wreaked havoc on the native populations of the southeastern United States.

The disheartening results of the Coronado and Soto–Moscoso expeditions convinced the Spanish to direct their attention to other parts of the New World. The absence of precious metals, the unsuitability of the native peoples for assimilation, and the difficulty of access to the region deterred a permanent Spanish presence. The absence of any foreign threat in the Gulf of Mexico further disinclined the Crown from expending more resources there. Consequently, for the next four decades, the little contact Spaniards did have with what is now Texas was restricted to the gulf coast, where hurricanes and other storms sometimes drove Spanish ships sailing between Veracruz and Havana.

The most famous of these incidents, the 1554 wreck off Padre Island of the Santa María de Yciar, San Esteban, and Espíritu Santo, three of four ships in a treasure fleet

containing over two million pesos in gold and silver, did nothing to improve the reputation of Texas. The 250 castaways who attempted to march back to Spanish-held territory overland were attacked by Indians all along the whole way. The lone survivor, Fray Marcos de Mena, told stories of cannibal Indians and a waterless desert by the sea. The salvage expedition sent to recover the 1.5 million pesos on board the three ships found the shallow waters off Padre Island treacherous and lacking in adequate anchorages. If the interior of Texas offered few attractions for the fortune-seeking conquistadors, the coast of the Gulf of Mexico represented only danger for the sailing men bearing treasures from the New World to the old.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the land we now call Texas had already been a cultural crossroads for thousands of years. It was the meeting place of eastern Woodlands, Plains, and southwestern cultures. It was home to both simple hunter-gatherers and sophisticated agriculturalists. Its people spoke a number of unrelated languages and maintained widely varying traditions, although their cultures made pottery and used stone tools and bows and arrows. Almost all Texas Indians had something else in common: to one degree or another they all made use of the buffalo, a grazing animal that due to changing environmental conditions in the Late Prehistoric period was extending its range southward and eastward across almost the entire breadth of Texas.

Not a single Indian living within the state's present boundaries would have understood the concept of Texas, however. With the exception of the complex, hierarchical, socially stratified Caddos, no prehistoric Texas Indian group appears to have had much use for any kind of political organization beyond the local chief or head man and his group of trusted advisors. And, although most cultures had become territorial by Late Prehistoric times, that territoriality was at most a simple defense of hunting grounds or a finely tuned subsistence strategy based, as in the case of the Karankawas, on seasonal exploitation of locally available resources.

In other words, the land that the Spaniards encountered in the first half of the sixteenth century was not a wilderness or a land of savages. Crisscrossed by trade networks that tied the Rockies to the Mississippi and the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, its people were exposed to, contributed to, and were influenced by the major cultural, sociopolitical, and technological changes of pre-Columbian North America. Occupying every possible ecological niche the state had to offer, its people had adapted to conditions with dexterity.

Most of these adaptations, which relied on extensive rather than intensive exploitation of the land, seemed odd and primitive to the technologically advanced and socially complex Europeans who encountered them. Certainly, the early indigenous cultures of Texas paled in comparison to the technological and social complexity of some Mesoamerican, South American, and Old World civilizations; and, so, they were ill prepared to meet the challenge of the New World

coming into existence. In the course of the next 500 years, this New World would leave little room for the descendants of the first Texans to call the state home.

Happenstance brought the first Europeans to the northwest corner of the Gulf of Mexico, to a land that had no name, no boundaries, and in no way approximated modern Texas. The accidental exploration of present-day coastal Texas and parts of northern Mexico by Cabeza de Vaca and his fellow survivors of the Narváez conquest was followed by the more purposeful exploits of the Soto–Moscoso and Coronado expeditions: Dreams and tales of treasure had brought these conquistadors into the forests of East Texas and the plains and canyons of West Texas. The great disappointment at finding no gold or silver and no new Aztec empires to conquer dampened their enthusiasm. This vast and sparsely settled land turned out to be nothing more than the least inviting corner of Spain's North American ambitions.

Suggested Readings

The study of early Texas requires a little ingenuity, given the existing nature of the literature. Entries in the *New Handbook of Texas* (NHOT) covering most of the subjects treated in this chapter will prove extremely useful as a basic introduction.

