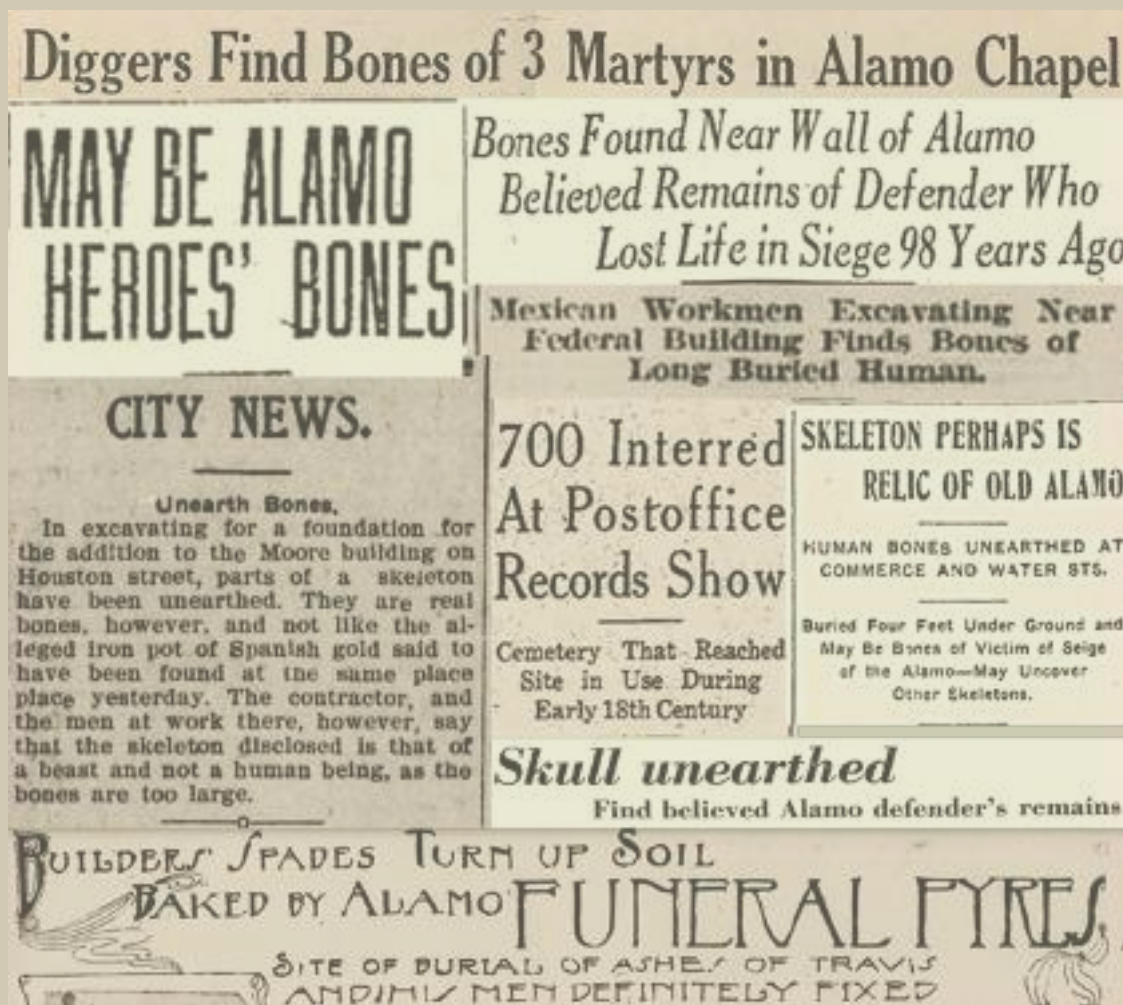


# An Archival and Archaeological Review of Reported Human Remains at Alamo Plaza and Mission San Antonio de Valero, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas

by

Clinton M.M. McKenzie, Kay Hinds, James E. Ivey, Nesta Anderson, Raymond Mauldin, and Cynthia Muñoz with contributions by Jason Perez and Sarah Wigley



**REDACTED**

Prepared for:  
City of San Antonio  
100 Military Plaza  
San Antonio, Texas 78205



Prepared by:  
Center for Archaeological Research  
The University of Texas at San Antonio  
One UTSA Circle  
San Antonio, Texas 78249-1644  
Special Report, No. 36



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## **Abstract:**

In June of 2021, the University of Texas at San Antonio Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) was retained by the City of San Antonio to produce a comprehensive archival and historical research report addressing issues related to burials and cemeteries at the Alamo and surrounding Alamo Plaza area. This effort was directed by the City Manager's Office (CMO) in support of the Alamo Citizen's Advisory Committee (ACAC).

CAR, with the direction, coordination, and support of the CMO and the City Archaeologists with the Office of Historic Preservation, met with three members of the ACAC representing history and archaeology to respond to questions and provide regular updates. The first of these meetings was held on June 29, 2021, and they continued through the end of September 2021. In addition to coordination with the three ACAC members, CAR was also tasked with making three presentations to the entire ACAC. These occurred on September 14 and November 4 of 2021, and on April 11, 2022.

The report provides a comprehensive archival and historical synthesis relative to specific research topics. The results include a discussion of the several communities that occupied the site, in particular the Franciscan Mission from 1724-1793; the Pueblo de Valero from 1793-1810 and the Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras from 1802-1835.

The report examines Spanish Colonial and Mexican burial practices together with archaeological analogs from other local and regional sites as a predictive indicator for potentially new encounters with human remains and as an explanation for remains reported in the archival records. Included with the particular examination of the mission period, this report recapitulates the entirety of the listed burials from Mission San Antonio de Valero along with several analyses of those records. In addition to the recapitulation and analyses, all of these records have also been made available online for anyone interested in using them.

Period archival records were exhaustively examined to attempt to collect every known written account of human remains reported in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries either from the Alamo buildings or within or adjacent to Alamo Plaza. This same comprehensive treatment was also applied to the archival documents and narratives related to the dead from the Battle of the Alamo.

This work product was not conducted under a Texas Antiquities Permit, and no recommendations regarding National Register status or eligibility or landmark designation are provided. All supporting research conducted for this report, report drafts, internal and external correspondence, and figures are retained at the CAR curatorial repository on the UTSA Main Campus found under accession #2589.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Clinton M. M. McKenzie and James E. Ivey

The purpose of this report is to address issues related to the potential for cemeteries or individual burials in and around the site of the former Mission San Antonio de Valero (Mission Valero, or Valero). This report is not focused on recapitulating the history of that site. Rather, it is tailored to address cemeteries and interments at the site and the history

that directly relates to that topic. Aspects of the history that are relevant to the primary topic include the three probable locations of Mission Valero, designated here as Valero site #1, Valero site #2, and Valero site #3 (Figure 1-1), as well as the four successive churches at Valero site #3, designated Church #1 through #4, and the speculative Campos Santos

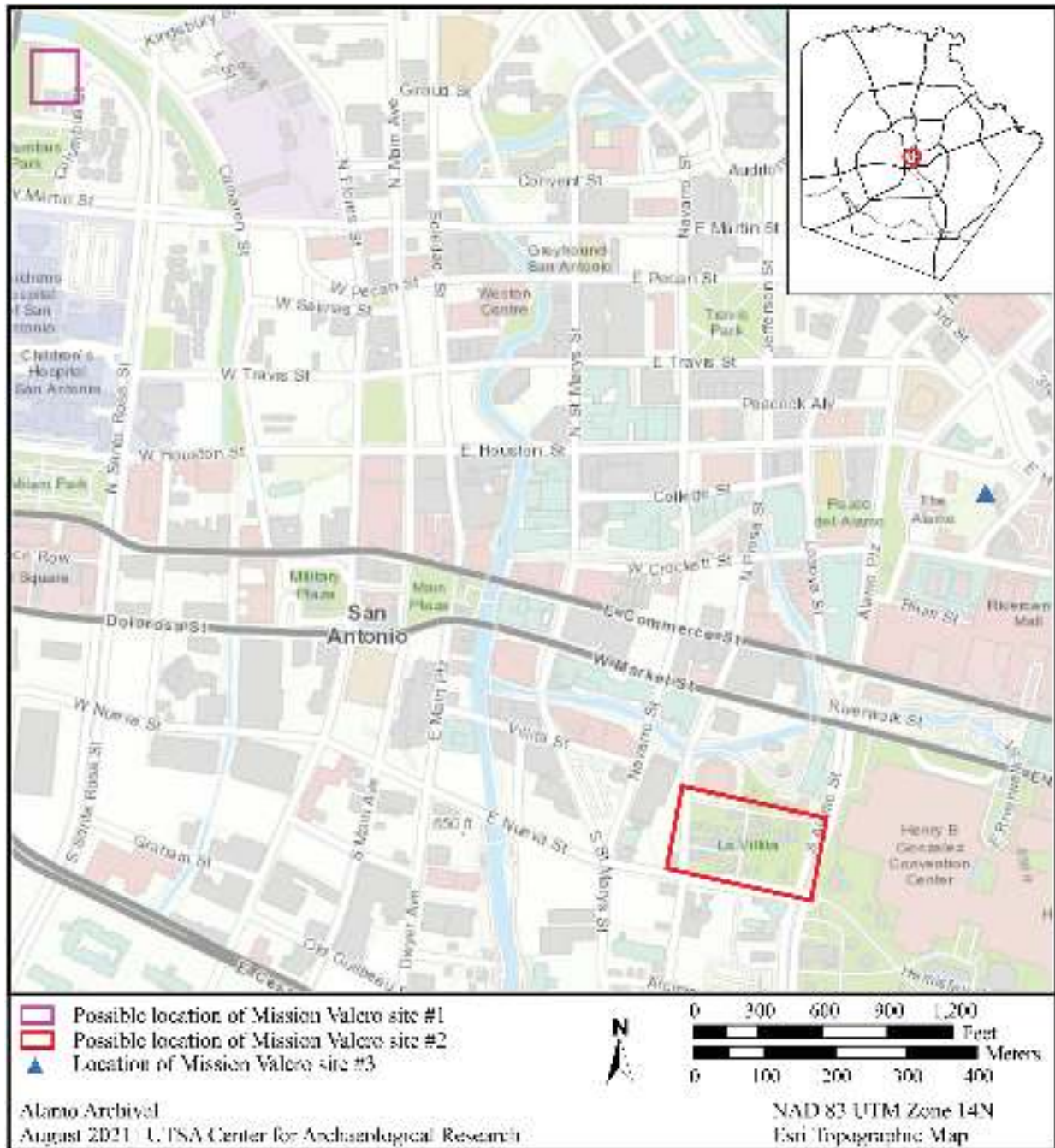


Figure 1-1. Possible Mission Valero sites #1 and #2 along with the known Valero site #3 location on Alamo Plaza.

(Holy field; roughly equivalent to a cemetery or burial yard) associated with Valero site #3, referenced as Campo Santo #1 and Campo Santo #2. Further, the report examines the history associated with the secularization of Mission Valero in 1793 and the subsequent use of the site by the Pueblo de Valero (1793-1810) and by the Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras (1802-1835). Each of these periods are inextricably linked with definitive, probable, or speculative use of the site as a place of interment.

Burials at Valero site #3 vary by community, event/time, and place. For example, during the active period of the Mission (1725-1793), there were four different locations for the church and burials in the subfloors of these four churches should be assumed. While the exact location of Valero site #3 Church #1 is not clear in the archival record, it is likely that burials occurred during the period of its use from around 1725 until the opening of Valero site #3 Church #2 at about 1740. Attempting to identify possible locations for Valero site #3 Church #1 and its associated Campo Santo #1 is a clear objective of this undertaking. Campo Santo #1 likely continued in use during the period that Valero site #3 Church #2 was in operation, a combined period running from 1725 to 1749, when Valero site #3 Church #3 was sanctified for burials.

In addition to Campo Santo #1 that was co-located and associated with Valero site #3 Church #1 and likely Church #2, archival and anecdotal evidence suggests a second Campo Santo (Valero site #3 Campo Santo #2). This Campo Santo is presumed to occupy the area immediately west from the stone church (Church #3). Campo Santo #2 could have a use period spanning the Late Colonial and Mexican periods (1749-1808), in particular as a burial ground for the Pueblo de Valero from 1793 to 1808 and for the Alamo de Parras Company from 1802 to 1808. Attempting to determine the potential use of this area as a Campo Santo was another research objective of this project.

While Church #3 was only in operation as a worship space for a brief time from 1749-1750, burials likely continued at the location because the space had already been consecrated and used as a burial ground. It is likely that most burials after November-December of 1749 and through to secularization were made either within the Valero Site #3 Church #3 or in the hypothetical Campo Santo #2 immediate west of the Valero Site #3 Church #3-4 (Leal 1978). Numerous newspaper and journal accounts, more thoroughly described in Chapter 6, document that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century human remains were encountered within the Valero Site #3 Churches #3 and #4 subfloors (Corner 1890:11; Everett 1905:215-216; Galveston Daily News, 2 April 1878:12; SAEN, 5 January 1937; SAEN, 14

February 1993). In addition to archival accounts, past and present archaeological investigations clearly document the presence of abundant human remains beneath the church floors of Valero Site #3 Churches #3 and #4 (Meissner 1996:58-59; TAP 8713 and 9446). Further, Church #4 was the original sacristy of Church #3 and was repurposed for use as a church, making its sub-floor a prime candidate for additional interments.

Inseparable from the topic of cemeteries and burials are the burial practices and mortuary traditions that configured and constrained how death and burial were handled in the periods represented at the Alamo Plaza site. Differing cultural traditions and practices leave signatures and classes of potential artifacts that assist in attribution of burials encountered in the future.

