Indian Groups Associated with Spanish Missions of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

T. N. Campbell and T. J. Campbell

Center for Archaeological Research
The University of Texas at San Antonio
Special Report, No. 16, Third Printing
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San Antonio's five missions.

Cover: Mission San Francisco de la Espada
Upper left: Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo
Lower left: Mission San Juan Capistrano
Upper right: Mission San Antonio de Valero
Lower right: Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña

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Preface

As predicted by Dr. Thomas R. Hester in the original forward to this publication, the work has been "a major research source for scholars, planners, and the interested public." Indeed, eleven years after the first printing, the Center for Archaeological Research is still receiving numerous requests for the publication.

The information which Professor Thomas N. Campbell and his daughter, Tommy Jo Campbell, compiled for this document continues to serve as a basis for all scholarly research concerning Native Americans at the San Antonio missions. Other than format changes, the original 1985 report has been reprinted with no revisions. I join Dr. Hester in thanking the Campbells for providing the archaeological and historical communities with such a valuable resource.

Robert J. Hard
Director
Center for Archaeological Research
December 15, 1996

Foreword

This volume represents a segment of research undertaken by the Center for Archaeological Research, The University of Texas at San Antonio, under a contract with the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. The studies under that contract focused on the "Research into the origins and implementations of Indian crafts and Spanish technology in the daily lives of the inhabitants of the four Spanish Colonial missions in San Antonio." In order to achieve the goals of such a project it was essential that we ascertain the extent of present knowledge about the Indians who were in the San Antonio missions and the kinds of data that were (or were not) available on their material culture and technology.

As we have done in past research projects involving the ethnohistory of Texas Indians, we turned to Professor Thomas N. Campbell of The University of Texas at Austin. Professor Campbell has conducted detailed studies, using original documents, of the early historic Indian groups, especially those in central and southern Texas and in northeastern Mexico. He had earlier published, through the Center for Archaeological Research, a comprehensive analysis of the ethnohistoric records on the Indians of the San Bernardo and San Juan Bautista missions in Coahuila, Mexico. These missions were excavated by the Center in 1975–1976. Professor Campbell had also published, through the Southern Texas Archaeological Association, a summary of extant data on the Payaya Indians who lived in the south-central Texas region. And, in collaboration with his daughter, Tommy Jo Campbell, a study of the Indian groups in the Choke Canyon Reservoir vicinity, southern Texas, was published by the Center in 1981. The team of Campbell and Campbell was eminently qualified, then, to undertake a full review of the Indian groups associated with the Spanish Colonial missions of San Antonio. The document that they have produced will long be a major research source for scholars, planners, and the interested public.

We are very grateful to the Campbells for this significant contribution to Texas Indian studies. The Center for Archaeological Research also extends its thanks to Jose A. Cisneros, superintendent of the San Antonio Missions

National Historical Park, and to Dr. Gilbert Cruz, historian for the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. We appreciate their support and encouragement in the publication of this volume.

Thomas R. Hester
Director
Center for Archaeological Research
June 25, 1985

Introduction

The San Antonio mission area lies near the northern edge of a large coastal plain extending from the southern margin of the Edwards Plateau of Texas southward across the Rio Grande to the continuous series of mountain ranges that diagonally cross the Mexican states of Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, and Coahuila. When first known to Europeans, this region was occupied by hundreds of small autonomous bands of Indians, most of whom were hunters and gatherers. Agriculture was practiced only by certain Indian groups near the Gulf Coast of southern Tamaulipas. Spanish Colonial settlements began to be established in northeastern Mexico about the year 1590 and slowly spread in a generally northward direction during most of the following two centuries (Figure 1), displacing the native Indian groups from their traditional foraging territories. North of the Rio Grande this displacement was intensified by the southeastward expansion of Apache Indian groups from the southern High Plains in the middle seventeenth century. The displaced Indian groups were often fragmented, and their populations declined. Some fragments chose to co-exist with Spaniards; other fragments migrated to open areas north of the Rio Grande, from which they were later displaced by invading Apaches. Eventually, remnants of numerous groups entered Spanish missions along the Rio Grande, and as far north as San Antonio (Figure 2). The story of the San Antonio missions is, from an Indian point of view, the story of refugee groups who abandoned their former hunting and gathering way of life and were transformed into settled mission Indians who raised European livestock and practiced the Spanish style of irrigation agriculture.

Few regions of Indian North America are so poorly known as this one. As nearly all of its numerous hunting and gathering groups have been extinct for at least a century, what can be learned about each of them must come from limited information scattered through miscellaneous documents, mostly still unpublished, written by Europeans prior to Indian extinction. Archival records pertaining to this region are abundant, but relatively few students of the American Indian have examined these primary sources in quantity. It cannot be said that basic research on the Indian populations, languages, and cultures of the region has been extensive, or persistent, or notably systematic. It is not possible to identify a single scholar who has specialized in the study of this region's Indians and made a lifelong career of it. Although a considerable number of individuals have at one time or another worked in this field of inquiry, many of these later shifted their interest to other fields. Thus, few have worked in this particular field long enough to control the recorded minutiae and develop a disciplined perspective.

Perhaps because the pertinent documents are widely scattered in archival collections and usually contain little information on the basic ethnic units, monographic studies of these units have not been published until recently, and these are still few in number. Comparative studies of the numerous and confusing group name variants have been few, and it is still not possible to determine the total number of separate ethnic units or to determine just how many of them were in existence at any particular time. Displaced Indian populations have seldom been carefully traced through documents and connected with groups recorded at the various Spanish missions. Only

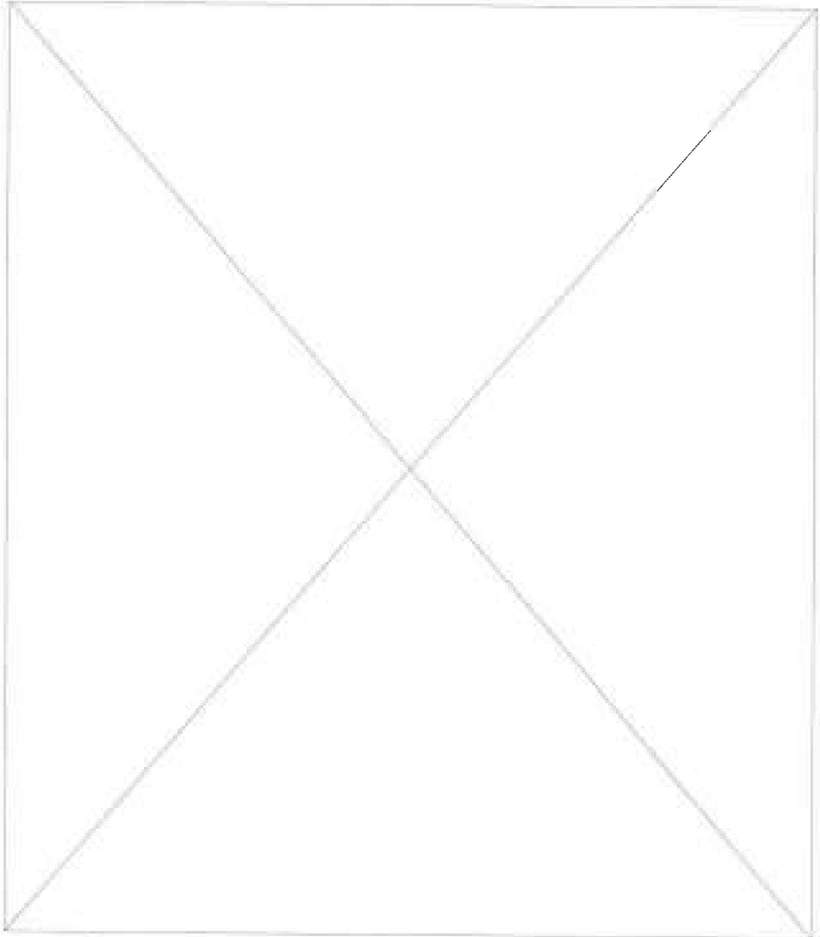

Figure 1. *Missions of Texas and Northern Mexico.*

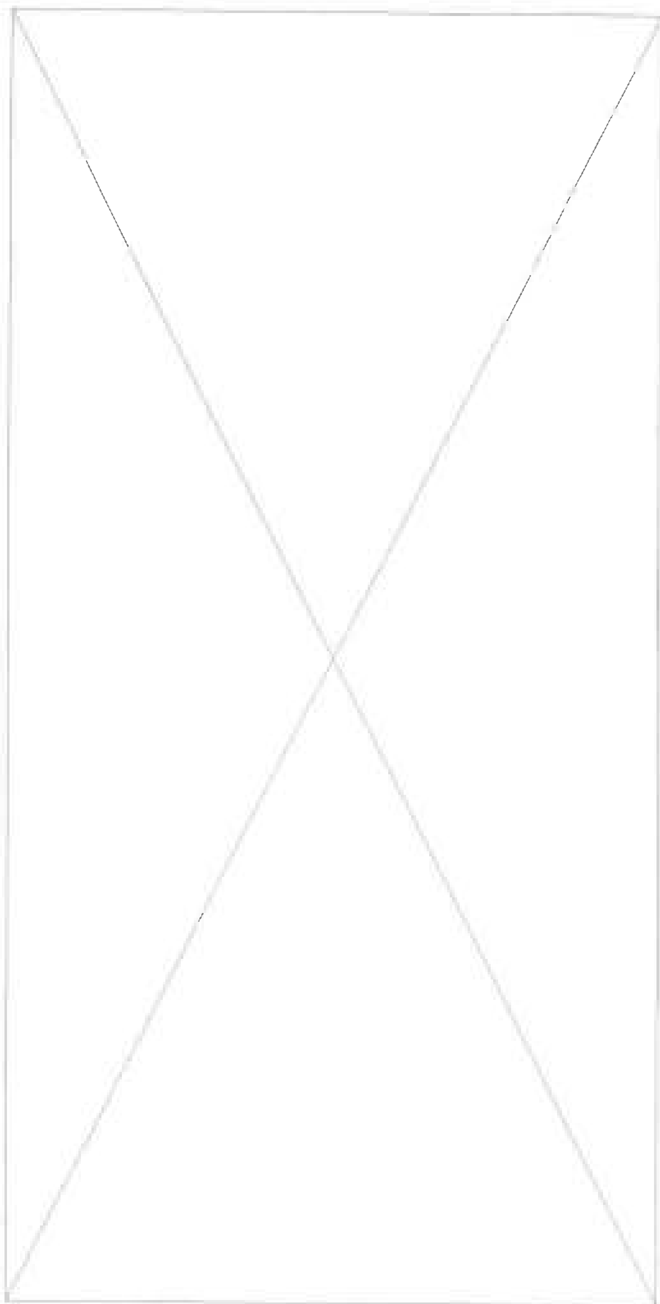

Figure 2. *The San Antonio area during the Spanish Colonial period.*

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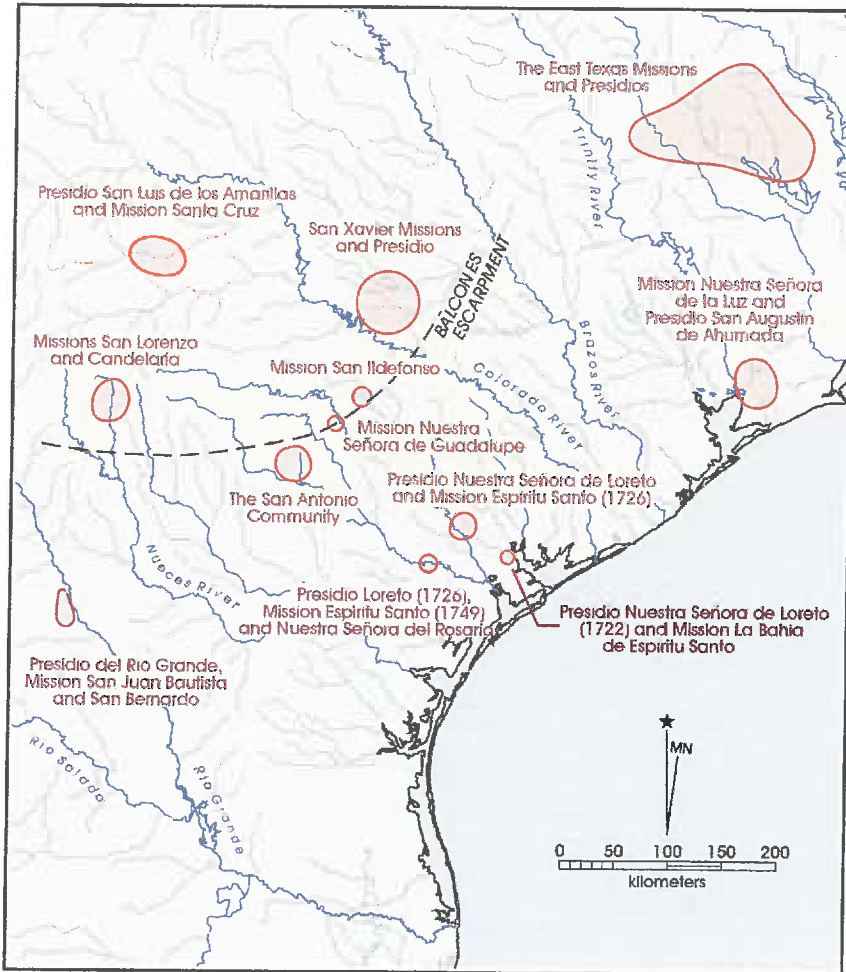