Texas Takes Shape

The essay "Geology" in the NHOT gives a clear overview that complements the information in *Roadside Geology of Texas* by Darwin Spearing (1991). Dividing the state into sections, focusing on the geological features encountered on or near the state's byways, and profusely illustrated, *Roadside Geology of Texas* is a great companion for weekend excursions. Terry G. Jordan et al., *Texas: A Geography* (1984) remains the best survey on the subject.

Early Prehistoric Texas, 13,000–1 BC

In the last few years the archaeological literature on Texas, which used to consist largely of highly technical reports of fieldwork and efforts to reconcile findings in different parts of the state from approximately the same timeframe, has blossomed. Nevertheless, the reader is forewarned that archaeologists do not all agree on the boundaries between prehistoric periods, or on the precise taxonomy to apply to their findings, although they do tend to agree broadly on Paleoindian, Archaic, and Late Prehistoric as the major periods. These issues, along with many others, are presented by Linda Cordell in *Archaeology of the Southwest* (2nd ed., 1997). Although concerned only with western Texas as part of her definition of "Southwest," the text is very useful in understanding the general currents of development during Paleoindian times in Texas. For those wishing to begin with a more general introduction to North American prehistory, look to Brian M. Fagan's *The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America* (rev. ed., 2004).

The best synthesis of Texas during prehistoric times is Timothy K. Perttula's edited volume *The Prehistory of Texas* (rev. ed., 2013), which brings together

some of the state's leading archaeologists to provide surveys of each of the state's culture regions from Paleoindian to Late Prehistoric times. A very readable survey by an ethnohistorian is David La Vere's *The Texas Indians* (2004), which tells the story of the state's indigenous peoples through the twentieth century. W. W. Newcomb, Jr., provides the text to a marvelously illustrated volume on *The Rock Art of Texas Indians* (1967), the paintings for which were done by Forrest Kirkland from original sketches and photographs.

Late Prehistoric Texas, 1–1528 AD

Texas Indians during Late Prehistoric to early historic times have received unequal attention from scholars. Articles in the NHOT on individual tribes are uneven in how up-to-date they are, but generally serve as a good introduction to the background of each group. The evidence for the mysterious Jumanos, their possible origins, and what might have happened to them is presented by Nancy Parrott Hickerson in *The Jumanos: Hunters and Traders of the South Plains* (1994). Toyah Phase peoples and their relationships to other Texas Indians are explored in the controversial and inappropriately named *Land of the Tejas: Native American Identity and Interaction in Texas, A.D. 1300 to 1700* by John Wesley Arnn III (2012). The story of the Apaches' arrival in Texas is told in the opening part of Thomas A. Britten, *The Lipan Apaches: People of Wind and Lightning* (2009), as well as in William B. Carter, *Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest, 750–1750* (2009). The work of Robert A. Ricklis—in particular The *Karankawa Indians of Texas: An Ecological Study of Cultural Traditions and Change* (1996)—has revolutionized our understanding of these long-maligned people. The Atakapans and other East Texas Indians are the subjects of Lawrence E. Aten, *Indians of the Upper Texas Coast* (1983).

Of the indigenous peoples of Texas at the time of the European encounter, none has received more attention than the Caddos. The opening parts of four works provide a useful introduction: *Caddo Indians: Where We Come From*, by Cecile Elkins Carter (1995); "*The Caddo Nation*": *Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Perspectives*, by Timothy K. Perttula (1992); *The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics, 700–1835* (1998) by David La Vere; and *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854*, by F. Todd Smith. A very different approach to Caddo origins is taken by Vynola Beaver Newkumet and Howard L. Meredith, *Hasinai: A Traditional History of the Caddo Confederacy* (1988).

Finally, for those readers who wish to dig into Texas Indian prehistory themselves, there are a number of out-of-print works that can serve as invaluable guides: Parker Nunley, *A Field Guide to Archeological Sites in Texas* (1989); Ellen Sue Turner and Thomas R. Hester, *A Field Guide to Stone Artifacts of Texas Indians* (1985); and, of course, Hester's *Digging into South Texas Prehistory* (1980).