Another task of this current effort was an attempt to identify in the archival record all the newspaper accounts of burials encountered and reported on, or immediately adjacent to, the site of the former Mission Valero. Archival documents and accounts relating to the disposition of both the Mexican and Texan dead required a more thorough review and analysis in order to try and separate fact from fiction, allowing researchers to make educated assumptions about both the burial populations represented in those accounts, and as a guide to the probabilities for encountering similar burials in the future.

The background discussion in this Chapter begins with an examination of speculative, probable and known burial sites or cemeteries associated with Mission Valero, the parish church of the Villa de San Fernando, the Spanish and Mexican military, and the Pueblo de Valero (the successor settlement of Mission Valero post secularization in 1793). Discussion then turns to the three locations that Mission Valero occupied. In the case of Valero site #3, additional distinctions are made for the four different churches that were successively erected by the Franciscans. The second section of the background examines the state of knowledge on burials at Mission Valero using the extant burial records from 1721 to 1782. The chapter closes with a discussion of the organization and content of Chapters 2 through 7, with Chapter 8 providing a summary of findings and avenues for future research.

## **Known and Presumed Locations of Mission Valero Burials**

The Mission Valero burial registers indicate the Franciscans of Valero had Campo Santos/cemeteries in use as early as their arrival in 1718 to the secularization of the mission in 1793. Valero site #1 (see Figure 1-1) may not have had a cemetery since the mission population was low and the site was only

occupied for a period of less than six months. However, it is likely that Valero site #2, probably located in La Villita (Ortiz 1756; Ivey 2018:140) had sanctified burials within the subfloor of the church or at adjacent Campo Santo (1719-1724). It is incontrovertible that Valero site #3 on Alamo Plaza (see Figure 1-1), had sanctified cemeteries considering the number of burials listed in the burial records during the period that site was occupied (1724-1793). Burial registry data for the years 1718 to March of 1721 are missing, making it impossible to affirm if there were any burials at Valero site #1 from 1718-1719 or how many were interred at site #2 from 1719 to March of 1721. The first Valero burial book is missing one page that held entries numbered 11 through 18 (Leal 1978; Martínez de Vara 2021). The last burial recorded before the gap was #10, on June 8, 1713, before the mission was moved to San Antonio in 1718. The next surviving page of the book begins with burial entry #19, dated eight years later at the end of March in 1721. This is after the mission had been in the San Antonio River valley for about three years. This indicates that there were eight burials (#11 to #18) recorded between June 9, 1713, and March 31, 1721. During this period, the former Mission San Francisco Solano was moved to San Antonio where it was renamed Valero (1718) and Valero had moved from site #1 (1718-1719) to Valero site #2 (1719-1724). There is currently no way of knowing the locations of burials #11 through #18, though it is most likely that the majority were at site #2 since it had been occupied for a longer period. It is equally possible that there were no deaths and burials at all during the period that Valero was at site #1. The Valero burial register ends in 1782, with the records for 1783-1793 missing, and contains 1,377 entries. Regardless of the missing pages and records of interments, the archival evidence indicates that Valero site #2 and site #3 had sanctified churches and cemeteries.

All the Franciscan missions served Native American communities, but each also had non-Native American inhabitants who performed various professional tasks for the mission, such as, barber, or carpenter, or managing the mission ranches. These individuals and their families were also a part of the mission pueblo, and they are found in the baptismal, marriage and burial registers of mission communities. In the case of Mission Valero there are additional considerations to bear in mind that make it unique among the five San

Antonio missions. From the period May 1, 1718, until at least March of 1731, Valero served as the parish church for the Presidio de Béxar soldiers and their families as well as for any inhabitants of the Villa de Béxar, as they did not have a civil or military church in San Antonio during this early period. While Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo was founded in 1720, the mission's location south of the Presidio de Béxar and Mission Valero made it impractical for the majority of presidio and civilian residents to seek religious services there. The result of Valero serving mission, military and civilian communities is reflected in the church baptismal, marriage and burial records for the period 1718 to 1731. From our review of these records at Valero, as well as extant Spanish census records, it is clear that between 1731 and 1782/83 Valero was serving a predominantly missionized Native American community with a small minority of non-Native American inhabitants.

### **The Cemeteries and the Communities They Served**

As many as four distinct communities used Mission Valero as a burial site. The four communities are Mission Valero, the Presidio de Béxar, the Pueblo de Valero, and the Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras. A fifth community, the Villa de San Fernando, appears to have never formally used Valero, though several San Fernando residents chose to be buried there. Archival and anecdotal evidence indicates that Mission Valero undoubtedly served as the burial site for three or four of the five communities discussed in this report. Table 1-1 lists those communities that have a temporal range from 1725 to 1848. Since this report is focused on Valero Site #3, the burials for the period 1718 to 1724 are not discussed here and only burials from 1725 forward are included. The early communities are listed in chronological order followed by their associated cemeteries. In the case of the earlier communities, each utilized three different cemeteries and each are enumerated as 1st, 2nd and 3rd. The term cemetery is used broadly in the sense that a cemetery was present at any given site rather than a precise or exact location. Likewise, in the case of both Valero and San Fernando, the description of church assumes burials occurred both on the interior of the church and those present in adjacent Campos Santos.

Table 1-1. Early Communities and Associated Cemeteries 1725-1848

	<b>1st Cemetery Location</b>	<b>2nd Cemetery Location</b>	<b>3rd Cemetery Location</b>
<b>Mission Valero 3rd Site</b>	Church #1 and Campo Santo #1 1725-1739	Church #2 and Campo Santo #1 1739-1793	Church #3 and Campo Santo #2 1749-1750
<b>Presidio</b>	Valero Church #1 1725-1731	Presidial Chapel 1731-1808	San Fernando Campo Santo 1808-1835
<b>San Fernando</b>	Presidial Chapel 1731-1756	San Fernando Church 1756-1808	San Fernando Campo Santo 1808-1848

Table 1-2 lists the two late communities that utilized the former Mission Valero site. These are the Pueblo de Valero and the Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras (the Compañía). Both communities are further discussed in Chapter 5. The Pueblo de Valero existed as a separate polity from 1793 to circa 1810 when it became a *barrio* of the Villa de San Fernando. The Compañía was co-located with the Pueblo de Valero but maintained separate accounts of burials as a distinct military community from both the Pueblo de Valero and Presidial Company of Béxar. The Compañía was stationed at the former Mission Valero from 1802 until 1835. The Compañía was absent from Valero during the period 1830-1832 when they were stationed at Fort Tenoxitlán in Bureson County, Texas (The New Handbook of Texas, Volume 2:1120). It should be noted that following the opening of the second Campo Santo for San Fernando in November 1808 most burials for all four extant communities were made at that location, though some exceptions are noted (see discussion of Antonio Elozuá in Chapter 5).

The official founding documents are not extant for the three Valero church sites. Fathers Celíz and Perez de Mezquia provide diary entries to document Valero site #1 (Hoffman 1935:49; Hoffman 1938:318). Several of the later ecclesiastical inspectors, including de Paredes (1727) and Ortíz (1745 and 1756) refer to the founding of Valero site #2 and site #3 in their inspection reports. Likewise, specific references of the location of either a cemetery/Campo Santo or specific locations of burials are also limited, the 1749 entry for burials at Valero site #3 being the exception. The lack of many of these administrative documents is a direct result of such documents being retained by the Franciscan Colleges in Mexico rather than locally held. The documents that remained in local control were the baptismal, marriage and burial records of Mission Valero that were transferred to San Fernando following secularization in 1793. It is possible that these missing documents will be subsequently discovered, much like the various *visitas* or inspections used throughout this report.

### The Three Sites of Mission Valero 1718 – 1792

Mission San Antonio de Valero was founded in May of 1718 when Martín de Alarcón established Mission Valero, the Presidio de San Antonio de Béxar, and the Villa de Béxar. Mission Valero had three successive locations during the period 1718 to 1724. As noted, these are referenced as Valero Site #1, #2, and #3. The mission was initially placed at Valero site #1 on May 1, 1718. The Alarcón expedition’s Franciscan diarists, Father Francisco Celíz and Father Pedro Perez de Mezquia, wrote that the mission was sited somewhere west of the San Antonio River along San Pedro Creek between half to three-quarters of a league (1.3 to 1.9 miles, or 2.09 to 3.06 km) south of San Pedro Springs (Hoffman 1935:86; Hoffman 1938:318). An area was investigated on property belonging to the Christopher Columbus Society along the west bank of San Pedro Creek as the possible first site of Valero. However, the evidence, though suggestive, was inconclusive (see Figure 1-1; Nichols 2015). Valero briefly occupied this first site, likely less than six months. The mission moved to Valero site #2 sometime in 1719. There are no archival records of the sanctification of ground for a church or for burials at Valero site #1. Nor are there any extant records documenting whether any burials took place at Valero site #1 during its short tenure there.

The Franciscans moved the mission from Valero site #1 to Valero site #2 in 1719, siting it on a low hill on the east bank of the San Antonio River above a gentle slope on the south side of the big horseshoe loop of the river (Habig 1968:42-44). This area is what would later be called La Villita (Ivey 2018:140). The founding documents for Valero site #2 are yet to be discovered. However, Father Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, during his 1727 inspection visit to Valero site #3 described the mission buildings at former Valero site #2 site as “a small tower of adobe, and some little jacals.” This description matches a sketch of the Valero site #2 mission as it appeared in 1721-1722, drawn from memory by the Marqués de Aguayo in 1730 (Figure 1-2). Valero remained at site #2 until 1724 when, “...there came a furious hurricane, and knocked down all the jacals with notable destruction of their contents. Because of this the mission was moved to a more accommodating site where it is now” (de Paredes 1727:23v). Father Ortíz in his 1756 Inspection Report noted that Valero was relocated in 1724 “a distancia de mas de una quadra de la Misión” (a distance of more than one block) to the north, placing it on its third and final site at Alamo Plaza (Ortíz 1756). Father Sevilliano de Paredes described the distance as “dos tiros, de escopeta” (two musket shots) from the third site of Valero (Sevillano de Paredes 1727).

Table 1-2. Late Communities and Associated Cemeteries 1793-1835

	1st Cemetery Location	2nd Cemetery Location
<b>Pueblo Valero</b>	Valero Church #3 and Campo Santo #2 1793-1808	San Fernando Campo Santo #2 1808- 1810
<b>Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras</b>	Valero Church #3 and Campo Santo #2 1802-1808	San Fernando Campo Santo #2 1808- 1835

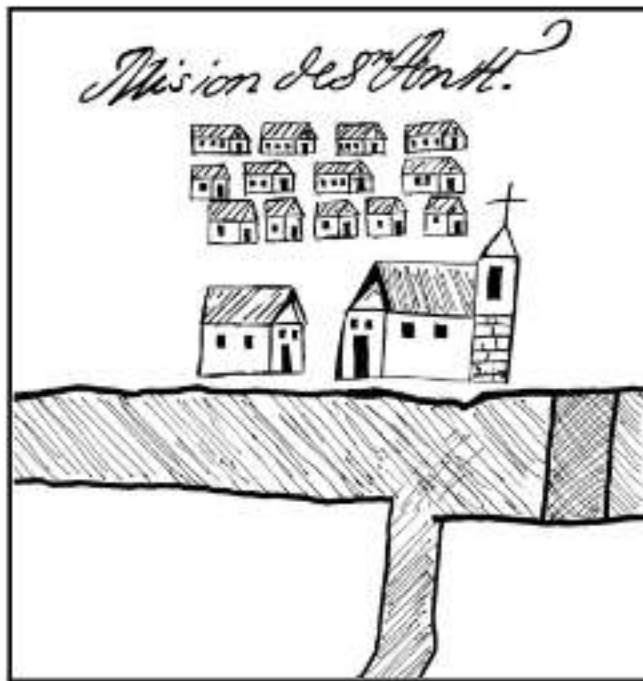


Figure 1-2. Drawing by James E. Ivey of Aguayo Map of San Antonio in 1721-1722 as drawn by Aguayo in 1730.

Like Valero site #1, no record exists of the sanctification of burials at the church or an adjacent cemetery at Valero site #2. The major source for burial data for Mission Valero are the burial records, entries from the *Entierros de esta Mision de San Antonio* (Burial Records of Mission San Antonio). As noted, the first pages of the Valero burial records for Valero site #1 and Valero site #2 are missing. The number of recorded burials jumps from #10, which was at the Mission San Francisco Solano in 1713, to burial #19, Juan Blanco, a free black soldier of the presidio buried in April, 1721 (Leal 1978). At least eight burials are unaccounted for between 1713 and April of 1721. Three of these eight missing burial records may have been accounted for by Art Martínez de Vara through notations in the extant *Bauntizmos de los Indios de esta Mision de San Antonio de Valero* (the Valero baptismal records), listing the deaths of three infants who died shortly after birth. These are baptism #28, Antonio Barreiro, Xaramae, 1718, baptism #29, Joseph, a Xarame infant, June 5, 1719, and baptism #30, Francisco, a Paiaya, also June 5, 1719. Information on five more burials remains missing (Martínez de Vara, 2021:427).

The extant burial records for site #2 consist of 26 entries between April 1721 and August of 1724. Further, there is no contemporary evidence in the Valero site #2 records of the hurricane induced storm in the late summer of 1724 that destroyed the Valero site #2 church and buildings. The last three burials in 1724 were on May 28 (#43, #44), and August 27, in hurricane season (#45). The next burial, #46, was on Feb. 8, 1725, presumably after the mission moved from Valero site #2 to its final location at Valero site #3.

### **Potential Burials at Valero Site #1 and #2**

Typically, priests wrote, “I buried ‘X’ in the Church of the mission,” or “in the mission,” but these stylized entries followed a form that each priest preferred, with some entries having a bare minimum of information (name and date of death), while other priests provided more (the parents of the deceased, their cause of death, profession, or even date of their baptism). The statements “in the Church of the mission,” or “in the mission” may indicate that some were buried in the cemetery while others were buried in the church itself, but specific locations for interments are rare in the burial records.