Figure 1. *Missions of Texas and Northern Mexico*

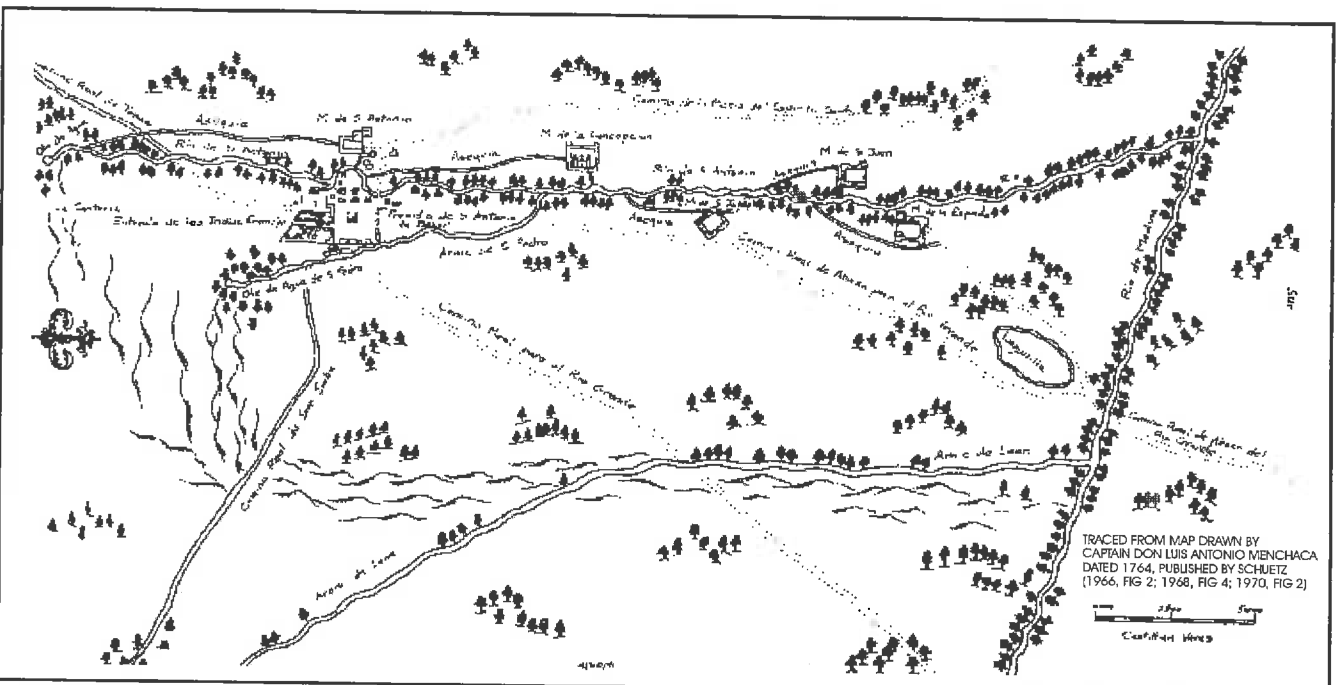

Figure 2. *The San Antonio area during the Spanish Colonial period.*

recently has effective use been made of information recorded in the surviving mission registers that have survived. The dearth of information on languages and behavior has led to oversimplification in modern attempts at linguistic and cultural classification. Generalizations about the region as a whole have sometimes been based on uncritical use of data found in the primary documents, and sometimes also on unstated or unvalidated assumptions. Untested hypotheses and speculative opinion have not always been carefully distinguished from demonstrated fact. Hence much interpretive opinion has been premature. In short, much that has been written does not stand up well under close scrutiny.

In this study an effort is made to identify the maximum number of valid Indian groups represented at each of the four Spanish missions of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. For each identified Indian group, an attempt is made to determine where that group came from and also to summarize briefly what is now known about its language and culture prior to mission entry. As will be seen, these objectives are not easily achieved because the desired information must come from documents written during the Spanish Colonial period. Most of the documents do not contain enough of the information desired. The following section shows how the severe documentary limitations have affected the study of Indians associated with the San Antonio missions.

The Study of Mission Indians: Limitations

Studies involving Indian groups of the San Antonio missions have not been noted for calling attention to the deficiencies of the Spanish documents or for explaining why it is so difficult to make sense out of such information as happened to get recorded in those documents. These studies sometimes give the impression that scholars have already solved most of the problems connected with ethnic group identities: pre-mission territorial ranges, specific groups represented at each missions, the Indian languages spoken, and cultural affiliations of the various Indian groups. Few of these problems have yet been satisfactorily solved. If non-specialists need information about mission Indians for purposes of public education, they can be misled by specialists who have not placed all their cards on the table. A scholar's opinions are much more valuable when they are preceded by frank statements about the evidence used in support of those opinions. In the following sections some of the major limitations of mission Indian research are discussed.

The San Antonio Missions

The Spanish missions of San Antonio were established relatively late in time and reflect the late Spanish occupation of Texas as compared with that of northeastern Mexico. As noted above, the first Spanish settlements of northeastern Mexico began about 1590, and it was not until 1718, or 128 years later, that San Antonio began to be settled by Spaniards.

Colonial Spanish San Antonio was unique in that it was a mission center with a larger number of missions than other centers of the region. Five rather closely spaced missions were built in what is now the southern part of the city of San Antonio. A sixth mission was authorized, but never constructed. The location of San Antonio is the key to understanding this proliferation of missions. San Antonio was for some time on the northern edge of the Spanish settlement frontier, and it was also on the main travel route from Mexico to eastern Texas, where the Spaniards were attempting to halt French expansion from Louisiana. Furthermore, San Antonio was, for several decades, near a concentration of displaced Indian groups who were demoralized by Spanish and Apache encroachments and increasingly willing to enter missions. The Spanish missionaries, many of whom had worked in unsuccessful missions elsewhere, recognized the potential of San Antonio for Indian conversion and took advantage of it.

The five missions of San Antonio were established at various times between 1718 and 1731. Their full names are San Antonio de Valero (1718), San José y San Miguel de Aguayo (1720), Nuestra Señora de la Purisima Concepción de Acuña (1731), San Juan Capistrano (1731), and San Francisco de la Espada (1731) (Figure 3). For convenience these missions will hereafter be referred to by the following shortened names: Valero, San José, Concepción, Capistrano, and Espada. All except San José had previously been in existence elsewhere, but they had failed in their first locations and were moved to San Antonio. Valero, first known as San Francisco Solano, was originally established in northeastern Coahuila, where it had been located at three different places. Concepción, Capistrano, and Espada were established in eastern Texas for various groups of Caddo Indians and were all moved to San Antonio in the same year.

In this study, attention is focused on Indian groups represented at the four missions of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. Valero is not included in the park, and its Indian groups will not be given detailed

consideration. It will be necessary, however, to mention some of the Indian groups of Valero because all of the San Antonio missions competed with each other for Indian neophytes, and it is especially interesting to know the area or areas from which each mission drew its Indian populations.

Total Indian Population at Each Mission

The limited information available indicates that the total Indian population at each San Antonio mission was at no time very large: never exceeding 400, and rarely exceeding 300. These estimates are derived from a table compiled by Schuetz (1980b:128) summarizing the best information now known. It is of interest to note that these correspond roughly to the maximum given for the largest native Indian encampments recorded in pre-mission times.

The recorded mission populations fluctuated from time to time, increasing notably when there was considerable displacement of Indian groups from some part of the surrounding area. It declined during epidemics or when Indians deserted the missions. Desertion was more common in the earlier days of each mission, apparently because some groups found it hard to adjust to mission discipline. They seem, in most cases, to have gone back to their former territories. Most deserters were eventually persuaded by missionaries to return to their missions. Some groups appear to have become dissatisfied with living conditions in their mission and moved to another mission. A few groups were characterized as fickle by missionaries because they sampled life at several missions before settling down to one. There was also a certain amount of seasonal desertion. During summer some Indians left to collect traditional wild plant foods, such as prickly pear fruit, and perhaps some of these were also motivated by a desire to escape summer field work on mission farmlands. With the passage of time, however, this pattern of desertion and return declined in importance, particularly after Apache raids in the area became more common. The table compiled by Schuetz reveals notable population decline in all missions after the year 1775. By that time not many remnants of Indian groups native to the region still survived, and thus fewer were entering missions.

Indian Group Names

In the study of Indians who formerly lived in southern Texas and northeastern Mexico, the first objective must be to establish identities for each of the basic hunting and gathering units. In European documents the most useful

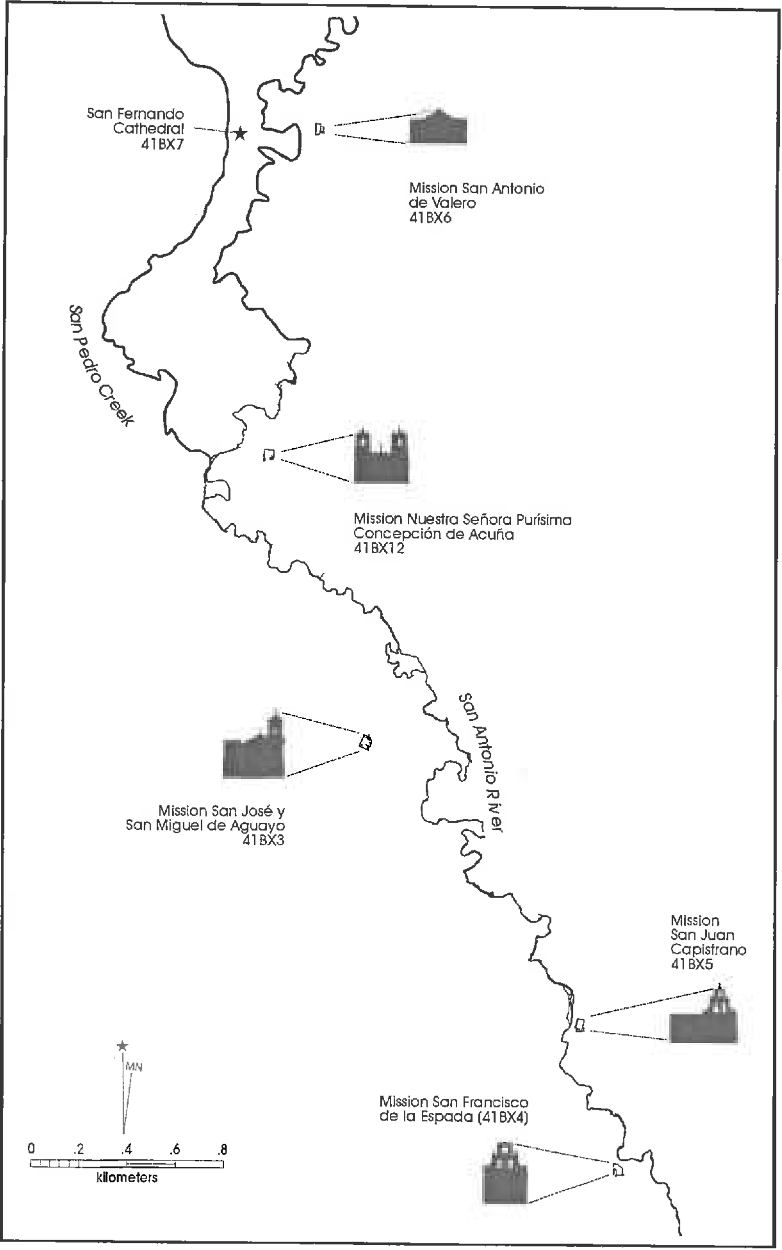

Figure 3. *The missions of San Antonio.*

indicator of a specific ethnic group is its recorded name. Indian group names are exceedingly numerous in these documents. Unfortunately, one cannot equate every name with a separate ethnic unit. It does not take much research to discover that some names are not quite what they seem to be. Two similar names may refer to the same group or to two separate groups. Two dissimilar names may refer to the same group. One group may be known by a name of Spanish origin and also by one or more native names. Several groups may be known by different names, but all of them may also be known by the same collective name. A further complication results from the fact that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a native personal name from a native group name. In many cases, the documentation is so poor that overlapping names cannot be ascertained.

It is not commonly realized how much confusion has resulted from the fact that European documents sometimes spell the name of a specific Indian group in many different ways, sometimes 50 or more, depending upon the phonetic complexity of the name. Some names are so badly distorted that scholars at times have regarded two or more variants of the same name as names of separate Indian groups. This has led to recognition of more Indian groups in the region than actually existed (Campbell 1977). Detailed comparative studies of name variants, thus far few in number, are badly needed, as is well illustrated by the difficulties encountered by Schuetz (1980b) in linking name variants with valid Indian groups recorded in the registers of Mission Valero.

Primarily because the basic research is incomplete, modern scholars have not yet agreed on a set of standardized names for use in referring to Indian groups of this region. The first concerted effort to do this was during preparation of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Hodge 1907–1910). Numerous errors were made that are only now beginning to be corrected. In this report we follow, whenever feasible, the spelling of group names given in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*.

Number of Indian Groups at Each Mission

It cannot be assumed that remnants of all Indian groups of the region entered a Spanish mission somewhere. Many group names have been recorded for which there is no evidence linking them with any Spanish mission. What happened to each of these non-missionized groups remains uncertain. Some

groups probably lost their identities very early before many missions had been established.

Although it is difficult to cite good cases, there is enough evidence to show that, prior to mission entry, a small remnant of one displaced group sometimes merged with another ethnic remnant much larger in size, thereby losing its identifying name. This suggests that a fairly large group recorded as bearing a certain name may actually have been an amalgamation of two or more displaced groups who were earlier known by different names. These hidden effects of extensive displacement undoubtedly account for the disappearance of some ethnic group names from later documents. These considerations further suggest that populations recorded in the early eighteenth century for some of the larger Indian groups, either prior to or after mission entry, may be misleading. Such groups may have been larger simply because they were accretions. In later times it is also possible that some group remnants chose to join their overwhelming enemies, the Apaches, rather than to enter Spanish missions.

It also cannot be assumed that all remnants of a particular Indian group went to one particular mission. Comparative studies have already shown, for example, that some groups entered only one of the San Antonio missions while other groups entered two or more. Some of the latter also entered missions elsewhere, as along the Rio Grande in northern Tamaulipas and northeastern Coahuila, or at Goliad and Refugio near the Texas coast. Remnants of the same group did not, however, enter various missions simultaneously. They entered at various times, and this seems to indicate that progressive fragmentation and population decline governed these decisions.

It is important to realize that the total number of Indian groups represented at each of the San Antonio missions will never be precisely known because of inadequate records. The best sources of information are the baptismal, marriage, and burial registers kept at all Spanish missions. These indicate the ethnic affiliation of many Indian individuals, particularly those who accepted Christianity. Unfortunately, not all of these registers have survived, or at least have yet to be found. Of the San Antonio missions, the registers of Valero have survived in fairly good condition; the early marriage register of Concepción has survived; for the remaining San Antonio missions there are only register fragments from the latter part of the mission period, when ethnic affiliation was less commonly recorded.