European Arrival, 1528–1554

Several works provide overviews of Spanish North America, including the area that is now Texas, in the Age of Conquest. Anyone with a deeper interest in the conquest of Mexico and the establishment of Spanish institutions in

North America can begin to explore the subject in Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds, *The Course of Mexican History* (9th ed., 2010). The first three chapters of David J. Weber's *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992) provide a comprehensive survey of what is now the southern half of the United States through the end of the sixteenth century. The same chronological period is covered, in a very different, but highly entertaining way, in the opening chapters of John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (2002). For those interested specifically in Texas, the most complete survey of this era can be found in Chapter 2 of Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519–1821* (rev. ed., 2010). Emphasizing the Indian side of the story are two very different works: Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540–1795* (reprint; 1996), and Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Indian Southwest, 1580–1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention* (1999). For an understanding of conquest-era Spain, see J. H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (2nd ed., 2002). A primer on Spanish history from prehistoric times is William D. Phillips, Jr., and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain* (2010.)

Of the conquistadors who traveled across Texas, none has received more scholarly attention than Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who set down the story of his adventures in North America in a work titled *Relación*. It has been translated numerous times, including the very readable and well-illustrated *Castaways: The Narrative of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, ed. Enrique Pupo-Walker, trans. Frances M. López-Morillas (1993). Cabeza de Vaca's experiences have also produced a cottage industry of anthropological, ethnohistorical, and historical work and literary criticism on Indian-Spanish contact. The best of these studies is Andrés Reséndez, *A Land So Strange: The Epic Journey of Cabeza de Vaca* (2007).

Interpretation of the Coronado and Soto-Moscoso expeditions has changed significantly over the last century. The first historian to put together the story of Soto-Moscoso was the mestizo historian Garcilaso de la Vega, whose *The Florida of the Inca*, which first appeared in 1605, has been translated and edited by John Grier Varner and Jeannette Johnson Varner (1980). Bringing up to date the state of research on Moscoso's route in Texas is James E. Bruseth and Nancy A. Kenmotsu, "From Naguatex to the River Daycao: The Route of the Hernando De Soto Expedition Through Texas," *North American Archaeologist* (1993). A very good brief summary of the expedition can be found in Robert S. Weddle, *Spanish Sea: The Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery, 1500–1685* (1985), Chapter 12. In Chapter 13 of the same book, Weddle tells the story of the 1554 treasure fleet shipwreck. The current trend in research on the Coronado expedition can be found in the works of Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, in particular Richard Flint's *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (2008). The best short summary of Spanish exploration in West Texas during this period is John Miller Morris, *El Llano Estacado: Exploration and Imagination on the High Plains of Texas and New Mexico*, 1536–1860 (1997), part 1.

CHAPTER 2

New Spain's Northeastern Frontier to 1767

Tired, sick, but full of hope and enthusiasm for their work, the nine Franciscan priests who participated in the reoccupation of Texas finally sat down together on July 22, 1716, to pen a joint petition to the viceroy seeking further aid for their work. "We have conceived great expectations that this province will become a New Philippine, having, firstly, Your Excellency's protection and, on the Indians' part, the great friendliness with which they have received us. We believe that their docility and good demeanor merit that our generous and Catholic King and Lord (whom God protect) attend to them as his beloved children, and extend his powerful hand to put in ours the wherewithal for them to cover their nakedness, cultivate their lands, and raise livestock for their subsistence." With a bit of hyperbole, they hoped to flatter King Phillip V by comparing their work among the Hasinais with the efforts of earlier missionaries in the Philippine Islands under Phillip II 150 years earlier. These friars and their successors represented one of the principal tools of Spanish colonial expansion, although royal support was never as generous as they hoped it would be. Along with presidios and ranches, missions were an indispensable institution of the Spanish North American frontier until the last third of the eighteenth century. Missionaries firmly believed that their work served both majesties—glorifying God and expanding the dominions of the king. In Texas both these assumptions would be tested and the reality of Spanish imperial might put to the test by indigenous peoples with very different world views and the means to successfully ward off the Spanish challenge.

For a century and a half before the missionaries tasked with the permanent occupation of Texas sat down to write about their hopes and dreams, Spaniards (generally, all subjects of the Spanish Crown, whether European or American of