Regardless of the missing records between #10 and #19, and the small number of persons interred at the presidial chapel, the greater part of the entries in the Valero burial records represent interments at the mission itself, beginning in 1721 (the earliest year available in site #2 records). The majority of these persons were Native American, but some were married soldiers or their wives or children, or *vecinos* (literally “neighbors”). This term was used to describe either a resident of the civilian settlement of San Fernando and around the presidio, civilian settlers who chose to worship at the mission, or professionals hired by the mission for specific tasks, such as carpenters, ranch managers, blacksmiths, including their families. or non-neophytes working in the missions.

### **Valero Site #3**

Mission Valero moved to its third and final site in the late summer or early fall of 1724 following the hurricane that had destroyed most church buildings (Sevillano de Paredes 1727). The choice to relocate the mission to yet a third location is not recorded. Presumably the second site, like the first was lacking in some regard (Ivey 2018:144).

### **Contemporary Reports of the Location of Valero Site #3 Churches**

In 1727 Franciscan Inspector Father Sevillano de Paredes explained that the Mission fathers had laid out a row of five rooms running north to south along the east side of the new plaza and had begun their construction in stone with adobe mortar (Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, f. 10). Four of the rooms were to be living quarters, offices, and storerooms for the missionaries. These four cells formed the core structures of the convento of San Antonio de Valero and became the ground floor rooms of the west wing of the later convento. The fifth room was a *galera*, a large room, a term that Sevillano de Paredes used to mean a granary. For example, Sevillano de Paredes (1727, f. 10) described the granary at San Juan Bautista as “una Galera de piedra, que haze mas

*de mil Fanegas de maiz*” (a large stone granary that can hold a thousand bushels of corn) and again at San Bernardo, “*una Galera para maiz*” (a granary for corn; Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, f. 11).

Sevillano de Paredes said in 1727 that an interim church had been built: “the church is of *jacal*, but very spacious, with a good door, and neat, and very well put together” (Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, f. 5). It would presumably have been one of the interim *jacales fuertes* at Valero (Sevillano de Paredes, 1727, f. 5). Archaeologists have found three of these *jacales* so far, all on the east side of the convento in the area of the north courtyard and the convento patio. One of these had stone walls with adobe partition walls inside, a second was of stone, and a third was built of adobe bricks (Briggs 1998:28; Greer 1967:9; Ivey 2018:144-145; Ivey and Fox 1997:20, 22, 34-35).

Father Mariano de los Dolores y Viana wrote in 1739 of the interim church #1 in use at Valero site #3 that “*ay urgentissima necesidad, o de que se repare la que ay, o, de q[u]e se redifique desde sus cimientos, por estar sumam[en]te indecente, y arruinada ...*” “there is an urgent need either to repair the church or to rebuild from the very foundations because the present church is very unbecoming and in ruins ...” (de los Dolores y Viana, 1739, p. 25). The first church, which was an unknown distance north of the second church in the granary, was apparently closed rather than rebuilt. It is likely that most traces of the first church north of the plaza were impacted by the construction of the Valero compound walls in 1758-1762, the Post Office buildings in the 1890s and 1930s, or the numerous utility installations made beneath Houston Street in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century. The east-west trending wall associated with the skeletons described by B. P. Roberts in 1935 (see Chapter 6) may reflect a surviving remnant of the first church or an associated building, while the skeletons themselves could reflect burials within the first church footprint or within Valero site #3 Campo Santo #1 that would have been associated with the Valero site #3 Church #1.

There are two proposed locations for the Valero site #3 Church #2. Previously, Ivey proposed that the location of the Valero site #3 Church #2 was an interim building built to the south, adjacent to the convento (Ivey 2018:147). This places the Valero site #3 Church #2 in the area west of the stone façade of Valero site #3 Church #3 and abutting the south end of the convento. The choice for this location was outlined in Ortíz’ 1745 *visita* description, which noted that Valero site #3 Church #2 adjoined the convento and that it abutted the convento to the south (Ortíz 1745; Ivey 2018:147). Authors associated with this project reassessed the question of the Church #2 location by utilizing archival documents, newspaper accounts, and archaeological reporting. As a result of this reappraisal, the authors now posit a second general location for the Valero site #3 Church #2.

Ortíz’ 1745 *visita* report describes the weaving workshop as adjoining the granary (Ortíz 1745 Old Spanish Missions Historical Reference Library [OSMHRL] f. 1268; Ivey 2018:152). The weaving workshop was apparently a large room built against the east side of the granary structure. It is mentioned in the 1745, 1756, and 1759 *visita* reports. In the 1759 inventory the workshop was described as in the second patio, today’s northern courtyard of the Alamo complex. The 1745 description of these structures could indicate that the granary in use in 1745 was not the same one Sevillano de Paredes mentioned in 1727, which was a part of the original construction of the convento that consisted of four rooms and a granary. It may instead represent a new structure in line with the western façade of the convento and adjacent to the north. This building, to be “*contigua*” had to be adjacent to the convento and was used as the granary for fifteen or sixteen years. This structure, if placed to the south, justifies the south-convento location. While it could have been placed to the west, doing so would have placed it in the plaza, making it unlikely. It was not placed to the east because the same report indicates the weaving workshops were in that location. That leaves the possibility that it was adjacent to the north and likely in line with the convento. This structure would have been built in a portion of the gap between the first church site and cemetery to the north.

As a result of these considerations and reconsiderations, the second proposed location places the Valero site #3 Church #2 in the granary building at the north end of the convento or even as a second new stone structure immediately north of the granary, but in line with the western line of the convento buildings. This “flips” the location from adjoining the convento on the south to adjoining the convento to the north. The authors acknowledge that the hypothesis for the south convento location is possible, but the preponderance of the current evidence argues for the 1727 Sevillano de Paredes granary, or a new granary immediately north of the original 1727 granary, as the site for Valero site #3 Church #2. For that reason, this report uses the second or “north adjoining” location in its reporting.

The Valero site #3 Church #1 was described as in poor condition in 1739 and was undoubtedly demolished after the church functions were moved to the Church #2 in the granary. It is not known when the move to Valero site #3 Church #2 took place, only that it was after 1739 and before the events of the Tello murder controversy of 1744, which makes it clear that Tello took refuge in Valero site #3 Church #2. This was the church where the apprentice architect Antonio Tello took refuge for two days after he “accidentally” killed Matias Treviño, after a dispute concerning his affair with Treviño’s wife (Aguado y Villafuerte 1744, Bexas Archives Roll 8:800-810). San Fernando Alcalde Aguado y Villafuerte stated in his report on the events that he had stationed men “in the cemetery [*simenterio*]” of the church of San Antonio de

Valero to prevent Tello’s escape, albeit unsuccessfully (Aguado y Villafuerte, 1744, 8:803). The Valero site #3 Church #2 would have continued in use from circa 1740 until the completion of the short-lived Valero site #3 Church #3 in 1749-1750.

Based on the accounts of the Tello matter, there was a cemetery within close visual proximity of the second church as the Alcalde mentioned stationing two men in it to observe Tello in 1744 (Aguado y Villafuerte 1744:801-802). The cemetery described would have therefore been north of Valero site #3 Church #2 in 1744. The current authors suggest this indicates that the cemetery mentioned by Aguado y Villafuerte in 1744 would had to have been further north and/or northeast/northwest of Church #2. A cemetery in that area would have been outside of and/or beyond the footprint of the Church #1 site. When the first church was demolished, it would have created the visual gap between the granary and that cemetery. Placing the cemetery in this area conforms to the 1744 archival account.

The Valero site #3 Church #3 begun by Tello and his maestro was rushed to completion by the Franciscans. They used a flat-roofed construction in lieu of the uncompleted

arches (vaults) of Tello’s design. We know that the third church was almost complete at the end of 1749, because it was sanctified for burial as noted in the November 26 and December 6 burial entries for that year. This church likely stood on the foundations and lower walls of the present church, because it was described as having transepts when it was sanctified for burial in 1749. The first burials were indicated to have been placed in the crossing of the transept and nave and also in the south transept (Leal 1978, burial #648 and 649; Martínez de Vara 2021:230-231). The Franciscans worked to complete the church as a flat-roofed building, but it is unknown if it was ever finished enough to be sanctified, as we have no archival evidence. Regardless of whether the third church was ever sanctified, the roof collapsed shortly after its completion between late 1749 and early 1750 (Ivey 2018:156). The 1756 *visita* (Table 1-3) specifically mentions that Church #3 was in the process of being reconstructed “...se derribó toda su fabrica por haver salido poco segura...” “all of the structure collapsed because of being built with insufficient stability” and that this necessitated the return to Valero Church #2 which had previously been utilized from 1740/1742 to 1749 (Ortiz 1756:11; Ivey 2018:156-157).

Table 1-3. *Visit*as and Descriptions of Churches at Valero, 1745 to 1793

<i>Visita</i>	Transcription	Translation
1745	“sirve de Yglesia una pieza suffic[ien]te Capaz, con su c[h]oro, y Sacristia,”	...a room sufficiently capacious serves as the Church, with its choir loft and sacristy.
1745	“contigua a esta Vivienda ay una galera, donde trabajan los Yndias en trapiche, para ayudarse a vestir; una troge para maiz, y varias piezas, q[u]e sirven de oficinas,” (Ortiz, 1745, r. 9, f. 1268).	... contiguous with the Convento is a large room where the Indians work on looms, for helping to clothe [them], a granary for corn, and various rooms, that serve as storerooms.
1756	“Entre tanto sirve la antigua, que es una pieza bastante capaz, con su chorito, y Sacristía,” (Ortiz, 1756, v. 3 p. 11).	In the meantime, the old [church] serves that is a sufficiently capacious room, with its little choir loft, and sacristy.
1756	In the convento description, “En la escalera está un Quadro con su marco dorado de a dos varas[.] En la Escalera ai tambien su puerta p[ar]a el Choro,” (Ortiz, 1756, v. 3, p. 18).	[In the convento description] on the stairway is a painting with its gilded frame of two varas [in size]. On the stairway there is also the doorway for the choir loft. [no mention of a granary]
1759	“Sirve de Yglesia la misma piesa que c[on]sta, en las antecedentes Visitas ...” (de los Dolores y Viana, 1759, r. 9, f. 1495)	The same room that is obvious in the previous <i>Visit</i> as serves as the church [no mention of a granary].
1762	“Sirve de Yglesia una pieza de 35 varas de longitud, que se fabricó con el destino de troxe	A room of 35 varas in length, that was built for the purpose of a granary, serves as the church ...
1762	“...En la troxe que es una pieza capaz donde se guardan las semillas ...” (de los Dolores y Viana, Father Mariano Francisco and Father José López, Valero, 1762, pp. 249, 251).	In the granary, which is a capacious room, is stored the grain ...
1793	“...otra pequeña [oficina] en el descanso de la escaleras.”	...another small storeroom in the landing of the stairs.

Transcriptions and translations by James E. Ivey.

Father Ortíz' 1756 *visita* report says the church in use at that date was the Valero site #3 Church #2, and that it was the same as the one he described in 1745 (Ortíz, 1745: R9:1268; Ortíz, 1756, V3:18). Likewise, the 1759 Father de los Dolores y Viana *visita* report says the church in use at that date was the same as the one described in 1756, i.e., Valero site #3 Church #2. The 1762 Father de los Dolores y Viana *visita* report stated clearly that the interim Church #2 was in the structure built to be the granary (de los Dolores y Viana 1762). Therefore, the church used by Tello for refuge in 1744 was likely Church #2 and it was probably completed between 1740 and 1743 prior to Tello's arrival. Therefore, Valero site #3 Church #2 remained in use until after 1759, with a brief hiatus in 1749-1750 when services were held in the short-lived Franciscan completed Valero site #3 Church 3 that collapsed circa 1750.

### ***Burial Locations at Valero Site #3***

Burial entries for Valero site #3 suggest the same varied practice of some interring some individuals in the church and some in the cemetery. For example, entry 641 by Father Diego Martín García, dated October 28, 1749, was for Luisa, a Sana, saying "*Diosele sepulture en la Iglesia de esta Miss[i]on de S[an] Antonio,*" (She was buried in the Church of this Mission of San Antonio de Valero; Martínez de Vara 2021:228). The distinction in Luisa's burial entry is that it specifically mentions the church, whereas most Father García's earlier entries generally say only "*Diosele ecclesiastica sepulture...*" (He/She was given an ecclesiastical burial), or that the deceased was "*Diosele Ecclesiastica sepultura en esta Mission*" (given ecclesiastical burial in this mission; Martínez de Vara 2021:225). Interments subsequent to Burial #641 are noted only as "ecclesiastical" without reference to "in" or "at" the mission, until November 16, 1749, which records the death and burial of Thomas, a Hierbipian. That record stated "*Diosele ecclesiastica sepulture en la Iglesia nueva en medio de crucero*" (I gave ecclesiastical burial in the new Church in the middle [or crossing] of the nave; Leal 1978, burial #648). The next entry, 649, was for a Canary Islander, "Don Joseph Antonio Bueno de Rojas, Español," who was also noted as interred in the church, with the specific notation that he was placed in the south transept (Leal 1978, burial #649; Martínez de Vara 2021:231). Entries 648 and 649 are the only entries in the Mission Valero burial records that provide more-or-less specific locations for interments. No statement was made in either of these entries that the church had been sanctified for burials—that statement is found in a Nota (note) by Father García where he states that the new church was "blessed as a cemetery, because it was not finished to bless as a Church" (Martínez de Vara 2021:41, translation of García's Nota 133). While there is no archival mention

of the sanctification of a church building or cemetery until 1749, it is certain that the hundreds of individuals listed in the Valero records were buried on the site of the mission. At present, it is unclear where the burials took place. It is possible that the Franciscans continued to use the Valero site #2 cemetery, a short distance away, until they built a new interim church and cemetery at Valero site #3.