It is not a simple matter to analyze the mission registers and determine the names of all bona fide Indian groups that were represented at a mission. Some register pages are missing or are damaged in various ways and cannot be fully read. The handwriting is not always easy to read, and each group name is spelled in various ways by the missionaries who made the register entries. The same Indian individual may be identified in various entries by two, three, or even four ethnic group names. Sometimes the correct identification can be determined by analysis of the appropriate register entries, sometimes not.

Those who have searched mission registers for Indian group names have usually paid little attention to each others' efforts. Lists of Indian groups have been compiled for each mission, and comparisons of these lists reveal many discrepancies. For example, Bolton (in Hodge 1910 Vol. II:426) published a list of group names which he had obtained from the Valero registers. Santos (1966–1967) also compiled a list of Valero groups, but he used only the burial register. Thus, Santos missed group names that appear only in the baptismal and marriage registers. As Santos did not compare his list with Bolton's, a reader who does not know of Bolton's list may think that Santos has identified all groups recorded at Valero. Schuetz (1980b:52–54) compiled a list based on analysis of all three Valero registers, but she does not compare her list with those of Bolton and Santos. Confusion results because discrepancies in the three lists are not noted and explained. Bolton's list has names which Schuetz apparently did not find in the registers, and Schuetz's list has names which Bolton appears not to have seen. It is evident that there are pitfalls in the matter of identifying Indian groups recorded in mission registers, and that each compiler is obligated to explain discrepancies. Otherwise a complex matter is made to appear deceptively simple.

When mission registers are lacking, other kinds of documents must be used to discover the names of Indian groups represented at each mission, and such records usually mention only the names of groups that were represented by fairly large numbers of individuals. As additional documents come to light, it may be expected that the list of Indians represented at each mission will slowly increase in length.

As the record now stands, it would appear that far more Indian groups were represented at Valero than at each of the four missions of the historical park, but analysis of the documentary record shows that this disparity is more

apparent than real. We have much better records for Valero than for the other San Antonio missions.

It is instructive to compare the records of Valero with those of San José, two missions that were established at San Antonio about the same time (1718 and 1720, respectively). For San José we have no register information prior to the year 1771. The list of Indian groups recorded for Valero is about four times as long as the list compiled for San José. Missions Concepción and Espada were established at San Antonio in the same year (1731), but the list of Indian groups recorded for Concepción has, until recently, been about twice as long as the list for Espada. The difference is best explained by the fact that the early marriage register of Concepción has survived. It may therefore be concluded that the number of identified Indian groups for a given mission is smaller when some or all of its registers have been lost.

Size of Mission Indian Groups

Most Indians probably entered missions because displacement, fragmentation, and population decline had made them deeply discouraged about the prospects of survival elsewhere. Most of the San Antonio missions contained remnants of many specific Indian groups, and these remnants varied considerably in size. Approximate figures for group size can be determined by analysis of mission registers when these are available. It must, however, be realized that the registers sometimes failed to record the ethnic affiliation of an individual, and also that many Indian individuals at missions were never recorded because they refused to be baptized into the Christian faith. Despite inadequate records, it is reasonably clear that at each mission a few Indian groups were represented by far more individuals than others. Most groups were represented by relatively small numbers of individuals. When mission registers are available, as at Valero, it is evident that some Indian groups were represented by one individual only, or by no more than two, three, or four individuals (see tables compiled by Schuetz 1980b:49–55). Historians have sometimes made statements which imply that each group whose name can be associated with a given mission was represented by a substantial number of individuals. It is best to be cautious and base statements on such concrete figures as are available. It seems obvious that if a mission had no more than 300 individuals at any one time, and if 20, 30, or more Indian groups were represented, most groups could not have been represented by very many individuals.

In general, it may be said that the remnants of specific Indian groups who entered missions during the earlier part of the mission period were larger in size than they were later. As time passed, the population fragments became smaller in size, and there were fewer individuals to enter missions.

Pre-Mission Locations of Indian Groups

It must be stressed that the Spanish documents do not satisfactorily indicate where all Indian groups represented at the San Antonio missions lived before entering the respective missions. For some groups nothing is recorded except the identifying name; for other groups the documents sometimes yield clues which suggest association with some general area. The recorded statements about location are usually few in number and refer to one particular time or to a relatively short period, making it difficult to assess how much displacement was involved. It is, thus, not often that the aboriginal territory occupied by a group can be positively identified. In the ethnohistoric literature of this region, the tendency has been to assume that most of the recorded group locations indicate aboriginal locations. This has obscured the dynamic aspects of Indian group displacement.

Those who have written about the Indians of southern Texas and northeastern Mexico have sometimes presented maps purporting to show group locations. Such maps show the locations of some groups but not of others; this fact is not clearly indicated by map titles or by accompanying explanations. When these maps are checked against written documents, it is found that some groups are placed in areas where they were never reported to be living, and the relative positions of groups shown in a restricted area usually cannot be confirmed. The documents are not sufficiently informative about group locations to permit compilation of reliable maps for any particular date or period.

Indian Languages

Cultural classification of the numerous Indian groups of southern Texas and northeastern Mexico has been based mainly on linguistic classification. This procedure works best when languages are still spoken and can be studied in details, but for this particular region all of the Indian languages formerly spoken are now extinct. Hence all that can be said about linguistic relationships must be based upon speech samples (vocabularies and texts) that were written down by Europeans before the languages became extinct.

In this region few languages were documented, and some of the samples are small, sometimes consisting of vocabularies that total less than 25 words. Except for a few missionaries, Spaniards of the Colonial period lacked the skills and motivation needed for collecting language samples.

It is not now possible to compile a list of Indian groups who spoke the language or dialect represented by each recorded sample. Occasionally Spanish documents refer to two or more Indian groups who spoke the same languages or to two groups who spoke different languages, but they seldom say enough to permit identification of the languages involved. For the majority of Indian groups whose names appear in documents, nothing is recorded about language.

Classification of Indian languages in this region is a modern phenomenon and did not begin until the middle nineteenth century, when the language known as Coahuilteco was first recognized by linguists. Coahuilteco is by far the best-documented language of the region, primarily because two missionaries prepared manuals in this language for use in the administration of church rituals (Garcia 1760; Vergára 1965). Neither these manuals nor other documents specify the names of all Indian groups who originally spoke Coahuilteco. Remnants of other linguistic groups also entered the same missions and some of these had learned to speak Coahuilteco as a second language because it had become the dominant Indian language spoken in the missions.

After a few additional language samples had become known for the region, linguists concluded that these represented languages related to Coahuilteco (Powell 1891; Sapir 1920; Swanton 1940). This conclusion led ethno-historians and anthropologists to believe that the region was occupied by numerous small groups who spoke related languages and thus probably also shared the same basic culture.

Detailed comparative studies of language samples from this region began with Swanton (1915), who later published vocabularies for the languages designated as Coahuilteco, Solano, Comecrudo, Cotonamej, Maratino, Araname, and Karankawa (Swanton 1940). The vocabularies were compared for evidences of linguistic relationship. Although he found the evidence far from satisfactory, Swanton expressed the opinion that the three best-documented languages, Coahuilteco, Comecrudo and Cotoname, were

probably related. He further suggested that these languages might be more distantly related to the Karankawa and Tonkawa languages. Other linguists, apparently not bothered by the problem of inadequate sampling, accepted Swanton's opinions, which were in vogue for several decades.

The first indication that the languages of the region were not related to Coahuilteco came when Eugenio del Hoyo (1960), a Mexican historian, collected a lengthy list of words and phrases, which were accompanied by their meanings in Spanish, from documents in the archives of Nuevo León. These were later analyzed by Gursky (1964), a linguist, who considered them to represent a new language—Quinigua—which he was unable to relate in any way to Coahuilteco.

More recently Ives Goddard (1979), a linguist who has specialized in North American Indian languages, re-examined the linguistic materials then available for southern Texas and the adjoining part of northeastern Mexico. The languages inspected include Tonkawa, Coahuilteco, Karankawa, Comecrudo, Cotoname, Solano, and Aranama. After applying the more rigorous analytical techniques of modern linguistics, Goddard failed to find enough evidence to demonstrate that any of these languages are related. This does not mean that they are definitely not related, merely that no one can convincingly prove them to be related. Goddard also pointed to statements made by early Spanish observers which indicate that still other languages were spoken in the same area, languages that were never documented by vocabularies or texts. He further suggested that the area was probably characterized by linguistic diversity, not by the widespread linguistic uniformity envisioned by earlier scholars. This reversal in linguistic interpretation calls for a re-examination of previous conclusions about a widespread uniformity of culture.

Indian Cultures

As noted in the preceding section, cultural classification for this region has been based on linguistic considerations. It has not grown out of detailed studies of similarities and differences in cultural characteristics recorded for specific Indian groups associated with particular areas.

Only those who have extensively searched the archival collections for recorded information on culture seem to realize how little was recorded for

the Indian groups of the region. For Indians associated with the four missions of the historical park, the recorded information on culture is notably minimal. Very few of the early European observers were sufficiently interested in specific Indian groups to describe their behavior in detail. Most observers apparently believed that the various hunting and gathering groups were all very much alike and that there was no point in showing how one group differed from another, or how groups in one area differed from groups in a nearby area. Most of what these observers recorded was incidental to other interests and appears to be random, that is, without definite aim, purpose, or reason. A substantial amount of cultural description was generalized for Indian groups of a restricted area without any specific group names being mentioned. Hence the same kinds of cultural information were not recorded for many specifically named groups, and this has made it even more difficult to ascertain valid similarities and differences. Furthermore, in the early documents there are inconsistencies and contradictions which scholars have not always recognized. These various documentary deficiencies have too often been ignored by most writers, who seem to follow the early observers in believing that Indian groups of the region shared the same culture.

The concept of a widespread "Coahuiltecan culture" was developed in the early 1950s by F. H. Ruecking, Jr. (1953, 1954, 1955). It was predicated on the belief that the Coahuilteco language was spoken over a very large area in southern Texas and northeastern Mexico, and that all other languages documented for the same region were closely related to Coahuilteco. As noted in the preceding section, however, recent linguistic studies have rendered this belief questionable. The Coahuiltecan culture as described by Ruecking is a composite of miscellaneous descriptive details recorded over a period of several hundred years. The recorded bits of information pertain to miscellaneous Indian groups, some not even identified by names, who lived in limited portions of the region. Ruecking included everything he could find in the published literature (he did no archival research), but he failed to recognize that some of the generalized cultural information came from southern Tamaulipas and is in part referable to certain Indian groups who practiced agriculture. He made no allowances for cultural change through time and ignored the recorded differences between Indians of certain areas.

It is now apparent that no single Indian group of the region could have had a culture that included all of the features of Coahuiltecan culture described by Ruecking. His lack of discrimination in the use of recorded cultural

information has led to gross oversimplification and considerable error. Ruecking's dragnet collecting of cultural information resulted in a useful compilation for the area as a whole, but it is no longer possible to use his concept as the basis for identifying most of the Indian groups as Coahuiltecan in culture. If language is to be used as the basis for cultural classification, one must, in each case, produce evidence that the Coahuilteco language was spoken before inferring a Coahuiltecan culture. According to the evidence now available, less than 60 Indian groups can be identified as *probable* speakers of the Coahuilteco language (Campbell 1983), and most of these can be assigned to an area restricted to southern Texas and parts of northeastern Coahuila. Much of what Ruecking included in his description of Coahuiltecan culture was not recorded for any of these Coahuilteco speakers.

For Indian groups associated with the historical park missions, some categories of culture are either missing from, or sparingly recorded in, documents. Little detail is given about how artifacts were made and used; about the methods of hunting, fishing, and plant food collection; or about how various kinds of foodstuffs were processed and cooked. There is also very little detail recorded about Indian religious concepts and rituals, perhaps because Spaniards of the time were so strongly committed to evangelical Catholicism. This dearth of information makes it virtually impossible to comment on specific changes in the cultures of Indians while they were in the San Antonio missions. It is gratuitous to speculate about new ways of doing things that were introduced when one or more Indian groups entered a mission for the first time, or to speculate about the times when various elements of the Indian cultures disappeared at missions. One must be careful not to read things into the record.

Indian Groups at Mission Concepción

In this and the three following sections, the Indian groups known to have been associated with the four missions of the historical park are identified and discussed. The four sections are arranged in mission geographic order from north to south, and for each mission the Indian group names appear in alphabetical order (see Table 1 for an alphabetized list of Indian groups at all four missions). Each Indian group is discussed as a unit, and the discussion appears when the group name first occurs in the mission sequence. For

example, the Borrado are discussed under the heading of Mission Concepción, but the Borrado recorded for San José Capistrano, and Espada receive only the following notation: see Concepción: Borrado. This procedure, although somewhat cumbersome, preserves descriptive unity for each Indian group and avoids needless repetition of detail when one Indian group was represented at two or more missions.

Mission Concepción was moved to San Antonio in 1731 from a site on the Angelina River of eastern Texas, where it had been known as La Purisima Concepción de los Ainai. Ainai (Hainai) refers to a subdivision of the Hasinai Caddoans. There is no record which indicates that any Caddoan individuals followed the mission when it was moved to San Antonio. As noted above, the fortunate survival of its earlier marriage register has greatly enlarged the number of Indian groups otherwise known to have entered Mission Concepción.

Apache

See Lipan Apache below.

Borrado

The Spanish name Borrado was widely used in northern Mexico, from Tamaulipas westward into Chihuahua, to refer to many Indian groups who decorated their faces and bodies by painting or tattooing (documents rarely indicate which is meant). It is evident that all of these groups were not linguistically or culturally related (Campbell 1979:6; Griffen 1969:57, 156, 172–174; Hoyo 1972:2). Borrado Indians were recorded in documents pertaining to all four missions of the historical park (Schuetz 1980b:51, 55–57), and it seems reasonable to conclude that these Borrado were remnants of various Indian groups displaced from Nuevo León and Tamaulipas. Such information as is available indicates that all Borrado of the San Antonio missions entered those missions after 1750, or after the initial Spanish colonization of northern Tamaulipas. As yet no one has made a thorough study of specific and collective uses of the name Borrado in northeastern Mexico. Except for Mission Concepción, the number of Borrado individuals is not recorded. In the Concepción marriage register Santos (1966–1967:157) found four Borrado; Schuetz (1980b:55) found five; and we have found eight in entries for the years 1767–1775.