The discovery of so many buried remains during excavations at the Post Office in 1935 (see Chapter 6) suggests that Church #1 and its associated Campo Santo #1 at Valero site #3 began as early as late 1724 or early 1725 and that the Valero site #3 Church #1 was at the northeastern end of the newly established plaza. Although we have no record of the event, Church #1 at Valero Site #3 and its associated Campo Santo almost certainly was sanctified for burials.

### ***The Apache and Valero's Fortification***

Throughout the Spanish Colonial period and well into the first half of the nineteenth century violent interactions with Native Americans were a significant cause of death. Analysis of San Fernando burial records for the period 1809 to 1839 documented that of 1,196 recorded causes of death, 13.3% of them (n=159) were the result of violence, and that 71.7% of all violent deaths recorded (n=114) were directly attributed to encounters with hostile Native Americans (Mauldin et al. 2018). These encounters reflect violent interactions between Spanish Colonial settlers, the military, as well as Native American on Native American violence. The Apache were the primary hostile Native American group that opposed the Spanish in the eighteenth century, but they were not the only Native Americans involved in altercations and raids on Spanish goods trains and settlements. It bears noting, however, that not all Apaches were hostile, and while there are few Apaches cited in the early records at Valero, beginning in the 1760s and until the Mission was secularized in 1793, a significant number of *Lipanes* (Lipan Apache) were members of the mission pueblo community. Further, the Apache were not alone in their opposition to the Spanish. Beginning with the close of the eighteenth century and persisting into the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Comanche supplanted the Apache as the primary antagonists to the Spanish and later Mexican and Texan administrations. The burial records of both San Fernando and Mission Valero often include the tribal affiliation of the individuals involved. There are 15 Valero burial records with the cause of death listed as Native American violence, beginning with Juan Blanco in April of 1721, with nine ascribed to the Apache, three to the Cocos, one to the Comanche and two ascribed to "enemy Indians." There are 158 deaths ascribed to Native American violence listed in the San Fernando records between 1744 and 1848 (count of deaths performed by review of the authors).



Hostilities between the Spanish, the Apache, and the Comanche and their allied tribal confederates brought about important changes to Mission Valero and to all the missions of San Antonio. Between the years 1759 and 1762, defensive perimeter walls were erected around the mission plaza and were described in Father Dolores y Viana's *visita* report of 1762 (Turanzas 1961:250-251). The missionaries fortified the plaza by constructing stone and adobe walls between the existing buildings on the east and west sides of the open mission plaza, the construction of new walls across the north and south of the plaza, as well as an entry gate and tower on the south wall (Ivey 2019:125; Turanzas 1961:250-251). This created the walled compound that persisted through to the Siege of Béxar in 1835 and battle of the Alamo in 1836.

The fortification of Mission Valero between 1757 and 1762 likely resulted in walls transiting through the Valero site #3 Church #1 site and possibly portions of the cemetery (Valero site #3 Campo Santo #1) associated with the first church. Again, it is possible that the east-west wall footing mentioned by B. P. Roberts in 1935 may be evidence of the first church (SAE, 20 August 1935:16).

### **La Capilla de la Santísima Cruz – The Chapel of the Most Holy Cross**

In 1731, Texas Governor Juan Antonio Perez de Almazán established the civilian Villa de San Fernando on the small plaza just east of the Presidio de San Antonio, today's Plaza de las Islas, also called Main Plaza (Ivey 2008:261-262). The new Villa's location directly conflicted with San Antonio de Valero, which already claimed the land where the new Villa was placed. This claim dated from the period of 1718 to mid-1719 when Valero was located west of the San Antonio River. The parties resolved their dispute with an agreement in which Valero gave up its claim to the Villa site and the west half of the Potrero (the pastureland in the horseshoe bend of the river to the east between San Fernando and San Antonio de Valero) and the Villa surrendered the portion of its granted land that extended north and east across the San Antonio River and Olmos Creek (land on which the Valero farms and the Acequia Madre de Valero were located). The space occupied by the eastern half of the Potrero became a non-development zone (Fernandez de Santa Ana, 1745a, in OSMC, MF Roll 4, Frames 5214-5217; Fernandez de Santa Ana, 1745b, in TxGLO, Spanish Collection, Box 122, Folder 5, pp. 46-47v; Ivey 2008:262, 279).

This land partition agreement between the Villa and Valero included a statement that the land of the non-development zone in the Potrero would not be sold, nor would any structure be built on it, except "only some sanctuary or some other house that would not be prejudicial to the said mission of San

Antonio" (Fernandez de Santa Ana, 1745a, b; Castañeda 1938a: 107-108; de la Teja 1995:36). The potential need for the chapel appears to be related to the long languishing construction of the civilian Church of San Fernando (not completed until circa 1756). The missionaries were averse to the Mission inhabitants interacting with Villa residents, and undoubtedly some Villa residents chose to worship at Mission Valero rather than the presidial chapel on Plaza de Armas.

In the 1854 license to conduct the Mass issued by the Bishop of Guadalajara, Francisco de Buenaventura, he clearly states that the chapel services were "...to the spiritual benefit of the faithful citizens of the Villa de San Antonio..." as well as stating that the Mass was to be said by a secular priest from the Villa and not by missionary priests (San Buenaventura 1754, OSMHRL, R: 10: 5095-96). However, the Franciscans decided not to place the new chapel in the Potrero, as stated in the 1745 agreement, but instead on the abandoned Valero site #2 south and east of the Potrero across the San Antonio River in what is now the La Villita historic district. Father Francisco Ortiz stated in his 1756 *visita* that "...a chapel has been built at a distance of more than one block from the mission [of San Antonio de Valero], the location where the mission was in the time of the Venerable Father Margil," who was in Texas from 1716-1722 (Ortiz 1756 in Vargas Rea 1995: V3:15). A portion of the Menchaca map (Figure 1-3) provides a rough sketch of the Capilla south of Valero (Menchaca 1764), and a similar small structure is shown in the same location on the Urrutia map (Urrutia 1767).

It is a reasonable assumption that the Capilla was erected on the site of the former mission chapel built by the Franciscans at Valero site #2, likely using some or all the building or its materials remaining from the 1719-1724 mission structure described in Sevillano de Paredes' 1727 *visita*. While there was a cemetery remaining at Valero site #2, it is unknown if any further burials occurred at the site during the period of the Capilla's active use. It is also unknown if any baptisms, marriages or burials were ever made at the Capilla as there are no record books extant, or because those events were recorded in the Valero register without distinction as to location. Regardless, it appears that the Chapel was in operation for less than 20 years as it was not mentioned in the 1772 Valero inventory, or in later reports. The little church was likely closed sometime between its last mention in the inventory of 1762 and its absence in the 1772 inventory.

### **The Presidial Chapel Cemetery**

The location(s) of the presidial chapel are not definitively known. However, the 1722 Presidio Plan drawn by the Marqués de Aguayo show a proposed location in the middle of the north exterior wall, somewhere on the north side of Plaza de Armas and south of West Commerce Street



Figure 1-3. The Menchaca map of 1764 showing the Capilla to the right (south), below Valero.

(Aguayo 1722). Despite what the Aguayo plan showed as his ideal Presidio, complete with a chapel dedicated to the use of the presidial soldiers and their families, in the period 1718 to 1731 they availed themselves of the sacramental offices of the Mission clergy, with the principal Father of the mission acting as the Presidial Chaplin (Benavides 2003:7). The presidial community is regularly reported in the Mission Valero baptismal, marriage and burial records. Upon their arrival in 1731, the Canary Islanders co-worshiped with the presidial community in a chapel within the block of rooms that formed the northern interior row of presidio buildings on Plaza de Armas (Benavides 2003:9). The Canary Islanders utilized the presidial chapel as their principal place of worship, with a minority of Canary Islanders choosing to worship at Valero. This continued until the parish church, begun in 1738, was finally completed circa 1756. Burial records for this 25-year period (1731-1756) are not specific as to place of interment for the Canary Islander and Presidial community. They were not being buried at Mission Valero as they are not entered in the Valero burial register. The San Fernando burial records account for the dead of the Canary Islander community during this period, however, they do not provide the location chosen for those burials. After March of 1731, there is only a single presidial family member listed in the Valero burial records, that of Juana Flores Baldes, April 12, 1731 (Leal 1978, burial record #286; Martínez de Vara 2021:90). The only Canary Islanders listed in the Valero burial records are Antonio Bueno

de Rojas in 1749 and his daughter, Barbara Bernarda, in 1742 (Leal 1978, burial #649 and #603; Martínez de Vara 2021:231; 432). Antonio Bueno de Rojas long maintained a relationship with the Mission Valero parish, acting as Godfather for at least eight converts and serving as witness to no less than six marriages. Except for the Blades, Bueno de Rojas, and his daughter, the dead of both the presidial and villa communities were likely placed in the sub-floor of the presidial chapel from May of 1731 until 1755-1756 when it is presumed that the San Fernando parish church and cemetery were finally consecrated and opened for use of both communities (Benavides 2003:22; Ivey and McKenzie 2019; McKenzie, Muñoz and Mauldin 2020:16). Presidial soldier, officer, and single veteran burials appear to have electively continued in the sub-floor of the Presidial chapel until the San Fernando Campo Santo #2 was opened in November of 1808.

### The San Fernando Parish Cemeteries

Ten Canary Islander families subsidized by the Spanish Crown were recruited and arrived in San Antonio on March 9, 1731 (Castañeda 1936:299). The *Auditor de Guerra* (magistrate judge) of Nueva España, Oliván Rebolledo, declared that the ten Canary Island families met the minimum number to constitute the official establishment of a *villa*. This granted Islanders the right to organize a civil government, receive lands for the construction of their homes and the sowing

and raising of crops, to have a church and town hall, to build a town with a public square, and regularly planned streets (Rebolledo 1730; Castañeda 1936:279; de la Teja 1988; Ivey 2006). However, granting the right to have a parish church was not the same as having one built.

Frederick Chabot and San Antonio Catholic Church historians P. F. Parisot and C. J. Smith concluded the San Fernando parish church and an adjacent cemetery were blessed in 1749 (Chabot 1936:76; Parisot and Smith 1897:33). Parisot and Smith (1897:33) stated “The act of the blessing of the same church is set down in the Book of Records as follows: ‘On the 6th of November, 1749 the blessing of our church of San Fernando, as well as that of the cemetery took place.’” Parisot and Smith do not include a specific reference for the unattributed Book of Records. Frederick Chabot included in quotations the phrase “It was not until November 6, 1749, however, that the blessing of our church of San Fernando, as well as that of the cemetery took place” (Chabot 1936:76). The quotation marks in Chabot’s statement indicate that he was also quoting some unnamed source, likely Parisot and Smith (1897).

It is possible Chabot, Parisot, and Smith are confusing the November of 1749 consecration at Mission Valero for the parish church. The 1756 deposition of Father Juan Cárdenas included his statement that a cemetery had not been prepared for the new church of San Fernando by that date, lending credence to the possibility that Chabot, Parisot and Smith were incorrect in their attribution of a 1749 date for the parish cemetery (Benavides 2003:18; Cárdenas 1756: F 5072, 5077).

The Canary Islanders had priests assigned to attend to their needs beginning in 1731, but absent a church in which to worship, they were limited to the use of the small chapel within the Presidio. That members of the Villa community were buried at the Presidial Chapel prior to the completion of the parish church in 1756 is clear from period archival documents. For example, the Last Will and Testament of Juan Curbelo stated “...my body shall be buried in the chapel which serves as the parish church of the town and Presidio and that the parish priest officiates at my funeral” (Curbelo 1742, BCA W&E Roll 7, Frame 666-668). Curbelo’s will clearly indicates that in 1742 the Canary Islanders were sharing the Presidial Chapel and that burials from within the Villa community were being made at that location, somewhere along the northern interior side of Plaza de Armas and within the northern row of structures. The Aguayo plan of the presidio made in 1722 shows a chapel in the center of the northern wall (Aguayo 1722). While the presidio plan of 1722 was certainly not carried fully to completion, the northern first and second rows were completed to some degree and the necessity of a chapel for the soldiers makes

it a near certainty that a chapel was located within these structures. Additional Spanish wills state the preference of the testator for burial “...*en la iglesia parroquial*...” (...in the parish church...) as well as specific requests for burial locations within the San Fernando Parish Church (Benavides 2003:24; see also José de Arocha, 1740, BCA 10:32-38; Matías Treviño 1744, BCA 9R: Protocol 1; María Estafania Cadena 1754, SFCA-BCA MFR1:157; and Atanacio Hernandez 1755, SFCA-BCA MFR1:160). However, the burial location requests are not *de facto* evidence that these individuals were buried in those locations as the parish church was not actually completed until 1755-1756 (and even then, it had no cemetery). San Fernando served all the civilian population of the Villa and, like Valero before it, the parish also served married soldiers and their families from the Presidio community as well as new settlers. Burials for the Villa and Presidio communities from April of 1731 until the 1756 opening of the San Fernando Church and Campo Santo #1 would have been in the Presidio Chapel sub-floor.

### **The Second Campo Santo of San Fernando (November 1, 1808 to April 8, 1848)**

The need for a new cemetery for the Villa de San Fernando, the Presidio de Béxar and the Alamo de Parras Company is outlined in the 1807 correspondence between Antonio Cordero, the interim Military and Political Governor of Texas, and his superior, Nemesio Salcedo, Commandant of the Internal Provinces of New Spain.

Commandant General: In reply and obedience to your superior order dated August 11th in which Your Lordship requests an estimate of the cost of establishing a cemetery or graveyard wherein to bury the dead of the military jurisdiction of this capital, I must first report to Your Lordship that when I arrived here, in September, 1805, the bishop of this diocese had just provided that the parish church should not be used for some time because of its stench. Mass was to be said at its door in order to purify the Mass by freeing it from the pestilent air coming from the corpses that were superficially and carelessly buried in the parish church, and to free it also from the extreme fetidness which brought into the temple a large number of filthy vermin. The bishop also prohibited anyone again to enter the parish church beyond the atrium or the cemetery until a (new) graveyard was constructed, a work which he highly recommended. I, therefore, arranged to have the necessary funds collected for this work, assigning for this purpose a contribution of three reales to each person within this parish.

Inasmuch as the contribution collected since that time was supplied by the settlers as well as by members of the Béxar and Alamo de Parras companies, the graveyard, which is now completed except for the whitewashing and gate, belongs as much to the settlers as to the soldiers stationed in this capital. I have deemed it wise to place this information before Your Lordship in order that, in view thereof, Your Lordship might give me whatever instructions might be deemed advisable for my exact fulfillment.

May Our Lord guard Your Lordship's life many years. Antonio Cordero, Béxar, September 28, 1807 [Haggard, trans. 1941:151-152].

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Governor of Texas: According to your official letter number 632, dated September 28th, a cemetery is about to be finished in that villa wherein any persons who die from among the settlers and troops are to be buried indiscriminately. Therefore, there is no need for the construction of the one I provided for in my order dated August 11th, for the troops alone. This is in reply to your letter and for your information.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua, November 3, 1807.

Nemesio Salcedo [Haggard, trans. 1941:178]

The crowded condition of the 1808 Campo Santo of San Fernando was described in a diary entry by soldier Harvey A. Adams as he was passing through San Antonio in November of 1842 as a part of the Sommervell Expedition, a failed military raid on Mexico in reprisal for Mexican incursions into Texas earlier that year.

Nov. 1 [1842] ... On our way to camp we visited the grave yard; it contained about an acre of ground enclosed with a wall of stone about 6 feet in height, except the gateway, with a [Key] Stone centrally fixed on the top, with the date of 1808 upon it, which was perhaps the time of its enclosure. In the center of this enclosure there is a pile of stone rudely thrown together, with a cross standing in its center. Upon this pile of stone was a large collection of skulls. Also, human skulls were scattered promiscuously over the yard with various other bones, sticking out of the earth,

which brought to my mind the 32nd verse of the 7th chapter of Jeremiah, the prophet, 'That the valley of the son of Hinnom shall hide but half their dead; therefore behold the days shall come saith the Lord, that it shall no more be called Jophet, nor the valley of the son of Hinnom, but the valley of Slaughter, for they shall bury in Jophet until there be no place.' In the center of this enclosure there is a pile of stone rudely thrown together, with a cross standing in its center. H. A. Adams, November 1, 1842 [Hendricks 1919].

Governor Cordero stated that a cemetery was needed for a new burial ground for military personnel. However, the San Fernando parish cemetery had exceeded its capacity to the point that the odor of human decomposition had made the church and sanctuary unfit for use. Cordero resolved that both the civilian community and military community should utilize a single Campo Santo rather than construct two new burial yards. As a result of crowding at both sites, and because the new graveyard was funded by "...the contribution...supplied by the settlers as well as by members of the Béxar and Alamo de Parras companies...belongs as much to the settlers as to the soldiers" (Haggard 1941:178).

The first recorded burial in the second Campo Santo cemetery was on All Souls Day, November 1, 1808, with the interment of Angel Navarro (Leal 1976:1). It is not known why there was a lapse between the time of the completion of the graveyard in late 1807/early 1808 (see correspondence between Antonio Cordero and Nemesio Salcedo) and the first interments 10 to 11 months later. After November of 1808, the burial registers consistently document regular use of the 1808 Campo Santo for interments of the dead of San Fernando parish, the Alamo de Parras Company, and the Presidio de Béxar through 1835, as well as recording some of the Mexican dead from the Battle of the Alamo. The San Fernando burial records document 1,827 burials made at either the sub-floor of the parish church or in the 1808 Campo Santo between November 1, 1808, and April 8, 1848 (Leal 1975).

### **Pueblo de Valero**

The Spanish government secularized Mission Valero in 1793 and began to distribute its land among the small remaining population of Native Americans at Valero as well as to refugees from the abandoned Presidio de Los Adaes in Spanish east Texas. The 39 remaining Native American mission converts were provided, on a per family basis, farming implements and grain. Thirteen parcels of farmland were also awarded to them out of the Labor de Abajo de Valero, or Lower Farm, south of the former mission pueblo (Castañeda 1942:41-42). Eighteen of the 39

Native Americans remaining at Valero were Lipan Apaches. The remaining 21 Native Americans were from a mixture of tribes. Initially, the Valero Native Americans were expected to relocate to Mission San José, but they refused to do so as "...they had always lived there [at Valero] and had family buried there" (Saltillo Archives Volume V:253-254). The Spanish governor acquiesced and allowed the Lipan Apache to keep their homes at Valero (Castañeda 1942:44-46). Though not specifically mentioned by Castañeda, Governor Muñoz' order allowing the Lipans to remain at Valero also resulted in all of the 39 former mission residents to remain. While we are aware from the archival record that the Native Americans of Mission Valero were allowed to remain at the site, no archival documents are extant to indicate which portions of the former mission were granted to any one individual or family.

Mission Valero, like the other four missions in San Antonio, was legally a "pueblo" and under the administration of Franciscan clerics, much like civilian pueblos and villas were responsible to the Governor and through him to the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Mission pueblos, civilian pueblos, and villas operated with elected or appointed officers. The secularization of Mission Valero simply changed the status of Pueblo de Valero from ecclesiastical to civilian. Archival records document that the Pueblo de Valero continued from 1793, with a Governor and judge, as they are specifically referred to in period documents (Amador 1803, 1808; Amangual 1809; Muñoz 1795). An August 31, 1810 petition for land to Governor Gregorio Arciñega from Francisco Leal asks for "...a *suerte* of land which is situated in the *Barrio de Valero*" (the Valero neighborhood) so it appears that around 1810 the area began to appear in archival documents as a *barrio*, or neighborhood, of the Villa de San Fernando without reference to a pueblo (Land Grants Sales No. 354, BSA). The 1817 census has Valero listed as a *barrio* of the Villa de San Fernando, and by 1818, land grants were being petitioned directly to the governor and granted by him through the Procurator Sindico of the Villa of San Fernando (Arciñega 1811; Census Report of San Fernando de Béxar – Barrios Sur, Laredo, Norte and Valero 1817; Martínez 1818). Church services continued at the old mission. However, the records of Mission Valero were transferred to the parish of San Fernando. The parochial needs of the Valero community were met by the priests supplied by San Fernando who provided sacramental services at the Valero church within the sacristy of the present shrine building (Habig 1968:70; López 1793).

Prior to the research completed for this report, it was not known with any certainty whether any burials were made in the old Mission Valero church during the Pueblo de Valero period from 1793 to circa 1810. New archival evidence may indicate that burials were made during this period (see Chapter 4).

### **The Compañía Volante del Alamo de San Carlos de Parras 1802 to 1835**

The Compañía Volante de San Carlos de Parras, often referred to as the Alamo de Parras or the Company, was posted to San Antonio on December 29, 1802. Governor Juan Bautista Elguezábal reported their arrival in a letter to the Comandante General, Nemesio Salcedo, on January 5, 1803 (Elguezábal 1803). Governor Elguezábal stationed them at the former Mission Valero on account of limited housing in the Villa and the mission still had a number of buildings in reasonable condition. In August of 1803 the Alcalde of the Pueblo de Valero, Vicente Amador, turned over to the commander of the Company, Captain Francisco Amangual, all of the keys to the former mission buildings and rooms (Amador 1803). The Company consisted not only of soldiers and officers, but also included their wives, dependents, widows and veterans.

By the early spring of 1803 the San Carlos de Parras Flying Company set up its quarters at Mission Valero (Habig 1968:70-71). The regiment was quartered at Valero from 1803 until 1813, from 1817 to 1830 and again from 1832 to 1835 (Nelson 1998:44-45). This mounted or "flying" company was referred to as Alamo de Parras, after the town in Mexico that was their former garrison. The Alamo de Parras Company re-purposed and used significant portions of the northern plaza compound, including the south wall gate complex and the aforementioned church and sacristy, for housing stores, as well as a pharmacy and hospital (Cordero 1807). The Alamo de Parras Company erected new structures as well as corrals for the company's horses. The company was disbanded as a result of reforms brought about by the insurgency of 1812-1813 and not reconstituted as an independent unit until August of 1817 (BA 59:383, August 29, 1817). Early during the Mexican period, in 1823, the stationing of additional troops at San Antonio resulted in the construction of new barracks, which resulted in a request from the local Ayuntamiento (City Council) to sell the small houses along the original mission walls (Castañeda 1950:321; Fox et al. 1976:10). This was successfully opposed by Anastacio Bustamante, Captain General of the Provincias Internas, who wanted to retain the buildings as military quarters (Castañeda 1950:349). As a result of Bustamante's intervention, the mission buildings continued to be used as the quarters for the Alamo de Parras Company until the company was assigned to Fort Tenoxtitlan during the period 1830 to 1832, before returning to Valero from 1832 to 1835 (Nelson 1998:45-46). Over the period 1803 to 1835, the place name "Valero" for the Mission compound was replaced with "El Alamo," the name by which the site became known.

Prior to this report it was assumed that some burials were made by the Company at the old mission and subsequent research more clearly delineates that possibility. It appears that from the time of their arrival in December of 1802 until

the Campo Santo #2 of San Fernando parish was opened in November of 1808, burials for the Company likely occurred at Valero or possibly at the Presidial Chapel. The Valero site for burials appears more probable on account of proximity and the fact that it appears that it was actively utilized by the Pueblo de Valero as a burial site. Another argument in favor of Valero as the site for Compañía burials between 1802 and 1808 was the overcrowded conditions in the both the San Fernando and Presidial Chapels (Cordero 1807; McKenzie, Muñoz and Mauldin 2020:19). Additional archival support for the contention that the western yard of the present stone church, Valero site #3 Church #3, was a cemetery (Valero site #3 Campo Santo #2) is that a cemetery is clearly shown in the location on the 1840 José Juan Sanchez-Navarro map of the Alamo Fort in 1836 (Figure 1-4). On that map the area is shown with an atrial cross as well as being labeled and called out in the legend as a “*cemeterio*.”

### The Use of the Site for Burials Associated with the Battle of the Alamo

Previous archival and archaeological reporting include several published accounts of burials and military items recovered from within the Alamo and Alamo Plaza area.

These include Everett’s 1905 account of burials he encountered in the area of the ramp within the stone chapel in 1846, and numerous late nineteenth and early twentieth century newspaper accounts of both human remains or military items such as the cannons recovered from the Gibbs Building site in 1908 (see Chapter 6). Concerning the possibility of potential remains of combatants from the battle of the Alamo, the prevailing contention regarding the treatment of the remains of the Alamo defenders by the Mexican forces is that they were immolated in one or more purpose-built pyres. However, these accounts paint an incomplete and confusing picture (see Chapter 7).

## Organization of the Report

All the topics in the following chapters are inextricably linked. As such, it is not practical to limit discussion of topics strictly to the chapters dedicated to those subjects. The preceding background section of this chapter includes topics drawn from Chapters 2 through 7, for example. The co-authors of this report have endeavored to focus on subjects in their respective chapters while limiting related discussions from other chapters. Where appropriate, the chapter author(s) direct the reader to topics more fully covered in separate chapters.

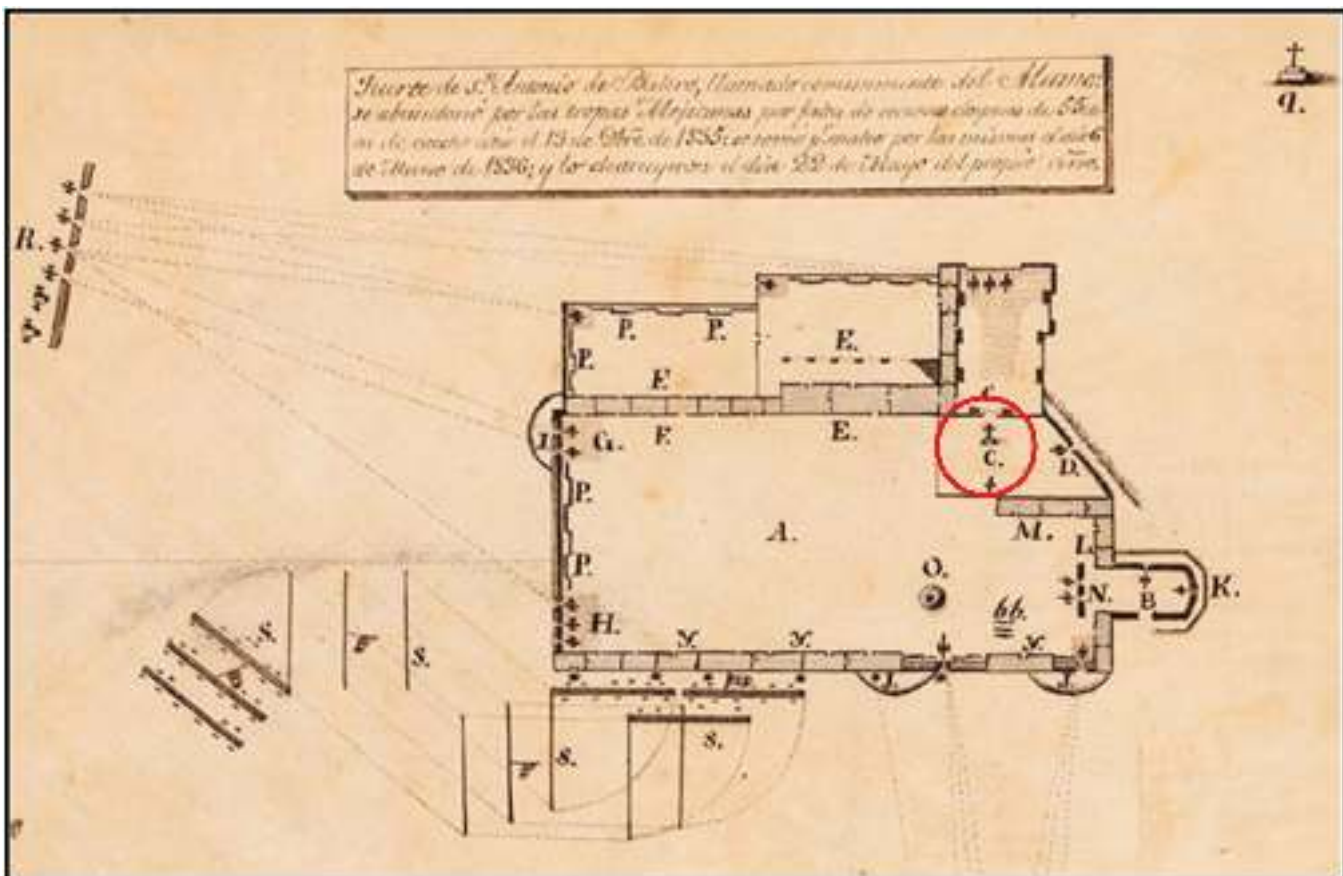


Figure 1-4. The Alamo Fort as drawn on the 1840 Sanchez-Navarro Map. The area circled in red and captioned with “C.” is denoted in the legend as a “*cemeterio*” and includes a small atrial cross.