Table 1. Indian Groups at Missions of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

Key: 1 Concepción, 2 San José, 3 Capistrano, 4 Espada

Aguastaya 2	Lipan Apache 1, 2	Saguiem 4
Apache 1		Sanipao 1
Aranama 2	Malaguita 1, 3, 4	Sarapjon 1, 3, 4
Arcahomo 4	Manos de Perro 1	Saulapaguem 2
Assaca 4	Mayapem 2	Siguipan 4
	Mesquite 2, 4	Siquipil 1
Borrado 1, 2, 3, 4		Sulujam 2
	Orejón , 3	
Cacalote 4		Tacame 1, 2, 3, 4
Caguaumama 4	Pacao 1, 4	Taguaguan 1, 3, 4
Camama 2	Pachalaque 1	Tejas 2
Camasuqualo 3, 4	Pajalat 3	Tenicapem 2
Cana 2	Pamaque 1, 3, 4	Tilijae 1, 3
Carrizo 4	Pampopa 2	Tilpacopal 1
Cayan 4	Pana 3	Tinapihuaya 1, 3, 4
Chayopin 1, 2, 3	Pasnacan 3	Toaraque 1
Coapite 1	Pastia 2	Tuarique 4
Comanche 1	Patalca 1	
Copan 1	Patumaco 1	Uncrauya 4
Cujan 1, 2	Payaya 1	
	Peana 3	Venado 1, 3
Eyeish 2	Piguique 1, 3	Viayan 1, 3, 4
	Pinto 2	
Gegueriguan 4	Pitalac 3	Xarame 1
Guanbrauta-Aiaquia 3	Pootajpo 4	Xauna 2
Huaraque 4	Queniacapem 2	Yojuane I
		Zacuestacán 4

Camasuqua

Camasuqua, a recently discovered name, refers to one of five Indian groups who were designated collectively as Pamaque (Campbell and Campbell 1981:44–45). Although specifically recorded only for Capistrano, they could have been present among the Pamaque of Concepción and Espada. See Pamaque below.

Chayopin

Over 20 variants of the name Chayopin occur in mission-related documents, including Cayopin, Chaiopin, Choyapin, Saiopin, and Tiopin. The Chayopin entered three of the San Antonio missions: Concepción, San José, and Capistrano (Habig 1968:164–165; Schuetz 1980a:3–5, 10). The Concepción marriage register records one, possibly two, Chayopin (Schuetz 1980b:55). No pre-mission location for the Chayopin seems to have been recorded, but Cabello (1780:37–38) mentions that in 1780 some were living near the coast north of the Nueces River. A group with a similar name, Cayupina, lived in Nuevo León in the middle seventeenth century (León et. al 1961:191), but it is not now possible to demonstrate that the names Chayopin and Cayupina refer to the same Indians.

Garcia (1760:title page) identified the Chayopin as Coahuilteco-speakers, but Goddard (1979:374) doubts that the Chayopin spoke Coahuilteco before entering the San Antonio missions. Suggestions that the Chayopin spoke the Tonkawa language cannot now be taken seriously (Hodge 1907 Vol. I:239; Swanton 1952:310).

Coapite

The Coapite (Guapica, Guapite) were a coastal people, commonly considered to be of Karankawan affiliation, whose earliest known territory was in the vicinity of Matagorda Bay. They seem to have shifted farther westward along the coast later in time. Santos (1966 1967:157) identified two Guapica individuals in the Concepción marriage register, and Schuetz (1980b:55) identified three. We find six Guapica recorded for the period 1738–1746. Most of the Coapite who entered Spanish missions went to those near the coast, particularly at Goliad and Refugio (Bolton 1906; Oberste 1942).

Comanche

The Comanche, who originally lived west of the Rocky Mountains and spoke a Numic (Plateau Shoshonean) language, entered northwestern Texas in the early eighteenth century. Some of the Comanche bands later moved southeastward into the Edwards Plateau, from which they displaced various Apache groups. In Spanish documents pertaining to the San Antonio area, Comanche band names were rarely specified until late in the eighteenth century. The few Comanche who entered San Antonio missions were women and children and evidently captives. Three Comanche were recorded at Mission Valero and two at Concepción (Schuetz 1980b:52, 55).

Copan

The Copan, a coastal people who were most frequently linked with the San Antonio and Aransas bays, have long been regarded as Karankawan in both speech and culture. Four Copan are recorded in the Concepción marriage register for 1768, and one Copan individual is recorded for Mission Valero (Schuetz 1980b:52, 55). Most of the Copan who entered Spanish missions went to those near the coasts, particularly at Goliad and Refugio (Bolton 1915; Oberste 1942).

Cujan

The Cujan, also considered to be Karankawan in affiliation, were associated with the central section of the Texas coast, at various times ranging from Matagorda Bay westward to Aransas Bay. A few Cujan entered Mission Concepción, and in the marriage register are most often listed as "Pujan." That Cujan and Pujan are the same seems to be indicated by the two earliest entries (1734). In these entries the name Cujan appears in the texts and the name Pujan is entered in the margin. Thereafter all entries contain the name Pujan. Santos (1966–1967:157) identifies eight Pujans, and Schuetz (1980b:55) identifies 12 Pujan. We find only nine individuals for the period 1734–1756.

Schuetz (1980b:52, 56) also indicates the presence of "Cujan" at both San José and Valero. Most of the Cujan went to missions at Goliad and Refugio (Bolton 1906; Oberste 1942).

Lipan Apache

Numerous Apache bands with specific names were recorded by Spaniards in what is now known as Texas. Most of these specific names, however, do not appear in the earlier Spanish documents, which commonly use the collective name Apache. No special study has yet been made of all the identifiable Apache bands in Texas. Many names that have been recorded in documents may refer to Apache groups, but this cannot be demonstrated.

In the middle seventeenth century, various Apache bands from the southern Plains, after acquiring horses from Spaniards in New Mexico, moved southeastward into the Edwards Plateau region, displacing the native hunting and gathering groups. It was these Apache groups who were best known to Spaniards at San Antonio, but the Spaniards never bothered to list all the bands by name and indicate where each band normally ranged. One of these groups was known as Lipan (see Hodge 1907 Vol. I:769 for a confusing list of synonyms). After 1750, when most Apache groups of the central Texas highlands were displaced by Comanche Indians and moved into the coastal plain of southern Texas, the Spaniards of the San Antonio area began referring to all Apache groups in southern Texas as Lipan or Lipan Apache (Campbell and Campbell 1981:62–64).

So far as is known, few Apache individuals entered missions of the historical park, probably because many Indian groups of those missions had recently been displaced from southern Texas by Apaches and were still hostile. Lipan Apache are said to have been present at Mission San José. Six Apache and one Lipan are identifiable in the Concepción marriage register. Most of the Apache who entered San Antonio missions went to Valero (Schuetz 1980b:52, 55, 56). It has generally been assumed that all Indian groups referred to in Spanish documents as Apache spoke the Apachean (Athapaskan) language which seems to be reasonable. There must, however have been some cases of mistaken identity.

Malaguita

In numerous Spanish documents the name Malaguita is variously rendered as Maguyalita, Malagueco, Malaquit, Maraguita, Marahuiayo, Maraquita, and Marhita. The ethnohistory of the Malaguita is summarized by Campbell

(1979:20), who cites the main sources of information. The first recorded territory of the Malaguita was in northeastern Tamaulipas (see maps of Jiménez Moreno 1944 and Saldivar 1943). The Malaguita began to be displaced from their territory as early as 1749 and were completely driven out by the extensive colonization of Tamaulipas by José de Escandón. Most of those who did not enter Spanish missions seem to have moved northward into the coastal strip between Corpus Christi Bay and the mouth of the Rio Grande. In some documents of the time, modern Padre Island was referred to as "La Isla de los Malaguitos." Schuetz (1980b:pocket map) places the "Maraquita" just south of Corpus Christi Bay, but this does not take into account the original territory of the Malaguita.

The Malaguita were eclectic in their choice of Spanish missions. Small numbers entered at least 10 different missions in northeastern Coahuila (San Bernardo and San Juan Bautista), eastern Nuevo León (two unidentified missions), northern Tamaulipas (San Agustín de Laredo at Camargo and Señor San Joaquin del Norte at Reynosa) and southern Texas (Concepción, Capistrano, and Espada at San Antonio and Nuestra Señora del Refugio at Refugio). In fact, the Malaguita seem to hold the record for the greatest number of missions entered.

Little can be specified about the relative numbers of Malaguita who entered the San Antonio missions. The Concepción marriage register records the name of only one Malaguita individual (1764; Schuetz 1980b:55). No figures are available on the number of Malaguita at Capistrano and Espada, but the documents indicate arrival after the year 1750.

There is no basis for identifying the Malaguita as Coahuilteco-speakers. Samples of two languages, Comecrudo and Cotoname, are recorded for northern Tamaulipas, but at present there is no way of demonstrating that the Malaguita spoke either of them. Chabot (1931:46) thought that the Malaguita were probably Apaches, implying an Apachean (Athapaskan) language, but this does not appear to be reasonable.

A document of 1757 (Tienda de Cuerbo 1757:175) mentions that the Malaguita and Garza Indians living near Mier, Tamaulipas, lived in small huts, collected wild fruits, and hunted deer.

Manos de Perro

In some documents the Spanish name Manos de Perro is rendered as *Patas de Perro* (dog paws). No native name has ever been linked with the Spanish name, and it is possible that Manos de Perro was a collective name used in referring to remnants of several groups who had distinctive names. Various Spanish documents cite the Manos de Perro as a coastal group who ranged along the islands and adjacent mainland north of Corpus Christi Bay (Cabello 1780:37–38; Dolores 1754:157). Schuetz (1980b:pocket map) follows these leads and places the Manos de Perro along the coast between Aransas and Corpus Christi bays. A Spanish map, which was compiled sometime after 1788, places them south of Corpus Christi Bay (De Villiers du Terrage et Rivet 1919:415), and this may reflect a late southward movement of those who did not choose to enter Spanish missions. Several modern writers have mistakenly placed the Manos de Perro much farther south on the Texas coast near the Rio Grande.

In 1756 a considerable number of Manos de Perro entered Mission Concepción, the only San Antonio mission at which they were recorded. Santos (1966–1967:157) identified 72 Manos de Perro in the Concepción marriage register, and Schuetz (1980b:55) identified 62. We were able to identify only 49 Manos de Perro for the period 1756–1772, but we excluded some individuals who could not be clearly identified as Manos de Perro. An unknown number of Manos de Perro also entered Mission Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga of the Goliad area (Castañeda 1939 Vol. IV:31–32).

Garcia (1760:title page) plainly indicates that the Manos de Perro did not speak the Coahuilteco language before entering Concepción. Various writers, among them Swanton (1940:134), have overlooked this and classified the Manos de Perro as probable speakers of Coahuilteco. Their language remains unknown.

Orejón

As Orejón is a name of Spanish origin, it is possible that the Orejón people were also recorded under one or more native names and that not enough information is available to demonstrate the overlap. The little that was recorded about the pre-mission location of the Orejón seems to indicate an

area between the lower parts of the San Antonio and Nueces rivers (Campbell and Campbell 1981:41–42). Schuetz (1980b:pocket map) places them in a more restricted area between the lower Aransas and Nueces Rivers, apparently in the vicinity of present San Patricio County.

Most of the Orejón who entered missions went to Capistrano, and this is substantiated by various documents written during the period 1731–1794 (Campbell and Campbell 1981:41–42; Schuetz 1980a:3–5, 10, 1980b:57). A few Orejón entered Mission Concepción. In the Concepción marriage register, Santos (1966–1967:157) found the names of two Orejón females, and in various documents Schuetz (1980b:55) found individuals of at least five Orejón at this mission. The Orejón are known to have entered additional missions. A few Orejón from Capistrano accompanied missionaries to three missions that were established in 1748 on the San Gabriel River in Milam County, Texas (Bolton 1914:378), and other Orejón deserted Capistrano sometime before 1754 and went to Mission San Francisco Vizarrón of northeastern Coahuila (Campbell and Campbell 1981).

Goddard (1979:374) thinks that there is enough historical evidence to indicate that the Orejón did not speak Coahuilteco before entering missions, as has long been thought, but probably spoke some other language that was never documented.

Pacao

Considerable confusion has resulted from the failure to distinguish between two Indian groups with similar names, Pacao and Pacoa. Garcia (1760:title page) listed both as mission Indians who spoke the Coahuilteco language. The Pacoa are known only from missions of northwestern Coahuila (Campbell 1979:29–30), and the Pacao are known only from missions at San Antonio.

The Pacao are mentioned in documents referring to the simultaneous foundation of Missions Concepción, Capistrano, and Espada in 1731, and it has sometimes been assumed that Pacao individuals entered all three of these missions. It is difficult to prove or disprove that some of the Pacao entered Mission Capistrano. Most of the Pacao seem to have entered Mission Espada. Several sources mention a Pacao desertion of Espada in 1737, and documents pertaining to a murder case of 1752 record the testimony of 13 adult males

from Espada (Campbell and Campbell 1981:42–43). No more than two Pacao seem to have been identified in the Concepción marriage register, and one of these is said to have come from Espada (Campbell and Campbell 1981:42–43; see also Santos 1966–1967:158; Schuetz 1980b:55). Santos (1966–1967:158) noted the presence of one Pacao individual at Mission Valero, but Schuetz did not find this in the Valero registers.

The pre-mission location of the Pacao is not clearly recorded, but indirect evidence suggests that they lived between the lower courses of the San Antonio and Nueces rivers (Campbell and Campbell 1981:43). Schuetz (1980b:pocket map) has placed the Pacao between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande in the vicinity of present-day Dimmit and Webb counties, but this is the location for Pacoa, not Pacao.

Pachalaque

An identity for this Indian group, known mainly from a few documents that pertain to Mission Concepción, has not yet been clearly established. The Pachalaque were apparently not the same as the Pajalat, since both names were recorded in 1743 on a list of Indian groups said to have been present at Concepción when it was founded in 1731 (Santa Ana 1743:69). Although it cannot be properly demonstrated by citation of documents, it is possible that the Pachalaque of Concepción were the same people as the Pastaloca who were present at Missions San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo near present Guerrero, northeastern Coahuila. In pre-mission times the Pastaloca were encountered between the Rio Grande and the Nueces River in the vicinity of present-day Zavala County (Campbell 1979:33–35). Santos (1966–1967) did not identify any Indians at Concepción under the name Pachalaque. Schuetz (1980b:55), however, identified 15 Pachalaque at this mission. Our analysis of the Concepción register entries has yielded a maximum of eight Pachalaque for the period 1733–1756. It is evident that the main problem here is recognition of the name variants assignable to Pachalaque and Pajalat.

If the Pachalaque of Concepción were the same as the Pastaloca of the Guerrero missions in Coahuila, Mazanet's comments on languages spoken between Guerrero and San Antonio suggest that Coahuilteco was the language spoken by the Pachalaque (Gómez Canedo 1968:240). This is also supported by the apparent close association of Pachalaque with Pajalat, who are known to have spoken a dialect of Coahuilteco (see Pajalat below).

Pajalat

In various documents, both primary and secondary, the name Pajalat has been rendered in over 30 different ways, and some of these are dubiously synonymous. Most of the Pajalat who entered missions seem to have gone to Concepción. We follow Schuetz and interpret the names Pajalat and Pachalaque as representing two separate Indian groups (see Pachalaque above). It is difficult to determine just how many Pajalat individuals are represented in the Concepción marriage register. Santos (1966–1967:157) identified 82 individuals under three names: Pajalate, 44; Cajalate, 13; and Pajalache, 25. We take these names to be synonyms of Pajalat, but our analysis of the register entries does not confirm the figures given. Schuetz (1980b:55) identified 23 individuals as Pajalat. We recognize 33 individuals for the period 1733–1766.

A few Pajalat at seem to have entered other missions of Texas. One "Pasatlath" was baptized at Valero in 1730, and one "Pajalachi" was recorded in the baptismal and burial registers of Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio (Campbell and Campbell 1981:44). In 1748 a few Pajalat from Concepción were taken by missionaries to three missions established on the San Gabriel River near present Rockdale, Milam County (Bolton 1914:378). Schuetz (1980b:57) indicates that some Pajalat entered Mission Capistrano in 1731, but we are unable to confirm this by clear documentary evidence.

In 1727 the Pajalat were twice reported as living along the lower San Antonio River, and one of these sources is a map that places the Pajalat in what is now western Goliad County (Campbell and Campbell 1981:43). A document of 1746 (Santa Ana 1743:69) indicates that the Pajalat came to the San Antonio missions from the same area, and another document of 1780 (Cabello 1780) implies that some of the Pajalat were still living in that area. The pocket map of Schuetz (1980b) places the Pajalat farther to the northwest, along Cibolo Creek in the northern part of Wilson County, a location we have been unable to verify. Goddard (1979:364–367) has reviewed evidence which clearly indicates that the Pajalat spoke a dialect of the Coahuilteco language.

Pamaque

It is now known that Pamaque is a collective name that means "people of the south" and that at least five specifically named groups were referred to by

this geographic term: Camasuqua, Sarapjon, Taguaguan, Tinapihuaya, and Viayan. It would thus appear that there never was a primary ethnic unit known specifically as Pamaque (Campbell and Campbell 1981:44–45). The various Pamaque subdivisions are rather clearly linked with an area near the mouth of the Nueces River, which is where Schuetz (1980b) places the name Pamaque on her map.

Pamaque groups were represented at all of the historical park missions except San José. Santos (1966–1967:157) identified nine "Pamache" in the Concepción marriage register. Schuetz (1980b:55) identified 14 "Pamache" and one Pamaque, the latter said to have come to Concepción from Capistrano. In our analysis of the Concepción marriage register, we found only nine clearly identifiable "Pamache" and Pamaque. There seems to be no good reason for assuming that the two names refer to separate ethnic units.

The Pamaque and their subdivisions are best known from Capistrano (Schuetz 1980a), and some of these deserted Capistrano and entered Mission San Francisco Vizarrón of northeastern Coahuila. Most of what is known about the Pamaque comes from documents pertaining to a jurisdictional dispute between missionaries of Capistrano and Vizarrón. Only one Pamaque can be linked with Espada and one "Pamqua" at Valero was probably a Pamaque (Campbell and Campbell 1981:44–45).

A few Pamaque were recorded at Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio for the period 1807–1825. Almaraz (1979:52) indicates the presence of one Pamaque individual at Mission San Bernardo of northeastern Coahuila, but this is an error (a misreading of the name Pamasu).

García (1760:title page) identified the Pamaque among Indian groups who spoke Coahuilteco in San Antonio missions, but there is enough evidence to indicate that they probably spoke some other language before going to San Antonio (Goddard 1979:364, 374).

Patalca

The name Patalca appears to have been recorded only in the marriage register of Mission Concepción. In this register Santos (1966–1967:157) recognized eight Patalca individuals (one was given under the name "Iatalca" which is an obvious misreading of Patalca). Schuetz (1980b:55) recognized nine

Patalca; our review of the register entries indicates that perhaps as many as 12 Patalca individuals may be recorded.

As the name Patalca was not given separate entry status in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Hodge 1907–1910), little attention has been focused on the question of Patalca identity. Is Patalca a valid group name, or is it possibly a distorted variant of some other group name? It has been suggested (Campbell 1979:43) that Patalca may be a corruption of the name Pitalac which is documented for nearby Mission Capistrano (see Capistrano: Pitalac). In a recent review of the Concepción register, a detail was noted that we had previously overlooked. A Patalca woman of Concepción is said to have a sister living at Capistrano. Documents pertaining to Capistrano refer to Pitalac but never to Patalca, and this makes equation of the names Patalca and Pitalac appear even more plausible.

Patumaco

Patumaco are known by name only from the marriage register of Mission Concepción in which Patumaco adults are identified during the period 1733–1762. It is difficult to determine just how many Patumaco individuals are identifiable in this register. Our first analysis led us to identify only 28 individuals (Campbell and Campbell 1981:54), but a later analysis indicated that perhaps as many as 37 individuals could be identified. Santos (1966–1967:157) identified 31 Patumaco, and Schuetz (1980b:55) seems to have identified at least 55 individuals. The Concepción marriage register apparently indicates a close pre-mission association of Patumaco with Pajalat, Siquipil, and Tilpacopal, and a Spanish map of 1727 places the Pajalat in what is now the western part of Goliad County (Campbell and Campbell 1981). The Patumaco may have lived in the same area. Schuetz (1980b) has a pocket map which places the Patumaco farther to the northwest, apparently in present Karnes County.

If the Patumaco spoke the same language as the Pajalat, then they can be identified as speakers of the Coahuilteco language (Goddard 1979:364–367).

Payaya

Of the four historical park missions, the Payaya were represented only at Mission Concepción, where a Payaya woman from Valero was married in

1739. The Payaya entered Mission Valero in greater numbers than any other group. A considerable amount of information on the Payaya has been presented by Campbell (1975) and Schuetz (1980b). The pre-mission territory of the Payaya extended from San Antonio southwestward for a distance of at least 40 miles and Payaya in small numbers also entered missions in northeastern Coahuila: San Bernardo, San Juan Bautista, and San Francisco Solano (Campbell 1979:39). A few words believed to be of Payaya origin seem to indicate that the Payaya spoke a dialect of the Coahuilteco language (Goddard 1979:366–367).

Piguique

It has not been known until recently that Piguique is a collective name used to refer to several Indian groups which also had specific names. Unfortunately, no document has yet been found which identifies the specific names or indicates how many there were. It thus seems likely that known documents contain some of these specific names but do not link them with the Piguique.

Evidently most of the Piguique who came to San Antonio missions entered Capistrano in 1747 or shortly thereafter. Some of these deserted Capistrano sometime before 1754 and entered Mission San Francisco Vizarrón of northeastern Coahuila (Campbell and Campbell 1981:54). Very few Piguique appear to have entered Mission Concepción. Santos (1966–1967:157) identified two "Siquiques" in the Concepción marriage register, but Schuetz (1980b:55) identifies only one, a male said to have come there from Capistrano. Our analysis of the Concepción register agrees with that of Schuetz. "Piguican" were recorded in 1768 as being present at Mission Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga at present Goliad, and at least one Piguique is indicated for the year 1809 at Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio at Refugio, Texas (Campbell and Campbell 1981).

Although the Piguique have sometimes been identified as originally living in Coahuila, this cannot be demonstrated. The Piguique are most closely linked with the coastal zone lying between the San Antonio and Nueces rivers, for missionaries refer to them as a coastal people or as a people who occupied the coastal marshes (Campbell and Campbell 1981). Schuetz (1980b:pocket map) places them along the lower Nueces River northwest of Corpus Christi Bay, which may be too far inland to agree with the coastal-marsh terrain noted by missionaries.

Although Garcia (1760:title page) indicated that before entering San Antonio missions the Piguique did not speak the Coahuilteco language, this has not prevented some writers from classifying the Piguique as Coahuilteco-speakers. One missionary, Joseph de Guadalupe, noted that the Piguique spoke a language different from other Indian languages that were spoken at Capistrano (Campbell and Campbell 1981; Goddard 1979:374).

Sanipao

The Sanipao are known only from documents pertaining to Mission Concepción, which indicate that some of them arrived there as early as 1753. Santos (1966–1967:157) identified 24 Sanipao in the Concepción marriage register, but Schuetz (1980b:55) found 37 Sanipao individuals. Our analysis yielded 34 for the period 1753–1776, which agrees fairly well with the figure given by Schuetz.

We have been unable to find a document indicating a pre-mission location for the Sanipao. Schuetz (1980b:pocket map) places the Sanipao in northeastern Coahuila, but no documentary support has been found for this location. We have previously suggested (Campbell and Campbell 1981:56) that the Sanipao may have originally lived in southern Texas, from which so many other groups came to Concepción. It is possible that the Sanipao were referred to in other documents by one of the collective names known to have been used in southern Texas.

Garcia (1760:title page) clearly indicates that the Sanipao did not speak the Coahuilteco language before entering Mission Concepción. In spite of this, most writers have identified the Sanipao as Coahuilteco speakers. As no identified sample of Sanipao speech is known, it seems likely that this people spoke one of the undocumented languages of the region. It is gratuitous to suggest (see Webb 1952 Vol. II:567) that the Sanipao may have spoken the Tonkawa language.

Sarapjon

Sarapjon is a new name in ethnohistoric literature (Campbell and Campbell 1981:44–45) and refers to one of five Indian groups who were designated collectively as Pamaque. They are specifically recorded only for Capistrano, but could have been present among the Pamaque of Concepción and Espada. See Pamaque above.

Siquipil

Recognizable variants of this name are known only from documents pertaining to Mission Concepción. Santos (1966–1967:157) identified 16 Siquipil in the Concepción marriage register. Schuetz (1980b:55) identified a total of 29, which evidently includes individuals recorded later than the period 1733–1756. Our analysis of the register entries agrees with that of Santos.

Based on a pre-mission association of Siquipil, Pajalat, and Patumaco, as indicated in the Concepción register, and the location of the Pajatlat on a 1727 Spanish map, it is possible that in 1727 the Siquipil may have been living in what is now western Goliad County (Campbell and Campbell 1981:56). The pocket map of Schuetz (1980b) places the Siquipil farther to the northwest, evidently in present Wilson County. If the Siquipil spoke the same language as their associates, the Pajalat, then the Siquipil can be identified as speakers of the Coahuilteco language (Goddard 1979:364–367). This receives some support from similarities in recorded native personal names (Campbell and Campbell 1981).

Tacame

During the early period at San Antonio, the Tacame were noted for shifting from one mission to another. It appears that they first entered San José, but in 1736 they left this mission for Espada, from which over 200 Tacame are said to have fled in 1737 to a locality somewhere on the Colorado River (Santa Ana 1737:380, 1739:40). Later a few Tacame entered Mission Valero. Eventually most of the Tacame settled down at Mission Concepción, where they seem to have been the most numerous group. Santos (1966–1967:157) identified 69 Tacame in the Concepción marriage register, and Schuetz (1980b:55) reports a total of 80.

A specific pre-mission location for the Tacame appears not to have been recorded, but indirect evidence in various documents indicates an area lying between the lower courses of the San Antonio and Nueces rivers (Campbell and Campbell 1981:59). García (1760:title page) listed the Tacame among Indian groups who spoke Coahuilteco at the San Antonio missions, and most writers have assumed that they also spoke Coahuilteco before arriving at the missions.

Taguaguan

The name Taguaguan refers to one of five Indian groups collectively designated as Pamaque (Campbell and Campbell 1981:44–45). They are specifically recorded only for Capistrano, but could have been present among the Pamaque of Concepción and Espada. See Pamaque above.

Tilijae

Some 45 variants of the name Tilijae appear in numerous documents, and most of these are readily recognizable and can be demonstrated by contextual evidence in the documents. It seems evident that the Tilijae, when first recorded in 1675, were living in northeastern Coahuila from which they were displaced into southern Texas after 1700 (Campbell 1979:48–49). It was after displacement from Coahuila that some of the Tilijae entered Missions Espada and Concepción at San Antonio. Schuetz (1980b:pocket map) places the "Tiloja" south of the Nueces River (vicinity of present Dimmit County), which indicates their location after being displaced from Coahuila and before entering the San Antonio missions.

At various times some of the Tilijae entered missions in northeastern Coahuila, among them San Bernardino de la Candela, San Juan Bautista, and San Francisco Vizarrón (Campbell 1979). Apparently most of the Tilijae who entered San Antonio missions went to Capistrano. According to the mission foundation document examined by Bolton (in Hodge 1910 Vol. II:880), the "Tiloujaa" were one of two groups for which Mission Capistrano was founded in 1731. At least 20 "Thelojas" were recorded there for the year 1737 (Habig 1968:164). Only one Tilijae was recorded in the Concepción marriage register. Bolton (1915:16) read the group name as "Teloja," Santos (19661967:157) as "Tileja," and Schuetz (1980b:55) as "Tilofa." García (1760:title page) identified the Tilijae language as Coahuilteco. As the Tilijae came from an area in Coahuila where Coahuilteco was commonly spoken, it seems reasonable to accept them as Coahuilteco-speakers.

Tilpacopal

The Indian group Tilpacopal is known only from the marriage register of Mission Concepción. No positive statement about pre-mission location of the Tilpacopal seems to have been recorded, but circumstantial evidence in the Concepción register suggests that the Tilpacopal lived in the same area

as the Pajalat, that is in the western part of modern Goliad County (Campbell and Campbell 1981:59). The pocket map of Schuetz (1980b), however places the Tilpacopal near the junction of Cibolo Creek with the San Antonio River in Karnes County.