There are eight chapters in this report. Chapter 1 is focused on background information related to Mission Valero's three sites with particular attention to Valero site #3 and the known and potential use of the location for cemeteries and burials that date to the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods, 1835-1836 conflicts, and into the mid-nineteenth century. Chapter 2 addresses the previous archaeological investigations made within or adjacent to the footprint of Mission Valero at its greatest extent following the construction of the walled compound circa 1757-1762. This chapter provides both information on specific archaeological projects as well as a degree of synthesis relative to archaeological reporting. Chapter 3 addresses burial practices and customs and provides examples of mortuary customs from relevant local archaeological excavations of cemeteries. Chapter 4 provides an examination of the burial records of Mission San Antonio de Valero for the period 1725 to 1782. The examination includes a series of analyses on Native American tribal affiliation, impacts of epidemics, temporality of death, and discussion of age and gender in the burial records. Chapter 5 examines the potential for continuing burials at the former Mission Valero site during the period of the

Pueblo de Valero, the successor polity to the Mission Pueblo after secularization in 1793. The examination also includes a discussion of the Alamo de Parras Flying Company who were stationed at the former mission and potentially buried members of their community at the site. Chapter 6 attempts to compile all known published reports from newspapers, journals or archaeological contexts relating to the discovery of human remains on the Alamo grounds or within or immediately adjacent to Alamo Plaza. The examination critically assesses the numerous reports and provides affirmation and refutation of the written accounts as appropriate. Chapter 7 examines the numerous conflicting and ambiguous accounts relating to the disposal of the dead from the battle of the Alamo in February-March of 1836. The chapter addresses every non-reduplicative account available. It focuses predominantly on the defender dead, but also includes accounts of the treatment of the Mexican dead. The eighth and final chapter summarizes the major results of the exposition provided in Chapters 1 through 7. It also suggests future avenues of research and provides a map outlining the potential for encountering human remains within the project area in the future.

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## **Chapter 2: Previous Archaeological Investigations at the Alamo Complex**

*Nesta Anderson*

### **Introduction**

Development in and around the Alamo has occurred for the last three centuries as the mission became secularized and the city of San Antonio grew to encompass the mission footprint. As nineteenth century construction progressed, it disturbed earlier deposits associated with the mission and the Battle of the Alamo, as well as those associated with the U.S. Military occupation. By the time Clara Driscoll led the campaign to save the Alamo at the turn of the twentieth century, much of the property showed signs of neglect (Demoss 2021). Following the Daughters of the Republic of Texas' (DRT) acquisition of the property, a series of improvements were made that disturbed archaeological remnants of nineteenth century development in addition to earlier periods.

Despite the disturbances from the city's growth and development around the Alamo, however, excavations and archaeological work in and around Alamo Plaza has shown that archaeological deposits are present, both in mixed and intact deposits. Some of the early non-archaeological investigations associated with nineteenth and early twentieth century development near the plaza uncovered deposits associated with the mission and the battle, some of which were reported in period newspapers. In 1878, an article in the Galveston Daily News described the discovery of human remains during removal of a wall next to the Alamo chapel. According to the article, several burials were uncovered in this location, though no mention was made of what was done with the remains once they had been uncovered (Galveston Daily News, 2 April 1879: 12). Other major discoveries were reported in 1908 and 1935. A portion of the Alamo acequia and several cannons were discovered in 1908 during construction of the Gibbs Building (San Antonio Light, August 12, 1908). In 1935 the remains of several individuals were uncovered during tree planting in front of the Federal Building on Houston Street (San Antonio Light, 2 September 1935). Additional information about human remains discovered in the vicinity of the Alamo are detailed in Chapter 6.

Discoveries such as these set the stage for archaeologists to come in and salvage archaeological deposits in the mid-twentieth century. Salvage excavations were followed by targeted work associated with specific construction projects. Interestingly, a comprehensive archaeological study of the property has not yet been attempted, and most of the work done at the Alamo to date has been in response to planned construction in locations all over the compound (Figure 2-1).

### **Initial Archaeological Explorations**

The first formal archaeological investigation that occurred at the Alamo was funded by the Witte Museum and the State Building Commission in 1966. Three reports were produced from this work, each focusing on a different aspect of the site. Mardith Schuetz (1966) authored a report about the history of the Alamo, while State Archaeologist Curtis Tunnell's efforts focused on majolicas found at the mission (Tunnell 1966). John Greer (1967) reported on his excavations within the Convento and Cavalry Courtyards. Greer's work, initiated after artifact deposits were noted during utility installation, included backhoe and hand excavation in seven discrete areas within and around the courtyards. Greer's focus was to target and find wall and room features as well as to establish a stratigraphic profile of the site (1967:4).

Greer identified structural features dating to the mission and later periods, including collapsed stone walls, a stone walkway, a caliche floor, a room with adobe block walls and a puddled adobe floor, and several occupational surfaces (Greer 1967:12-14). Greer concluded that the structural data supported the archival record, noting the adobe room in the well courtyard may have dated to the initial mission construction. He also notes that the B exar County archivist at the time believed that the foundations may represent the remnants of Mission San Francisco Xavier de Najero. The stone foundation was ascribed to the early nineteenth century Mexican army occupation (Greer 1967:102).

In addition to the structural remains, Greer located deposits that appeared to be stratified in several areas within the courtyards. Many of these deposits contained cinders and ash in the upper layers, but also had recent deposits overlying late Anglo material, under which were early Anglo, late Spanish, and early Spanish artifacts. However, he also notes there are mixed Anglo and Spanish deposits within some features (Greer 1967:1-10). One concentration of artifacts along the north wall was attributed to the Battle period specifically as well. Greer noted that many artifacts in the project area dated to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He concluded by saying that the north courtyard was the best area for stratigraphic preservation (Greer 1967:102).

Items recovered from this early excavation represent a variety of artifact groups including glass, ceramics, faunal remains, an 1804 Spanish penny, architectural materials, military-related artifacts, and lithics (Greer 1967:15-99). More specifically, the assemblage included glass from

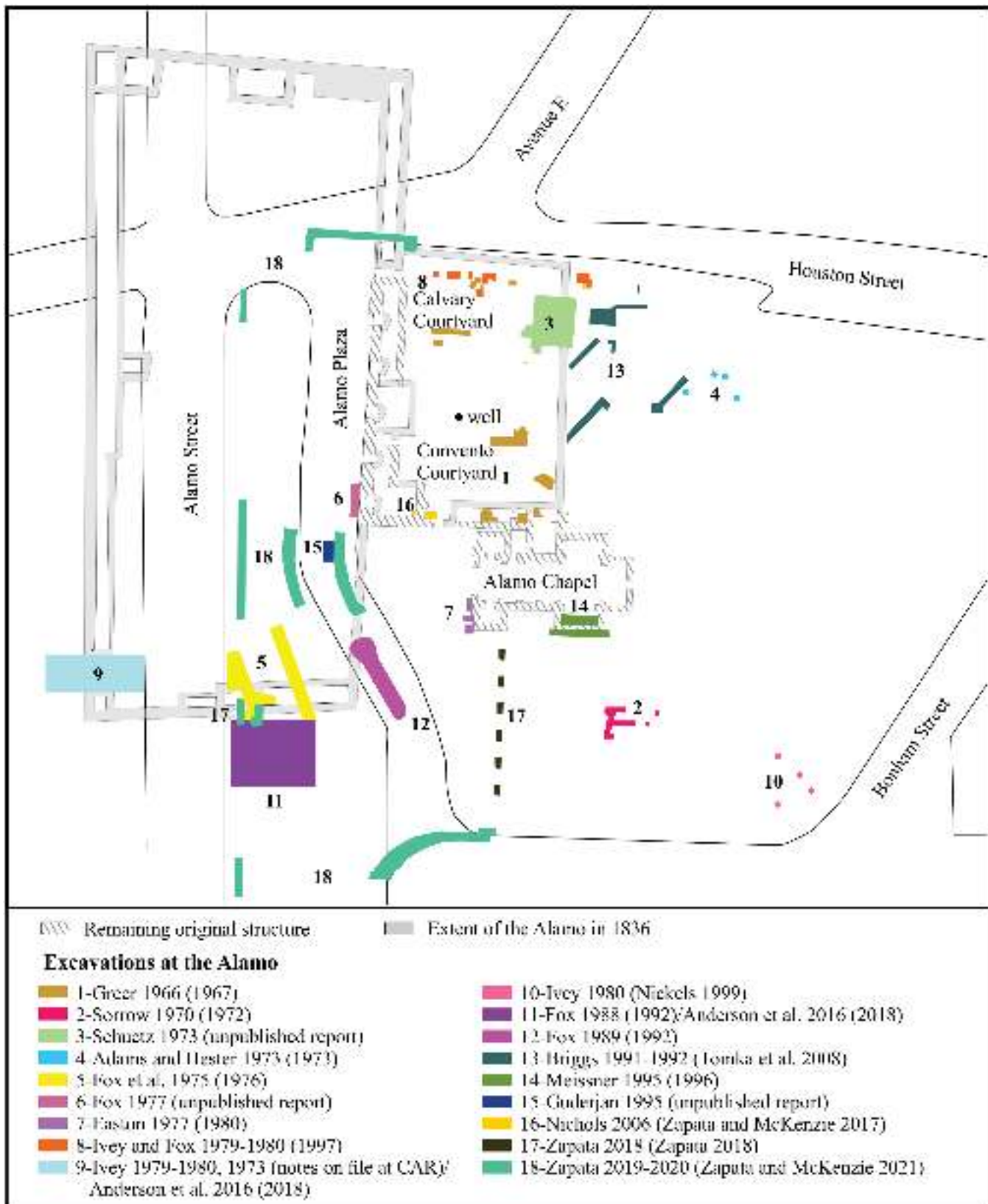


Figure 2-1. Locations of previous excavations at Mission San Antonio de Valero.

windows, light bulbs, a variety of vessels and in a diversity of colors (Greer 1967:41-55). Historic ceramics represented majolicas, Mexican lead-glazed wares, and an assortment of white-bodied earthenwares, including creamware and ironstone. Clay effigy figure fragments were also present along with clay pipes and porcelain dolls (Greer 1967:15-40). Porcelain, shell, metal, and plastic buttons were recovered along with other clothing items like buckles (Greer 1967:57-60). Gun fragments, bullets and shot, and a metal projectile point were recovered as well (Greer 1967:61-70). Many other items including tools, keys, and hardware were also found (Greer 1967:71-99).

## 1970s Excavations

Following this project, the Texas Archeological Salvage Project (TASP) funded additional investigations at the Alamo in 1970. In anticipation of the expansion of the DRT Library, archaeologist William Sorrow excavated within the area north of the existing building. His work uncovered a portion of the Acequia del Alamo, as well as a brick foundation that intruded into the acequia. In contrast to Greer's findings, Sorrow's work also documented that much of this area had been disturbed (Sorrow 1972).

In 1973, the DRT reached out to the Texas Historical Commission (THC) about their plans to make landscape improvements to the second patio of the Alamo. Schuetz was then contacted about potential impacts to features in this area. As a result, she excavated two test pits in the area to understand whether intact structural features could be present. Her excavations revealed walls were present in the area, prompting to DRT to contract with the San Antonio Archaeological Laboratory for Schuetz to lead additional investigations (Schuetz 1973:1).

Schuetz's investigations focused on an area between the northern wall boundary on Houston Street and a wall dividing the first and second patios. Her excavations were contained within a 1,155 sq. ft (107.3 sq. m) area and extended three ft (91 cm) below the ground surface (Schuetz 1973:1,6). Her findings included the base of a Spanish-era wall, a flagpole base, caliche paving, and a hard-packed dirt floor (Schuetz 1973: 11-12). She wrote that some areas appear to be stratigraphically intact, but then noted "there is extensive mixing of materials from the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries" (Schuetz 1973:13). In addition, an extensive network of utility pipes was observed in one area of the site (Schuetz 1973:8-10).

Despite the mixing, Schuetz observed that the artifacts were clustered in a general stratigraphic pattern in which earlier artifacts were deeper than those dating to more recent periods

(Schuetz 1973:13). She recovered a variety of artifact types, including twentieth century liquor bottles, wire nails, and brick, as well as nineteenth century refined earthenwares, vessel glass, cut nails, lamp chimney glass, horse tack (including horseshoes associated with the U.S. Cavalry), a bugle mouthpiece, and other assorted items (Schuetz 1973:14-17). Eighteenth century artifacts recovered include majolica, Mexican lead-glazed wares, Native ceramics, gunflints, scrapers, chert blades, preforms, other chipped stone, cannon shot, miscellaneous metal artifacts, and faunal remains (Schuetz 1973:19-26).