Santos (1966–1967:157) recognized 22 Tilpacopal individuals in the Concepción marriage register; Schuetz (1980b:55) recognized 24. Our analysis of entries for the period 1733–1756 yields a figure of 26, which agrees well with the figures of both Santos and Schuetz. If the Tilpacopal spoke the same language as the Pajalat, a Coahuilteco dialect is indicated (Goddard 1979:363–367).

Tinapihuaya

This was one of five groups referred to collectively as Pamaque (Campbell and Campbell 1981:44–45). They are specifically recorded only for Capistrano, but could have been present among the Pamaque of Concepción and Espada. See Pamaque above.

Toaraque

Schuetz (1980b:55) recently called attention to a document of 1772 which records the presence of 18 Toaraque at Mission Concepción. On her maps, Schuetz places the name Toarque (presumably a miscopy of Toaraque) in northeastern Coahuila, and it is followed by a question mark, which seems appropriate. We have been unable to find the name in Coahuila documents. The Toaraque of Concepción may have been the same as the Tuarique of Espada, but documentary proof is lacking.

Venado

The Venado (deer) recorded at the San Antonio missions of Capistrano and Concepción are generally believed to be the same Venado (also given as Benado) as those associated with the lower Rio San Juan of northern Tamaulipas and the adjoining part of Nuevo León (see maps by Jiménez Moreno 1944; Saldívar 1943; Schuetz 1980b). Some of these Venado remained south of the Rio Grande and were associated with Mission Agustín de Laredo of Camargo (Bolton 1913:450–451); others seem to have crossed the Rio Grande into southern Texas and eventually ended up at San Antonio

missions (Santa Ana 1743:69). One or more native names for the Venado may be recorded in documents, but as yet no linkages have been demonstrated.

Most of the Venado at the San Antonio missions apparently entered Capistrano, which is said to have been founded for Venado and Tilijae Indians in 1731. In 1737 the Venado abandoned Capistrano but later returned (Bolton, in Hodge 1910 Vol II:880; see also Schuetz 1980a:3, 5, 10). It has sometimes been assumed that some of the Venado of Capistrano moved to Mission San Francisco Vizarrón in northeastern Coahuila, but the Venado of Vizarrón were refugees from Chihuahua farther to the west and were probably unrelated to the Venado of Tamaulipas and southern Texas (Griffen 1969:74; Revilla Gigedo 1966:61).

Only a few Venado entered Mission Concepción at San Antonio. Santos (1966–1967:157) and Schuetz (1980b:55) identified two Venado individuals at Concepción, but our analysis of entries in the marriage register indicates four Venado for the period 1740–1770. Garcia (1760:title page) listed Venado among those who spoke the Coahuilteco language, but Goddard (1979:364–365) doubts if they spoke Coahuilteco before coming to San Antonio.

Viayan

The Viayan were one of five Indian groups who were collectively referred to as Pamaque (Campbell and Campbell 1981:44–45). They are recorded by this name only for Capistrano, but could have been present among the Pamaque of Concepción and Espada. It is possible that the Viayan were the same as the Bioy, who were said to be living in southern Texas in 1708 (Maas 1915:36–37). See Pamaque above.

Xarame

At various times during the late seventeenth century, the Xarame were encountered by Spaniards in an area extending from northeastern Coahuila northeastward to the Frio River southwest of San Antonio. They entered various Coahuila missions, including San Francisco Solano, San Juan Bautista, and San Bernardo (Campbell 1979:52–53). Nearly all of the Xarame who came to San Antonio entered Mission Valero, where they were the second most numerous group (Schuetz 1980b:53). Of the remaining San Antonio missions, the Xarame entered only one, Concepción. The marriage register

of Concepción yields the names of only two Xarame individuals (Schuetz 1980b:55). As the Xarame, when first known, ranged over an area in which the Coahuilteco language was commonly spoken, it is generally assumed that they spoke that language.

Yojuane

This Indian group has long been identified as a subdivision of the Tonkawa Indians (Bolton, in Hodge 1910 Vol. II:998–999; Sjoberg 1953:281–283), but this identification has never been fully demonstrated by a detailed ethnohistoric study of the Yojuane. It seems clear that no sample of the Yojuane language was ever recorded. When first known under the name Diujuan in 1691, the Yojuane were living in northern Texas west of the Hasinai Caddoans (Casañas, in Swanton 1942:251). The French encountered Yojuane on the Red River in 1719, at which time they were associated with Tonkawa and also with other groups which some writers identify as Wichita. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that Yojuane moved southward into an area generally east of San Antonio. The map of Schuetz (1980b) shows Yojuane west of the lower Brazos River, apparently in the vicinity of present Fort Bend County. This was one of their later locations.

For the four park missions, no Tonkawa seem to have been recorded, and only two Yojuane individuals can be identified in the Concepción marriage register. The entries are for the brief period of 1758–1760 (Schuetz 1980b:55). There were, however, six Tonkawa and eight Yojuane at nearby Mission Valero (Schuetz 1980b:53).

Indian Groups at Mission San José

Mission San José was established at San Antonio in 1720, two years after the first mission, Valero, was founded. Mission Valero had been organized by missionaries from Querétaro, but San José was inaugurated by missionaries from Zacatecas, who apparently were eager to work among the numerous displaced Indian groups of the San Antonio area. As the early registers of Mission San José have not been found, the names of its resident Indian groups must come from other types of documents. It seems evident that more Indian groups were represented at San José than those whose names are given below.

Aguastaya

Various documents definitely link the Aguastaya with Mission San José (Forrestal 1931:20; Haggard 1942:77; Morfi 1935:98), but these do not indicate a pre-mission location for the Aguastaya. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the Aguastaya may have lived somewhere not far south of San Antonio. It has been speculated that the Aguastaya may have been the same people as the Oaz recorded by Espinosa in 1708 as living in southern Texas, and possibly the same as the Yguaz (Yguazes) known to Cabeza de Vaca in 1533–1535 (Campbell and Campbell 1981:22–23). Although some writers suggest that the Aguastaya may have spoken Coahuilteco (Swanton 1940:134), this is not demonstrable.

Aranama

Aranama has sometimes been confused with Xarame and some of its name variants, but there is no known connection between the two Indian groups. Very few Aranama seem to have entered San Antonio missions. Schuetz (1980b:56) reports the presence of "Jaraname, Araname" at Mission San José but appears to have overlooked the eight Aranama individuals recorded in the registers of Mission Valero for the period 1748–1762. It is possible that the Aranama of San José were visitors, not residents of the mission.

The Aranama, when first clearly recorded, seem to have been associated with an inland area extending eastward from the lower Guadalupe River, perhaps as far as the lower Colorado River. Most of the Aranama entered Mission Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga at its two successive locations in the Goliad areas, and several Aranama individuals were recorded at Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio as late as 1817 (Bolton 1915; Oberste 1942).

A few Aranama words have been recorded, and for a time these were believed to indicate a relationship with the Coahuilteco language. Goddard (1979:372–373, 377, 380) has shown that there is not enough evidence to link the Aranama words with any documented language of southern Texas.

Borrado

See Concepción: Borrado.

Camama

Camama has been variously written as Camana, Canama, and Canana, and it is not known which form of the name is most accurate. The name appears in a diary written in 1767 by José de Solís, who lists a number of Indian groups said to have entered Mission San José after it was established in 1720 (Campbell 1975:20–22; Forrestal 1931:20; Morfi 1935:98). Just who the Camama were, and where they lived before entering San José, remains unknown. It is possible that Camama refers to the Caguaumama recorded at Mission Espada during the period 1753–1767. This is of little help because no identity has yet been established for the Caguaumama.

Cana

In 1768 José de Solís also listed the Cana (Cano) as one of several Indian groups who had entered Mission San José after it was founded (see references in Camama above). It seems reasonable to equate the Cana of San José with the Canua who originally ranged along both sides of the Rio Grande in the Laredo area (Campbell 1979:8–9). The Canua (also recorded in Mexico as Cano and Cana) entered at least four missions of northeastern Coahuila in northern Nuevo León. The language spoken by the Canua remains unknown.

Chayopin

See Concepción: Chayopin.

Cujan

See Concepción: Cujan.

Eyeish

Schuetz (1980b:56) reports the presence of "Ais" (Eyeish) at Mission San José. We, however, have not seen the document which contains this information. The Eyeish were a Caddoan group of eastern Texas (Swanton 1942:see Swanton's index for numerous references to Eyeish). It does not appear likely that very many Eyeish were present at San José because in their homeland the Eyeish were hostile to Spanish missionary activity.

Lipan Apache

See Concepción: Lipan Apache.

Mayapem

The name Mayapem, also rendered as Mallopeme, Mauliapeños, and Mayapomi, is said to have been recorded for Mission San José (Hodge 1907 Vol. I:695; Schuetz 1980b:56). The Mayapem were first encountered by Spaniards in 1747, when they were living on the delta of the Rio Grande (Escandón 1747:239; see also maps by Jiménez Moreno 1944 and Saldívar 1943). Some of the Mayapem entered missions in northern Tamaulipas: San Agustín de Laredo of Camargo after 1764, and San Joaquin del Monte of Reynosa after 1790 (Bolton 1913:449–451). In 1780 Cabello (1780:37) reported "Mauliapeños" as living along the coast of southern Texas (somewhere between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande), and it was probably some of these who entered Mission San José.

It no longer seems reasonable to classify the Mayapem as Coahuilteco-speakers (Swanton 1940:134). Their association with Cotoname on the Rio Grande delta in 1747 suggests that they may have spoken the Cotoname language, two samples of which have been recorded (Goddard 1979:370).

Mesquite

Mesquite Indians were recorded in various documents as being represented at Mission San José (Bolton 1915:99100; Forrestal 1931:20; Morfi 1935:98); some Mesquite were present at Mission Espada (Castañeda 1939 Vol. IV:ll; Habig 1968:215); and a considerable number of Mesquite also entered Mission Valero (Schuetz 1980b:52). This group name is difficult to assess because it is a name of Nahuatl origin which Spaniards applied to various apparently unrelated Indian groups of Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, and Texas (Campbell 1979:2425). It cannot be positively stated that the Mesquite of San José, Espada, and Valero were the same people, although it has generally been assumed that they were. As a document of 1708 (Maas 1915:36–37) indicates that a group called Mesquite was then living somewhere south of San Antonio, it seems reasonable to conclude that these were the Mesquite of San José. Swanton (1952:310) was probably thinking of the Mesquite of San José when he classified the Mesquite as Coahuilteco-speakers. It should

be noted, however, that no Spanish document has been found that refers to the language spoken by these particular Mesquite.

Pampopa

The Pampopa, one of three Indian groups for which Mission San José was founded in 1720 (Valdéz 1720:1718), were apparently a fairly numerous group. It is clear that not all of the Pampopa entered Mission San José, for in 1727 some 500 Pampopa were said to be living on the Nueces River in the vicinity of present Dimmit and La Salle counties (de Paredes 1727:42–43). Their territory is known to have extended from the lower Medina River southward across the lower Frio River to the Nueces River. Their ethnohistory has recently been summarized (Campbell 1979:32; Campbell and Campbell 1981:45–48). Some of the Pampopa entered Mission San Juan Bautista of northeastern Coahuila, and a few seem also to have entered Mission Valero at San Antonio. Garcia (1760:title page) identified the Pampopa as speakers of the Coahuilteco language.

Pastia

The Pastia were closely associated with the Pampopa (see above), shared the same territory, and probably spoke the same language, Coahuilteco. An unknown number of Pastia entered Mission San José with the Pampopa in 1720. Bolton (in Hodge 1910 Vol. II:93) errs in stating that the Pastia were present at Mission Concepción; he mistook two personal names for ethnic group names. All that is currently known about the Pastia has been recently summarized (Campbell and Campbell 1981:49–54). This summary clarifies some of the confusion concerning Pastia name variants.

Pinto

Schuetz (1980b:56) lists the Pinto as being present at Mission San José. In northeastern Mexico, and particularly in northern Tamaulipas, the Spanish word Pinto was often used to identify any Indians who were tattooed. As no one has yet made an identity study of the Pinto, it is difficult to distinguish between specific and collective uses of the name. The Saulapaguem and Tenicapem (see entries below), who went to San José from the Rio Grande delta areas, were sometimes referred to in Tamaulipas documents as Pinto because they were tattooed. At San José, the name Pinto could have been

used to refer either to these two groups or to some particular group that may have been consistently designated as Pinto. Whoever the Pinto of San José actually were, they probably came to the mission from northern Tamaulipas.

Queniacapem

Several apparent variants of this name occur in documents, including Canaguiapem, Ginacapé, Gincape, Guianapaqueños, and Quianapaqueños. The Queniacapem were recorded in 1755 and in 1772 as being at a mission known as Nuestra Señora del Rosario en el Cabezón de la Sal, near present-day San Fernando in northeastern Tamaulipas. In the two documents the name is given as Canaguiapem and as Quenicapem (Saenz 1755:622; Conde de la Sierra Gorda 1772:439). The maps of Jiménez Moreno (1944) and Saldívar (1943) render the name as Queniacapem. In 1780 Cabello (1780:37) mentioned that some of the "Quianapaqueños" were then living near the coast of southern Texas, between the Nueces River and the mouth of the Rio Grande. These were probably the same as the Ginacapé or Gincape recorded at Mission San José in 1784–1785 (Hodge 1907 Vol. I:955; Schuetz 1980b:56).

Saulapaguem

All known variants of the name Saulapaguem are readily recognizable, except perhaps Alapaguem and Talapaguem. At Mission San José, the Saulapaguem were recorded as Salaphueme, Salapagueme, and Salapaqueme (Bolton, in Hodge 1910 Vol. II:729, 955; Schuetz 1980b:56).

The Saulapaguem were first encountered by Spaniards in 1747, when they were listed as one of many groups who lived on the delta of the Rio Grande (Escandón 1747:237–239). In 1758 they were again recorded as living with other Indian groups in the vicinity of Reynosa, Tamaulipas (López de la Cámara Alta 1758:128129). The document of 1747 notes that the Saulapaguem and their neighbors used the bow and arrow, hunted birds and deer, and fished. Males wore no clothing whatever, but females wore a short apron made of grass or animal skin. The document of 1758 refers to the Saulapaguem and other named groups as "Pintos" because males were tattooed on the face and females were tattooed on both the face and body. They fished with the bow and arrow. Furthermore, they were said to speak dialects of the same language. If this can be taken at face value, then the

language spoken may have been Cotoname, because one of the groups was identified as "Catanamepaque."

Some of the Saulapaguem entered two missions of northern Tamaulipas: San Agustín de Laredo at Camargo after 1764, and San Joaquín del Monte at Reynosa after 1790 (Bolton 1913:449–451).

Sulujam

The name Sulujam has been rendered in more than 30 different ways, and some variants are badly distorted. It is quite clear that the Sulujam, Pampopa, and Pastia were the principal groups for which Mission San José was founded in 1720 (Valdéz 1720:17–18). Apparently most of the Sulujam who entered missions went to San José, for only a few Sulujam were recorded at Mission Valero (Schuetz 1980b:54).

In 1709 the Sulujam were reported to be living along the San Antonio River an unspecified distance downstream from the site of the city of San Antonio (Tous 1930:5, 13). In the previous year, 1708, Espinosa had listed them among Indian groups living somewhere in present southern Texas (Maas 1915:36–37). On her maps, Schuetz (1980b) doubtfully places the Sulujam in northeastern Coahuila. They may have lived there originally, but we are unable to clarify this by citing Coahuila documents.

The language spoken by the Sulujam seems to have been Coahuilteco. The mission foundation documents indicate that the Sulujam, Pampopa, and Pastia all spoke the same language, and Garcia (1760:title page) lists the Pampopa among those who spoke Coahuilteco.

Tacame

See Concepción: Tacame.

Tejas

The name Tejas, which is Caddoan and means "friends" or "allies," was used by Spaniards to refer collectively to most of the Hasinai Caddoans of eastern Texas (Swanton 1942). Schuetz (1980b:53, 56) reports "Texa" and "Tejas" at San José and Valero (only two individuals are so identified at

Valero). The few Eyeish and Tejas of San José and Valero seem to be the only Caddoans recorded at San Antonio missions.

Tenicapem

At Mission San José the Tenicapem were recorded as Tanaicapeme (Bolton, in Hodge 1907 Vol. I:958). Bolton (in Hodge 1910 Vol. II:729) errs in attempting to equate Tenicapem with Saulapaguem. The Tenicapem originally lived in the Rio Grande delta region and are described in the same documents of 1747 and 1758 cited for the Saulapaguem above. The details on economic life, clothing, face and body decorations, and language will not be repeated here.

Xauna

In 1767 José de Solís listed the Xauna as one of several Indian groups who had entered Mission San José sometime after its foundation in 1720 (Forrestal 1931:20; Kress and Hatcher 1931:51). In secondary sources this name has been altered to Huane (Hodge 1907 Vol. I:574) and Xama (Hackett 1931 Vol I:263). No one has yet been able to establish an identity for the Xauna. They are probably the same as the Anna listed by Rivera y Villalón (1945:125) and the Xana listed by Barrio Junco y Espriella (1763:148). Both Anna and Xana were listed for southern Texas. Perhaps all of these names refer to the Anxau who were seen in 1690 by Damián Massanet on the Medina River west or southwest of modern San Antonio (Gómez Canedo 1968:160).

Indian Groups at Mission Capistrano

In 1731 Mission Capistrano was moved to San Antonio from eastern Texas, where it was known as San José de los Nazonis. The Nasoni were Caddoan Indians, some of whom lived on the Red River while others lived farther south with the Hasinai Caddoans of central eastern Texas (Swanton 1942). The early Capistrano registers have not been found, but information taken from them is included in documents that record a dispute over Indians between missionaries of Capistrano and Mission San Francisco Vizarrón of northeastern Coahuila (Guadalupe 1754a, 1754b, 1754c; Rodriguez 1755). These documents are especially valuable because they contain information on collective names used and on various languages spoken by Indians at Capistrano. Schuetz (1980a) has recently published a valuable summary of the contents of many documents connected with Mission Capistrano.

Borrado

See Concepción: Borrado.

Camasuqua

See Concepción: Pamaque and Camasuqua.

Chayopin

See Concepción: Chayopin.

Guanbrauta-Aiaquia

The hyphenated name Guanbrauta-Aiaquia is given by Schuetz and linked with Mission Capistrano for the year 1772 and also later (Schuetz 1980a:8, 10 and 1980b:57, 63, 264, 273, 292–293). The first part of the name is also rendered as Guanbranta. The second part is evidently the same as the Aiaquia separately cited earlier by Lynn et al. (1977:35) as a Capistrano group from the "Texas coast." We have not seen the primary documents cited by Schuetz and are puzzled by the hyphenated presentation. In various documents of the region we have never encountered an Indian group name similar to either part of the hyphenated name. We have, however, seen entries in the baptismal register of Mission Valero (1741–1746) that refer to an adult female, identified as a Tena (also as Tina) Indian, whose personal name is recorded as Aiegueta and Aieguita. One wonders if perhaps Guanbrauta and Aiaguia are personal names rather than ethnic group names. Schuetz (1980b:Figure 3, 1,D) illustrates a pattern of facial tattooing identified as "Guanbrauta-Aiaguia?" The case of the Guanbrauta-Aiaguia needs further study.

Malaguita

See Concepción: Malaguita.

Orejón

See Concepción: Orejón.

Pajalat

See Concepción: Pajalat.

Pamaque

See Concepción: Pamaque.

Pana

Schuetz (1980a:3, 1980b:57) lists Pana as a name recorded for Mission Capistrano and equates it with Panascan, for which we use the variant Pasnacan. We list Pana here separately because we are not certain that the two names are synonymous. There is a possibility that Pana may be equivalent to the name Peana, which is recorded for one individual at Capistrano (see Peana below).

Pasnacan

The Pasnacan are best recorded in documents connected with the dispute over Indians by missionaries of Capistrano and San Francisco Vizarrón (Guadalupe 1754a, 1754b, 1754c; Rodríguez 1755; see also Campbell and Campbell 1981:48–49). Pasnacan first entered Capistrano in 1743. It is not clear just where the Pasnacan lived before going to Capistrano, but it was evidently somewhere near the coast southwest of Goliad (Santa Ana 1743:69). Guadalupe (1754b:179–180) indicates that Pasnacan is a collective name, but he provides no specific names for Pasnacan groups. No information seems to have been recorded on the language of the Indian groups designated as Pasnacan.

Peana

One Peana individual can be linked with Mission Capistrano. In the baptismal register of Mission Valero, one Peana woman (Rosa de Viterbo) is said to have died at Capistrano in 1739. At least eight Peana (sometimes also given as Mapeana) were recorded at Valero during the period 1727–1743 (Schuetz 1980b:53). Beyond this nothing is recorded about the Peana. Swanton (1940:135) listed the Peana as probable Coahuilteco-speakers, but this is obviously a guess. See also Pana above.

Piguique

See Concepción: Piguique.

Pitalac

The Pitalac can be connected with two San Antonio missions, Concepción and Capistrano, and also with one mission of northeastern Coahuila, San Juan Bautista. Occasionally modern writers have referred to Pitalac at Mission Espada, but this has not been authenticated.

The Pitalac of Concepción seem to have been recorded under the name Patalca (see Concepción: Patalca). At Capistrano the Pitalac were recorded under two names: "Pitalaque" (Espinosa 1964:747) and "Alobja" (Pérez de Mezquía 1731:36). Schuetz (1980b:57) lists three names for the Pitalac of Capistrano: "Pitalaque, Alobaja, Pacitalac" (see also Habig 1968:162, 271). Only one Pitalac individual was recorded at Mission San Juan Bautista of Coahuila and this was for the year 1772 (Campbell 1979:42–43).

Indirect evidence suggests that prior to entering the San Antonio missions, the Pitalac may have lived west of the lower San Antonio River in the area now covered by Bee and Goliad counties (Campbell 1979:42–43). Nothing seems to have been documented about the language spoken by the Pitalac.

Sarapjon

See Concepción: Pamaque and Sarapjon.

Tacame

See Concepción: Tacame.

Taguaguan

See Concepción: Pamaque and Taguaguan.

Tilijae

See Concepción: Tilijae.

Tinapihuaya

See Concepción: Pamaque and Tinapihuaya.

Venado

See Concepción: Venado.

Viayan

See Concepción: Pamaque and Viayan.

Indian Groups at Mission Espada

Mission Espada, first known as San Francisco de los Tejas, was established in 1690 for certain Caddoan Indians of eastern Texas at a locality some 40 miles southwest of the present city of Nacogdoches. The mission was never very successful, and after 1690 it was abandoned and re-established several times, with slight changes in name and location, before being transferred in 1731 to San Antonio, where it became known as San Francisco de la Espada.

Attempts to discover the names of all Indian groups represented at Mission Espada in San Antonio have never been very fruitful because the earlier mission registers have not been found, and because other kinds of documents have yielded so few specific group names. Bolton (in Hodge 1910 Vol. II:435–436, 584) was apparently able to find only five group names in documents which he had examined: Arcahomo, Borrado, Malaguita, Pacao, and Siguipan. If his guess that the Arcahomo represented a subdivision of the Tacame is correct, then the list can be expanded to six names. Schuetz (1980b:51) found late documents that yielded two more names, Pootajpo and Zacuestacán. She omitted Arcahomo and Siguipan from her list but did include Tacame, evidently equating the Tacame with Bolton's Arcahomo. The lists of Bolton and Schuetz can be expanded by one additional name, Mesquite, which Castañeda (1939 Vol. IV:ll) and Habig (1968:215) found in documents for the year 1762. Campbell and Campbell (1981:45) have also found a document which shows that at least one Pamaque was at Mission Espada in 1752.

We have been fortunate enough to find another document which adds more names to the Espada ethnic unit roster. In a report of 1767, Acisclos Valverde referred to 11 group names which were said to have been taken from the Espada mission registers for the period 1753–1767. It is evident that Valverde did indeed take the names from the mission registers because he cites

numbered entries. Valverde's list, in alphabetical order, includes the following names: Assaca, Cacalote, Caguaumama, Carrizo, Cayan, Gegueriguan, Huaraque, Saguiem, Siguipan, Tuarique, and Uncrauya. If one includes the names of groups collectively known as Pamaque, as many as 25 specific names can be listed for Espada. Valverde's report more than doubles the list of Indian groups represented at Espada. His list shows that a longer list could be obtained if all the mission registers had survived intact.

Arcahomo

The name Arcahomo, occasionally rendered as Acoma, Axcahomo, and Azcahomo, refers to an Indian group clearly associated with Mission Espada. Bolton (in Hodge 1910 Vol. II:435, 666) regarded the Arcahomo as an alternative name for the Tacame, or at least a subdivision of the Tacame, but proof of this has yet to be presented. Schuetz (1980b:51) evidently follows Bolton because she lists Tacame at Mission Espada but not Arcahomo. Pacao and Arcahomo deserted Espada in 1737, but most of these were later persuaded to return (Orobio y Bazterra 1737:44–45; Ysasmende 1737:41–42).

No documents seem to have specified a pre-mission location for the Arcahomo, but circumstantial evidence suggests an area lying between the lower San Antonio and Nueces rivers. Some Arcahomo seem to have entered one of the missions at Goliad (Walters 1951:293, 298). Nothing has been recorded about the language spoken by Arcahomo and, surprisingly, very few writers have suggested that they probably spoke Coahuilteco. It has been speculated that the Como known to Cabeza de Vaca in 1533–1535 were the same as the later Arcahomo (Campbell and Campbell 1981:41).

Assaca

The name Assaca appears to be known only from Valverde report of Indian groups at Espada during the period 1753–1767. Assaca could be a variant of some other recorded group name, such as Pajasaque or Masacuajulam, but no demonstration is possible. The Pajasaque, also referred to as Carrizo (Valverde listed Carrizo as being present at Espada), were reported as living with several other groups at the mouth of the Nueces River in 1747 (Bolton 1915:393), and in the same year Masacuajulam were documented as one of many named groups who lived along the Rio Grande near its delta (Escandón 1747:238).

Borrado

See Concepción: Borrado.

Cacalote

Valverde (1767) listed "Pacalote" as the name of an Indian group represented at Mission Espada during the period 1753–1767. As the name Pacalote has not been found in other documents, it seems likely that Valverde miscopied the name Cacalote from the Espada registers. In the middle eighteenth century, the Cacalote are documented as an Indian group of the Camargo–Mier–Revilla section of northern Tamaulipas (Bolton 1913:450–451; López de la Cámara Alta 1758:133, 141; Saldívar 1943:32).

Caguaumama

The report by Valverde states that the Caguaumama of Mission Espada were also known by a Spanish name, *Cometabacos* (tobacco eaters), and that during the period 1753–1767 they were numerous at Espada. The name Caguaumama cannot be positively equated with any other name recorded for the region. It may refer to the Camama of Mission San José, recorded by Solís in 1767 (Kress and Hatcher 1931:51), but nothing is known about the identity or pre-mission location of the Camama (Campbell 1975:20–21).

Camasuqua

See Concepción: Pamaque and Camasuqua.

Carrizo

At the San Antonio missions, Carrizo were recorded only for Mission Espada during the period 1753–1767 (Valverde 1767). In the second half of the eighteenth century, the name Carrizo was often used by Spaniards to refer collectively to various Indian groups living along both sides of the Rio Grande between Laredo and the Gulf Coast. These groups were apparently called *Carrizo* (cane) because they used cane or grass to cover the framework of their houses (Gatschet 1891:38; Kress and Hatcher 1931:35; Wheat 1957 Vol. I: Maps 115 and 149; Wilcox 1946:249, 255–256). Specific groups referred to at times as Carrizo were Comecrudo, Cotoname, and Tusan (Campbell 1979:51). The Pajaseque, who in 1747 lived at the mouth of the

Nueces River in Texas, were also once referred to as Carrizo (Bolton 1915:393). The Carrizo of Mission Espada thus probably came from the Rio Grande area of Tamaulipas and southern Texas.

Cayan

The Cayan Indians were recorded for Mission Espada during the period 1753–1767 (Valverde 1767). No name resembling Cayan has been found in other eighteenth century documents, and little can be said about an identity for this group. We can only suggest that Cayan may be a shortened variant of either Cayanapuro or Cayanaguanaja, names recorded for Nuevo León in the middle seventeenth century (León et al. 1961:190–191). The former is linked with the Cerralvo area of northeastern Nuevo León; the latter is not recorded for any particular part of that area.

Gegueriguan

The name Gegueriguan is linked with Mission Espada during the period 1753–1767 (Valverde 1767). A similar name, Ogegueriguan, given in the same document, is probably a variant of Gegueriguan. We are unable to relate these to any other Indian group name recorded for northeastern Mexico and southern Texas or adjacent regions.