Schuetz concluded that the stratigraphy could be separated into four distinct occupation zones, and that four rooms had been built at the eastern end of the patio. The rooms would have corresponded to the colonial period (Schuetz 1973:28).

Not long after Schuetz's work, the University of Texas-San Antonio (UTSA), led by Dr. Thomas Hester and Dr. R.E.W. Adams, investigated the east and west sides of the concrete reconstruction of the Acequia del Alamo. Their work revealed that the deposits east and west of the acequia had been disturbed by nineteenth century development. They recovered nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts, reflecting businesses that had been located near the Alamo during that time (Adams and Hester 1993; Hester 1993:2).

The Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at UTSA, which was formally established after Hester and Adams' 1973 investigations, returned to the Alamo in 1975 at the request of the City of San Antonio. At this time, the City planned to renovate Alamo Plaza as part of a master plan associated with the U.S. Bicentennial. Specifically, their goals were to learn whether archaeological deposits were present in the plaza and to locate the south gate (Fox et al. 1976:1).

Based on digitized archival and historical map data, CAR archaeologists set up two trenches over an area where they would intersect the south wall as it had been mapped. They stripped the overburden using backhoes, and then crews hand-excavated units, taking flotation samples as required (Fox et al. 1976:40). Nineteenth century artifacts were discovered within part of the trench at a depth of approximately three ft (91 cm) below ground surface, along with two large cut stones thought to be footings for the south wall (Fox et al. 1976:43). The report notes that the trenches showed evidence of extensive earth moving and grading above this level (Fox et al. 1976: 52), and that in this upper layer soils were disturbed with artifacts in mixed contexts (Fox et al. 1976:53-67).

In addition to the footings, crews found a fortification trench interpreted to be a lunette fortification, which would have been part of the south gate's defense system. This defensive trench was filled in on May 22-23, 1836 during the Mexican

retreat from Texas on the orders of General Andrade as noted in the May 22nd and May 24th journal of Dr. J. H. Barnard (then at San Antonio as a prisoner of war):

Sunday, May 22, 1836, General Andrade has received orders to destroy the Alamo and proceed to join the main army at Goliad. The troops have hitherto been busy in fortifying in fortifying the Alamo. They are now busy as bees, tearing down the walls... Tuesday, May 24, 1836, 6:00pm. As the troops left town this morning a large fire streamed from the Alamo...the Alamo was completely dismantled, all single walls were leveled, the fosse silled up, and the pickets torn up and burnt. White 1912:30-31.

Indicative of the accuracy of Barnard's account of the back-filling of the lunette on May 22 and 23, 1836, artifacts recovered from the lunette trench during excavations in 1988 dated to the period of the battle and before, with the majority of artifacts representing the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period including majolicas, Mexican lead glazed wares, Native ceramics, olive glass, bone and shell beads, and projectile points (Fox et al. 1992:78). Artifacts indicative of the battle and the back filling included .75 caliber Brown Bess musket balls, gunflints, fragments of howitzer shells, pieces of bronze grapeshot as well as the shako plate from a member of the Morelos battalion – a battalion not present at the battle in 1836 but present when the Alamo was dismantled (Fox et al. 1992:56-57). In other areas outside this feature, archaeologists recovered white-bodied earthenwares, faunal remains, vessel glass, and chipped stone (Fox et al. 1992:53-67).

Prior to construction associated with the Riverwalk and associated hotel development, the City approached CAR in 1977 for an archival assessment of the area near the river that would have encompassed the west side of the Alamo compound. The study was intended to provide a context within which to evaluate the potential and types of archaeological deposits that could exist within the proposed development area (Fox and Ivey 1979:1). As a result of this archival research, Fox and Ivey proposed that archaeological investigations should focus on finding the west wall of the mission, the branch of the acequia that traversed the west side of the mission, any structures, fortifications, or ditches associated with the Alamo, and the location of six houses and associated structures that once stood along Losoya Street. These structures may have been built atop earlier mission deposits that could be present. The team also acknowledged there was a potential for prehistoric deposits to be present given the area's proximity to the river, and noted these deposits should be investigated if they were discovered (Fox and Ivey 1979:7).

While this archival study was intended to identify potential deposits in advance of construction and to pinpoint potentially significant cultural resources that could be present, the City focused elsewhere within the compound for archaeological work in 1977. The City contracted CAR to explore the area in front of the convento or Long Barracks as part of a repaving project. The work consisted of archaeological monitoring of backhoe trenches placed parallel and perpendicular to the building's front wall. As a result of this work, archaeologists noted the current (restored) convento wall sits atop the original foundation. Spanish Colonial artifacts were observed in association with this foundation. No deposits dating later than the Spanish Colonial period were encountered during this work (Fox 1977).

CAR completed one additional City-sponsored project at the Alamo in 1977. The investigations focused on the area outside the west wall of the church. The goals of this work were to expose and examine the church foundation, recording its' condition and analyzing the masonry construction. Archaeologists were also to assess the surrounding soils for archaeological deposits and diagnostic artifacts. CAR archaeologists excavated 12 units outside the west wall of the chapel between the doors and the southwest building corner to expose the foundation (Eaton 1980:21).

Excavations adjacent to the church foundation revealed a footing trench that contained uncut stones that were not joined with mortar. Larger, faced stones sat atop this footer, forming the foundation. A pinkish lime mortar was found between the foundation stones, which were wider than the church wall that sits on top of this foundation. At the time of observation, all components of the foundation and structure wall were sound (Eaton 1980:25).

Eaton observed several layers of fill overlying natural deposits in this area. Artifacts in the fill layers were temporally mixed until the transition to natural soils at approximately 63 cm below the ground surface. At that point, fill containing majolica, Native ceramics, faunal remains, and chert tools was present. Eaton attributed this layer as representing the early Mission occupation. A fireplace feature was also found at this level (Eaton 1980:22).

The Colonial living surface was only one of the discoveries Eaton and his team made during this project. The CAR team also located a part of the palisade trench from 1836. Military artifacts, including various sizes of shot and howitzer shell fragments were present, as were buttons, nails, glass, and ceramics. A second trench may also have been present (Eaton 1980:25).

As the city continued to make improvements to the Alamo Plaza, CAR investigated areas that would be impacted by

ground disturbance. In 1979, CAR excavated an area within the patio near the north wall of the compound. The goal of these investigations was to determine whether existing footings could support a new wall as well as to gather information about other wall structures such as previous versions of the wall (Ivey 1997:1). Seven units were excavated within this area (Ivey 1997:12). Investigators found a portion of the Acequia del Alamo, stone and adobe foundations, a fortification trench, and several other early trenches that may have been associated with various occupation episodes (Ivey 1997:34-41). The potential fortification trench contained a human cranium and Battle-period artifacts (Ivey 1997:19, 35-37). Ivey notes extensive stratigraphic disturbance throughout the excavations, and that early nineteenth century artifacts were generally absent (1997:35). Artifacts recovered from these investigations included Native ceramics, Mexican lead-glazed wares, majolica, white-bodied earthenwares, porcelain, buttons, medallions, gun flints, musket balls, gun parts, vessel and window glass, and a variety of metal (Ivey 1997:24-33).

CAR also excavated units near the west wall in 1979, in an area known as the "Radio Shack" site (41BX438) due to excavations occurring underneath and adjacent to the building housing a Radio Shack franchise at that time. These investigations uncovered stacked adobe walls, including rooms and what was likely a separate western wall of the compound; the Acequia del Alamo; an extensive bone bed; a well; and a privy (Ivey 1980, 2005). While a report has not yet been produced for this work, excavation photos indicate that post holes were present within the adobe rooms. In addition, records on file at CAR show a wide range of artifacts were recovered from this area, including Colonial ceramics, white-bodied earthenwares, clothing items such as beads and hat pins, vessel glass, musket balls, cannon ball fragments, corn cobs, and a human tooth (Ivey 2005, Wills 1979).

Within the area under the Radio Shack building, archaeologists found evidence of rectangular bases for supports for a structure that would have been an arched portico. Adobe bricks were stacked between the bases, and the area that would have constituted the floor under the portico consisted of packed caliche. Artifacts recovered from this area included charcoal and bone, which were present in association with ash deposits (Ivey 1980a:3).

## **1980s Excavations**

In association with installation of a drainage system, CAR excavated in an area behind Alamo Hall in 1980. CAR's archival research indicated a house had been in this area in the early-mid nineteenth century. The house had been the residence of former San Antonio Mayor Wilhelm Thielepape (Nickels 1999:1). The placement of the excavation units

was based on a circa 1930 Sanborn map and an 1854 drawing so that the team could search for structural remains. Archaeologists found a cut-limestone foundation under the remnants of adobe walls, along with a compacted caliche floor. In addition, the team found the remains of an adobe wall and sandstone and mortar floor associated with a detached kitchen. Like many other areas within the Alamo compound, stratigraphy indicated a mixing of eighteenth through twentieth century artifacts (Nickels 1999:20). Recovered artifacts included Goliad ware, majolica, Mexican lead glazed wares, a reworked Angostura projectile point, white-bodied earthenwares, stoneware, porcelain, electrical wire, cut nails, wire nails, keys, buttons, vessel glass, and faunal remains (Nickels 1999:14-19).

In 1983, CAR returned to excavations along the west wall in the location where the Remember the Alamo Theater had been in the north half of the former Maverick Building. The Maverick Building was located north of the Radio Shack building. The work was done in advance of construction of the Paseo to the river with the goal of finding the foundations of the mission walls in that area. The intent was to preserve these foundations in place by excavating only to the top of whatever remained of the foundations (Fox 1983:1). Archaeologists did locate the adobe foundations as well as post molds, which had also been present at 41BX438 to the south. Artifacts were largely found in mixed contexts and consisted of one musket ball as well as building materials, faunal remains, buckles, unglazed eighteenth-century earthenware, nineteenth century ceramics, and shell (Fox 1983:2-3). Some of the 1979 and 1983 West Wall units were relocated during the 2016 investigations in this area, which also sought to preserve features and foundations in place (Anderson et al. 2018).

CAR conducted a field school in 1988 and again in 1989 at the south wall. The focus of the 1988 work was to investigate the lunette feature CAR had discovered during their 1975 work in this area (Fox 1992:19). Investigations focused on the lunette and the gate, which had not been fully explored during the previous investigations. Crews excavated most of the lunette feature but left a 1-meter baulk in place so profiles could be recorded. Artifacts recovered from the lunette trench included a military shako plate and a mixture of eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts. An east-west trench intersecting the east side of the lunette was also discovered, as were foundations from the low barracks. Crews did not explore much of the east-west trench, instead focusing on the path of the lunette as it extended southwest toward Alamo Street. Using a backhoe to remove overburden on top of the lunette, CAR followed its path and projected where it would cross under Alamo Street. Later that year, CAR was able to monitor a trench in Alamo Street that confirmed the projection to be correct (Fox 1992:22).

The 1989 field school focused on the east-west trench with the intent of exploring whether it was connected to the palisade trench Eaton had discovered in 1980. CAR also opened another excavation area to look for the nineteenth century addition to the long barracks (Fox 1992:25). The trench contained a mix of eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts that tapered off toward the west. The trench itself had been cut into the caliche and showed possible indications a spring may have been in this area. A scraper, hammerstone, core, and tested cobbles were found in association with this caliche layer. No evidence of structural remains was encountered during these excavations (Fox 1992:28).

### **1990s Excavations**

In 1990, the DRT decided to expand the Sales Museum, or gift shop, at the Alamo, requiring work underneath and adjacent to the building. The fieldwork, which entailed trenching, hand excavation, and monitoring, was completed by Lone Star Services. Some reporting was completed, but the final report was written by CAR in 2008 based on Lone Star's notes (Tomka et al. 2008:3).

Initial archaeological testing revealed disturbed deposits overlying intact soils in the area under the existing museum (Tomka et al. 2008:17). However, the details of the excavations are unclear, and vertical provenience was not documented. Based on the notes, CAR was able to conclude that the area under the museum was heavily disturbed (Tomka et al. 2008:23). Despite this conclusion, evidence also showed there were other areas that contained a mix of later materials overlying apparently intact colonial materials, much like other areas within the Alamo compound. Artifacts recovered include Native ceramics, Mexican lead-glazed wares, majolica, white-bodied earthenwares, faunal bone, shell, wire and cut nails, metal, vessel and window glass, buttons, beads, and lithics (Tomka et al. 2008:27). CAR was also able to determine that the Acequia del Alamo had been moved slightly east of its original location in the 1930s (Tomka et al. 2008:72).

The next excavation within the compound occurred in 1995, when an amateur researcher contracted with St. Mary's University to search for a well and an associated cache of silver bullion that the researcher believed to be present. Using ground penetrating radar (GPR) and electromagnetic scans, the archaeologists pinpointed a possible well in an area under Alamo Plaza East Street, which is between the convento and the planters along the east side of Alamo Street (Guderjan 1995:7). Subsequent excavation revealed 1930s-era sandstone pavers and layers of mixed fill over what appeared to be an intact colonial layer containing Native ceramics, majolica, and chipped

stone artifacts (Guderjan 1995:34). No evidence of a well or precious metal was found.

Later in 1995, to prevent the rising damp from disintegrating the chapel walls, the DRT consulted with an architect to insert metal plates into the ground near the south transept of the church. In preparation for this work, CAR excavated several units inside and outside the building along the south wall (Meissner 1996:3). The investigation uncovered nineteenth century foundations outside the church (Meissner 1996:42-43) along with mixed nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts and several utility pipes. The church foundation was also exposed and documented (Meissner 1996:46).