Huaraque

Valverde (1767) obtained the name Huaraque from the registers of Mission Espada (1753–1767). If appropriate documents can be found, eventually it may be possible to relate this name to an ethnic group of the lower Rio Grande area recorded as Pauraque and Paurague. Pauraque were said to be represented, after 1764, at Mission San Agustín de Laredo of Camargo, Tamaulipas (Bolton 1913:450–451). Davenport and Wells (1919:217–220) discovered a Spanish land survey document of 1777 which records a settlement of Paurague near the Rio Grande in the southwestern part of present-day Hidalgo County, Texas. It is of some interest to note that Parisot and Smith (1897:39) listed a group designated as "Iparoque" for an unspecified mission of San Antonio.

Malaguita

See Concepción: Malaguita.

Mesquite

See San José: Mesquite.

Pacao

See Concepción: Pacao.

Pamaque

See Concepción: Pamaque.

Pootajpo

Schuetz (1980a:51) discovered a document which refers to an Indian group with the name Pootajpo at Mission Espada. According to Schuetz, the Pootajpo were at Espada "before 1734." Pootajpo could be a badly distorted variant of some other Indian group names, but we are unable to cite any names with which it may be profitably compared.

Saguiem

Valverde (1767) listed the name Saguiem for one of the Indian groups represented at Mission Espada during the period 1753–1767. We are unable to establish an identity for the Saguiem, although we suspect that they came to Espada from the lower Rio Grande area.

Sarapjon

See Concepción: Pamaque and Sarapjon.

Siguipan

Siguipan is another group name known only for the period 1753–1767 at Espada (Valverde 1767). As in the case of Saguiem (above), we suspect that the Siguipan came to Espada from the lower Rio Grande area.

Tacame

See Concepción: Tacame.

Taguaguan

See Concepción: Pamaque and Taguaguan.

Tinapihuaya

See Concepción: Pamaque and Tinapihuaya.

Tuarique

From the Mission Espada registers (1753–1767), two similar names were copied by Valverde (1767)—Taguarique and Tuarique—which we take to be variants of the same name. The Tuarique of Espada may have been the same as the Toaraque of Concepción, but for this we are unable to present any documentary evidence.

Uncrauya

The name Uncrauya is known from one eighteenth-century document that lists Indian groups at Mission Espada between 1753 and 1767 (Valverde 1767). We can only suggest that perhaps the Uncrauya were the same people as the Icaura (or Incaura), who in the middle seventeenth century were reported as living in eastern and northeastern Nuevo León (Hoyo 1972:366, 416, 546; León et al. 1961:51, 87, 107–109, 114, 116).

Viayan

See Concepción: Pamaque and Viayan.

Zacuestacán

The name Zacuestacán appears to have been recorded only in a document examined by Schuetz. According to Schuetz, the Zacuestacán arrived at Espada "before 1734" (1980a:51).

Conclusions

It now appears quite clear that we do not know the names of all Indian groups associated with each of the park missions. In the absence of complete mission registers, we are forced to rely on other kinds of documents that refer to Indians in missions. The documentary potential for the region is tremendous, and it will take years of search to find additional documents that contain relevant bits of information.

Here it may be of interest to compare our tabulation of names for each mission with that of Schuetz (1980b). It may be noted that the figures for Concepción and San José are much the same, but our figures for Capistrano and Espada, particularly the latter, are considerably larger. Our larger figures are best explained as the result of chance. We happened to find a few documents that Schuetz evidently had not seen.

Mission	Schuetz	Campbells
Concepción	29	33
San José	20	21
Capistrano	14	20
Espada	6	25

As shown in Table 1, a total of 68 Indian group names can be linked with the four missions of the historical park. It would be naive, however, to assume that 68 valid ethnic units were represented at the missions. Without question, some names in Table 1 overlap. A few names, as has been suggested, may turn out to be variants of other names on the list. It is known that some names were used collectively. Pamaque, for example, is known to be a collective name used in referring to Camasuqua, Sarapjon, Taguaguan, Tinapihuaya, and Viayan. The names Pasnacan and Piguique are also known to have been used collectively, but documents do not identify the component units of each. Thus some names entered in Table 1 probably represent specific groups that were collectively designated by the names Pasnacan and Piguique. Spanish descriptive names also used for collective designation, such as Borrado, Carrizo, and Pinto, may overlap other names on the list, some cases of which have been noted. The collective names Apache, Comanche, and Tejas pose no special problems because so few of these seem to have entered the park missions. In short, we are forced to conclude that inadequate

documentation thwarts efforts to determine the actual number of authentic Indian groups at the missions.

The tabulation below indicates the number of group names associated with one or more of the park missions.

1 mission only	48
2 missions	10
3 missions	8
4 missions	2

These figures do not mean very much because of the lack of uniformity in the recorded information. They do show, however, that the majority of names are associated with a single mission. It seems likely that this reflects the fact that Indians of many groups entered a mission in small numbers and preferred to live together at that mission. Presence at two or more missions may in some cases indicate that the group remnant was of considerable size and that some individuals and families may have preferred not to live in the same mission with the others. Dissatisfaction with one mission and moving to another is known to have occurred in some instances. There are also a few recorded cases of individuals who could not find mates in their mission and went to another nearby mission to live with their spouses.

In Table 2 the Indian groups of the park missions are assigned, whenever possible, to the various areas where they seem to have lived prior to entering missions. The areas cannot be defined with precision, but the procedure is useful because it indicates that the major Indian groups came to San Antonio from areas generally to the south, some of them coming from the more northerly portion of northeastern Mexico, particularly along the south bank of the Rio Grande as far upstream as Laredo. Very few groups came from northeastern Coahuila and the adjacent part of Texas. Indians from that area went to Mission Valero. For the park missions we are unable to identify any Indian groups who originally lived east and northeast of San Antonio; these also entered Mission Valero.

Two factors seem to have influenced Indians from the south to enter San Antonio missions: (1) the massive Spanish colonization of northern Tamaulipas, which reached a peak about 1750, and (2) the movements, after 1750, of Apache groups from the Edwards Plateau down onto the coastal

Table 2. Source Areas of the Park Mission Indian Groups

Southern Plains-Edwards Plateau			
Apache	Comanche	Lipan Apache	
Central Northern Texas			
Yojuane			
Eastern Texas			
Eyeish	Tejas		
Texas Coast: Central Section			
Aranama	Coapite	Copan	Cujan
Texas Coast: Southern Section			
Malaguita	Manos de Perro	Piguique	
Rio Grande Delta and Vicinity			
Mayapem	Queniacapem	Saulapaguem	Tenicapem
Rio Grande Valley: From Delta Upstream to Laredo			
Cacalote	Cana?	Carrizo	Venado
Northeastern Coahuila and Adjacent Part of Texas			
Tilijae	Xerame		
San Antonio Area Southward to Great Bends of Nueces River			
Aguastaya?	Mesquite?	Pampopa	Pastia
Payaya	Sulujam		
Between Lower Courses of the San Antonio and Nueces Rivers			
Arcahomo?	Camasuqua	Chayopin	Orejón
Pacao	Pachalaque	Pajalat	Pamaque
Pasnacan	Patalca?	Patumaco	Pitalac?
Sarapjon	Siquipil	Tacame	Taguaguan
Tilpacopal	Tinapihuaya	Viayan	
Source Areas Unknown			
Assaca	Borrado	Caguaumama	Camama
Cayan	Geguerigua	Guanbrauta-Aiaquia	
Huaraque	Pana	Peana	Pinto
Pootajpo	Saguiem	Sanipao	Siguipan
Toaraque	Tuarique	Uncrauya	Xauna
Zacuestacan			

plain of southern Texas. It seems likely that the increasing dominance of Lipan Apache in southern Texas during the second half of the eighteenth century induced the surviving remnants of native groups to enter missions at San Antonio and Goliad.

In Table 3 are listed eight languages that appear to have been spoken by various Indian groups represented at the park missions. These are Apachean (Athapaskan), Aranama, Caddo (Caddoan), Coahuilteco, Comanche, Cotoname, Karankawa, and Tonkawa. Named Indian groups are assigned to these languages on the basis of recorded language samples and credible statements about language made in various documents. If no credible information on the language spoken by a specific group has been found the name is placed in a category labelled "Languages Unknown."

The majority of the languages were probably spoken by relatively few individuals at the park missions. Such population figures as are available suggest that this is true for the Apachean, Aranama, Caddo, Comanche, Karankawa, and Tonkawa languages. Two of the languages, Apachean and Comanche, are linked with invading populations who originally lived in distant areas, and few Apache and Comanche individuals seem to have entered park missions. The Eyeish and Tejas, Caddo-speakers from eastern Texas, seem to have been present in very small numbers at Mission San José. The few Aranama-speakers entered only Mission San José. The Coapite, Copan, and Cujan, presumed to be Karankawa-speakers, although no language samples have ever been recorded, were represented by less than two dozen individuals at Mission Concepción. If the Tonkawa language was spoken by any Indians of the park missions, it would have had to be spoken by the two Yojuane individuals recorded in the Concepción marriage register.

The names listed under the heading Coahuilteco refer to Indian groups that appear to have been identified as Coahuilteco-speakers by Vergára (1965), García (1760), and Mazanet (Gómez Canedo 1968:240) and about which Goddard (1979) has expressed no doubts. The identification of specific groups as Coahuilteco-speakers by García is subject to some question. What García does not make clear is whether the Indian groups he identified as Coahuilteco-speakers in missions actually spoke Coahuilteco before entering missions. He published his manual in 1760, or some 30 years after Concepción, Capistrano, and Espada were established at San Antonio, and by that time some of the Indian groups who originally spoke other languages could have

Table 3. Probable Linguistic Affiliations of Park Indian Groups

Apachean (Athapaskan)
- Apache
- Lipan Apache

Aranama
- Aranama

Caddo (Caddoan)
- Eyeish
- Tejas

Coahuilteco
- Pacao
- Pachalaque
- Pajalat
- Pampopa
- Pastia
- Patumaco
- Payaya
- Siquipil
- Sulujam
- Tacame
- Tilijae
- Tilpacopal
- Xarame

Comanche
- Comanche

Cotoname
- Mayapem
- Saulapaguem
- Tenicapem

Karankawa
- Coapite
- Copan
- Cujan

Tonkawa
- Yojuane?

Languages Unknown
- Aguastaya
- Arcahomo
- Assaca
- Borrado
- Cacalote
- Caguaumama
- Camama
- Camasuqua
- Cana
- Carrizo
- Cayan
- Chayopin
- Gegueriguan
- Guanbrauta-Aiaquia
- Huaraque
- Malag uita
- Manos de Perro
- Mesquite
- Orejón
- Pamaque
- Pana
- Pasnacan
- Patalca
- Peana
- Piguique
- Pinto
- Pitalac
- Pootajpo
- Queniacapem
- Saguiem
- Sanipao
- Sarapjon
- Siguipan
- Taguaguan
- Tinapihuaya
- Toaraque
- Tuarique
- Uncrauya
- Venado
- Viayan
- Xauna
- Zacuestacán

become Coahuilteco-speakers because Coahuilteco had become the dominant native language spoken in the missions. Coahuilteco probably became dominant because it was the language spoken by many groups who entered missions in fairly large numbers when the missions were established, or shortly thereafter.

It is our impression that Coahuilteco was a language originally spoken over a large inland area south and southwest of San Antonio, extending into northeastern Coahuila, extreme northwestern Tamaulipas, and perhaps a small part of northern Nuevo León. We are inclined to agree with Goddard that east of the area where Coahuiltecan was spoken, that is, nearer to the Gulf Coast, other languages were spoken that were never documented.

Only three names are listed under the heading Cotoname, and the evidence for this is largely circumstantial. It is based upon association of these three groups with the Cotoname and sharing a few recorded cultural traits.

In Table 3, about 60 percent of the group names appear under the heading Languages Unknown. Some groups on this list probably spoke Coahuilteco and others Cotoname, but we are unable to cite credible documentary evidence. Many of these groups undoubtedly spoke some of the undocumented languages of southern Texas. It can only be hoped that, as new documents are found, some will contain information about the languages spoken.

Unfortunately, the documents contain very little detail about the cultural characteristics of groups represented at the four park missions, particularly those who can be reasonably identified as Coahuilteco-speakers. The documents do indicate that practically all of the Indian groups represented at these missions were originally hunting and gathering groups. No Indian groups of southern Tamaulipas, where native agriculture is documented, came to these missions. The Caddoan Indians of eastern Texas were agricultural, but the Caddoan Eyeish and Tejas of Mission San José were evidently too few in number to have affected mission Indian farming methods. What the mission Indians learned about agriculture was taught to them by Spaniards, whose methods of irrigation agriculture are well known and clearly indicated by mission-related documents as well as by archaeological excavations at the San Antonio missions.

It does not appear to be reasonable to assume that, despite all the displacement and the societal disintegration that resulted from displacement, remnants of Indian groups who entered these San Antonio missions somehow managed to retain their aboriginal cultures intact. It is not commonly realized that disruption of the stable conditions necessary to maintain hunting and gathering populations had profound effects on their cultures. As might be expected, Spanish documents do not say very much about such changes in Indian cultures. Hence caution must be used when making statements about the elements of aboriginal culture that may have survived among remnants of diverse Indian groups represented at each of the four park missions. It is especially important to avoid attributing specific cultural traits from Ruecking's description of "Coahuiltecan culture" to these Indians without checking the data against primary documents. Errors should be corrected, not perpetuated.

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Abbreviations used:

AGI Archivo General de Indias. Sevilla.
AGN Archivo General de la Nación. México.
BAT Bexar-Archives Translations. Barker Texas History Center Archives. The University of Texas at Austin.
BTHCA Barker Texas History Center Archives. The University of Texas at Austin.
IJAL *International Journal of American Linguistics. Baltimore.*
NA Nacogdoches Archives. Barker Texas History Center Archives. The University of Texas at Austin.
PITM *Publicaciones del Instituto Tecnológico y de Studios Superiores de Monterrey.* Monterrey, Nuevo León.
PTCHS *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society.* Austin.
SFGA San Francisco el Grande Archives. México.
SHQ *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (formerly *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*). Austin.
SIBAE *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.* Washington, D.C.
TJS *The Texas Journal of Science.* San Marcos, Austin.

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