Artifacts recovered from the excavations included Native ceramics, Mexican lead-glazed ceramics, majolica, white-bodied earthenwares, stoneware, vessel glass (including olive glass and aqua glass), buttons, metal, toys, and slate (Meissner 1996 66-93). Many of the nineteenth century artifacts came from fill along the exterior of the building and are in mixed context (Meissner 1996:94).

Inside the church, excavations showed the soils above the top of the building's foundation were mixed, with colonial and post-colonial ceramics found together. In addition, this area contained disarticulated human remains as well as the remains of rodents and evidence of rodent activity (Meissner 1996:57-61).

The last work in the 1990s consisted of a monitoring project for the installation of lighting in front of the Wall of History. CAR monitored the excavations associated with the light installation in 1997. Impacts were extremely shallow and did not reach intact colonial deposits.

### **2000s Excavations**

In 2006, CAR conducted another field school at the Alamo, focusing on areas potentially impacted by the Alamo Master Plan. Excavations occurred along the north wall, at the south end of the Long Barracks, and along the east wall of the Convento Courtyard (Zapata and McKenzie 2017:2). Excavations along the north wall revealed areas of disturbance and areas with intact stratigraphy as well as two possible colonial middens (Zapata and McKenzie 2017:41-42). Near the Long Barracks, two of the seven excavation units contained intact deposits, but further research would be needed to interpret the overall stratigraphy of the area (Zapata and McKenzie 2017:42). Along the east wall of the Convento Courtyard, deposits were mixed with no stratigraphic integrity (Zapata and McKenzie 2017:42). Artifacts recovered included Native ceramics, majolica,

Mexican lead-glazed wares, white-bodied earthenwares, faunal fragments, lithics, plaster, brick, nails, glass, and metal (Zapata and McKenzie 2017:21-37).

## **2010s Excavations**

CAR once again returned to the Alamo in 2014 to monitor trenches and pier excavations in association with the Arbor expansion (Nichols 2014:9). While the excavations encountered utility lines, no artifacts appear to have been observed. Excavations were shallow overall, and none extended below undisturbed fill (Nichols 2014:17).

The Texas Historical Commission conducted a GPR survey within the Alamo compound in 2015 in order to assess the utility of GPR technology in mapping subsurface features prior to archaeological investigation. The area covered nine GPR survey grids in and around the complex (Osburn 2016:4). The crew successfully identified buried features including utilities, rebar, and potential anomalies, though the data was complex in some areas due to the past ground disturbance (Osburn 2016:24).

In 2016, CAR, Pape-Dawson Engineers, and Raba Kistner Environmental worked together to investigate the west and south walls in association with a new Alamo Master Plan. Research was driven by the questions posed by the Master Plan team. Questions focused on whether deposits were present at the west and south walls of the compound, and whether those areas could inform reconstruction of the landscape both for the original Mission period and the 1836 Battle period (Anderson et al. 2018:18). Results largely confirmed Fox, Hester, and Ivey's previous work at both locations. At the west wall, an intact Spanish Colonial living surface was present with mixed nineteenth and twentieth century deposits lying on top. Footings were present at the south wall, but artifacts were in mixed context with no isolable living surface. No Battle period living surfaces were located (Anderson et al. 2018:204).

Artifacts recovered from this work included ceramics, glass, metal, faunal material, construction debris, organics and lithics. More specifically, ceramics included Goliad ware, Mexican lead-glazed wares, majolica, white-bodied earthenwares, stoneware, and porcelain (Anderson et al. 2018:125-127). The glass assemblage had a variety of types and colors of vessel glass, lamp chimney glass, window glass, and glass beads (Anderson et al. 2018:147-148), while metal artifacts included nails, fasteners, a Martingale plate, and a gun finial (Anderson et al. 2018:156-157). Organic materials included faunal fragments, shells, and a human tooth (Anderson et al. 2018:163).

More recently, CAR completed archaeological monitoring of six hand excavated holes for the installation of the conserved

cannons (Zapata 2018:1). The work occurred south of the church within the existing arcade (Zapata 2018:2). Most artifacts recovered were construction related and were recovered from a layer of construction fill. A single Native American ceramic, faunal bone, and two pieces of charcoal were also recovered (Zapata 2018:17).

## **2020s Excavations**

In association with planned improvements associated with the Alamo Master Plan, CAR completed several investigations in and around the Alamo complex in 2020. The first of these projects involved installation of bollards in six locations around the perimeter of the plaza as well as installation of two ramps with handrails. Bollard areas were subjected to hand excavation while the ramp excavation was monitored (Zapata and McKenzie 2020:2). In the southwestern area of the plaza, two features were discovered, the first of which was a concentration of sand and lime slurry with large cobbles (Zapata and McKenzie 2020:39) that produced few artifacts. The second feature appeared to be remnants of a wall footing (Zapata and McKenzie 2020:43). In Area 3, a feature related to the lunette construction was discovered and resulted in a project redesign in this area (Zapata and McKenzie 2020:50). Two features were discovered in Area 6 and included remnants of the streetcar system from the early twentieth century and a colonial wall footing (Zapata and McKenzie 2020:61-62). The authors noted there had been extensive disturbance throughout the project area, much like other areas of the plaza (Zapata and McKenzie 2020:88).

The artifact assemblage resembled those found elsewhere in the plaza, and included Native ceramics, Mexican lead glazed wares, majolica, white-bodied earthenwares, fragments of a redware Presidential effigy pipe, and a variety of colors of glass from vessels, windows, and chimneys. In addition, archaeologists recovered lithics and faunal material (Zapata and McKenzie 2020:67-86).

CAR also monitored two areas where geotechnical boring occurred in 2020. The first project, initiated in n 2019, consisted of monitoring four bore holes along the west side of the plaza (Zapata 2020a:1). Borings were 7.1 cm in diameter and 9.1 meters deep. No cultural materials were observed (Zapata 2020a:11). The other project consisted of monitoring two bore holes in front of the Menger Hotel in anticipation of relocation of the Cenotaph (Zapata 2020b:1). Bore holes were 7.1 cm in diameter and 9.1 m deep. Both were culturally sterile (Zapata 2020b:10).

In 2019 and continuing into 2020, archaeologists from Raba Kistner Incorporated (RKI) conducted work on the Long Barrack and the Church. As of this writing, a report on this

work has not been completed. However, several burials were uncovered by this work (THC 2020), and additional information on these finds is presented in Chapter 6 of this report.

## **Conclusion**

Over the last 50 years, archaeology at the Alamo has been focused primarily on mitigating construction impacts.

While much of this work has provided insight into the archaeology of the complex, it is scattered throughout different reports in the grey literature that can be difficult to access. The preceding summary is intended to provide an overview of archaeological investigations that have occurred in different areas of the Alamo, as well as the types of deposits present and their integrity. The other chapters in this report provide insight into recorded burial deposits in and around the Alamo complex.



## Chapter 3: Colonial and Post-Colonial Burial Practices and Evidence from Cemetery Excavations

*Clinton M. M. McKenzie, Cindy Muñoz, and James E. Ivey*

### Overview

This chapter explores the social and cultural practices surrounding burials and cemeteries during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period in San Antonio. It also examines the archaeological signatures of those practices from excavation at local and regional missions.

### Ecclesiastical Burial

For Catholics in San Antonio during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, an ecclesiastical or “Christian” burial was culturally paramount, as Catholic doctrine at that time dictated that absent burial in consecrated ground the soul of the deceased was in peril of ultimate salvation. The Catholic Church’s practices regarding Catholic burial have changed since the nineteenth century, but at their heart, they are focused on having a consecrated physical place (a Catholic cemetery) where the mandates dictated by Canon Law ensure that the remains of the Catholic faithful are treated with reverence and respect (*Code of Canon Law [CCL]*, Part II, Title III: Ecclesiastical Funerals, Canons 1176-1185). In the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period (1718 to 1835) the only consecrated spaces for burials were at the five Franciscan missions, the chapel of the Presidio de Béxar, or within the San Fernando Parish Church or its Campo Santo that was opened in 1808. There were no other places for proper Catholic Christian burial according to the rites and customs of the Catholic Church.

The primary archival record contains numerous examples of the importance of Catholic Christian burial. For example, the August 1813 burials of the assassinated Governor Salcedo and his entourage were performed to provide Christian burial to these dead (Almaraz 1971:172). In 1814 Father José Darío Zambrano of San Fernando wrote the following letter to Governor Cristobal Dominguez concerning the bodies of rebels executed in Royalist reprisals in 1813:

Most Excellent Sir:

For a good while I have been wanting to point out to His Excellency my strong desire to give Christian burial to the corpses which are placed in the plaza. In the first place it is hard for me to understand how Christian burial has been denied a group of men who were put to death for their crimes, while at the same time others, guilty of

the same crimes, have been pardoned, denying that same mercy to the dead.

In the second place, it is hard for me to watch the disdain with which the corpses are treated by children, who throw rocks at them. 9 March 1814 [Zambrano 1814]

Father José Darío Zambrano was requesting permission to give Christian burial to the men who had been executed in August of 1813 by order of General Arredondo after his investment of San Antonio following the victory over the rebel forces at the Battle of Medina on August 18, 1813. Arredondo publicly executed the rebels and decreed that their bodies not only be denied Christian burial they also could not be removed from public display. Father Zambrano’s arguments to Governor Dominguez were that these bodies merited Christian burial because others who had escaped death were subsequently pardoned; that children treated the corpses with disrespect; and that giving Christian burial was a “...mercy to the dead” and that doing so was “...a merciful act” (Zambrano 1814).

Further evidence from the San Fernando registers includes documentation of no less than 25 entries for burials of the bones of individuals recovered from the wilderness with notes they were “killed by Indians” (Leal 1975, 1976). Likewise, the Mission Valero records include entries for ten individuals whose bones were collected from where they had been killed and were interred at the mission in consecrated ground (Martínez de Vara, unpublished manuscript). There are also a handful of cases where burials had been transferred from a closed mission (Leal 1975, 1976).

A further distinction concerning Catholic burial is that only baptized Catholics were eligible for interment in Catholic cemeteries. An 1830 letter from Father Joseph Rosati to James F. Perry documents the Catholic Church’s position on ecclesiastical burial. Father Rosati was replying to Perry concerning the request to bury Moses and Mary Austin, the parents of Stephen F. Austin, in the St. Genevieve Parish cemetery:

Sir, As the Christian burial in our ecclesiastical grave yard is a religious act intimately connected with the sacred discipline of our Church, no one is permitted to receive it, according to the laws of the same Church unless he be a member of it. Consequently it would not be in my power to

permit that...if they were not catholic...In the case that...proofs could not be given I think that a decent place for their burial might be found in the protestant burying ground of the same town, adjacent to the Catholic graveyard [Rosati 1830].

Rosati's 1830 reference to a co-located Protestant cemetery to St. Genevieve's is similar to the "public burial ground" that existed outside the western wall of 1808 Campo Santo. The two clearest accounts of non-Catholic (Protestant) burials are found in a published diary entry for the year 1838 and in the 1848 cemetery committee report to the City Board of Aldermen (*Galveston Daily News* 22 February 1880:40; City Council Journal and Minute Book A, 3 April 1848:135-136). The earlier 1838 account is from the diary of an anonymous individual published in the *Galveston Daily News* in February of 1880. The diary entries describe violent encounters with Comanche Indians at the Leon Creek crossing of the Presidio Road on October 19 in which ten Americans were reported killed and an unknown number of "Mexicans" [author's note: the term "Mexican" was applied to anyone of Hispanic ancestry – in effect the term was racial rather than implying nationality and the individuals killed were likely local Tejanos] (*GDN* 22 February 1880:40). The diary entries for October 20 and 21 give an account of the retrieval of the American and Mexican dead and their subsequent burial:

The next day (Sunday the 20th) a company of Mexicans...and Americans...went out to recover the other bodies...the day was spent preparing for the funeral...October 21...In the evening we buried ten Americans outside the Campo Santo. Judge James. W. Robinson delivered a eulogy on the occasion, all in the cold drizzling rain. Great gloom prevailed for several days [*GDN* 22 February 1880:4].

Mary A. Maverick in her memoirs provides a corroborating account of these events, reporting both the violent encounter as well as the fact that "...nine Americans were buried in one large grave...outside of the Catholic burying ground, and very near the S. W. corner. The nine Mexicans were buried inside the Catholic cemetery" (Maverick 1921:30). While Maverick gives the number of American dead at 9 rather than 10, her account nevertheless provides supporting evidence for the 1838 diary account, the location of the burial of the non-Catholic dead outside the west wall and near the southwest corner of the 1808 Campo Santo, and that the Catholic "Mexican" dead were buried in the Campo Santo itself (Maverick 1921:30). It is possible that one of the burials encountered in excavations at the Children's Hospital of San Antonio is one of the men killed in 1838. The burial was found outside the western wall of the 1808 Campo Santo

and had two metal arrow points as well as a Colt .31 caliber pistol bullet (Muñoz 2021:36). The Colt .31 is a firearm with an extremely time delimited production between the years 1836 and 1840 (Colt Collectors Association, Inc., 2021).

That non-Catholics continued to be buried outside the west wall of the 1808 Campo Santo is specifically addressed in the April 3, 1848, report of the cemetery committee to the Board of Aldermen at the time of the creation of the expanded Catholic Cemetery and the official creation of a City Cemetery. The report also presented a plat drawn by City Surveyor François Giraud and shown in Figure 3-1 (City Engineer's Survey Book (CESB) 1, 22 March 1848:10). The plat clearly shows the outline of the original 1808 Campo Santo as the nearly square plot in the southeast corner of the larger new Catholic Cemetery and the City Cemetery bordering the 1808 Campo Santo and new Catholic Cemetery to the south. The alignment of today's West Houston Street straddles the southern boundary of the Catholic Cemetery and the northern boundary of the City Cemetery.

While the Board of Aldermen ratified the plat of the new Catholic and City cemeteries, they also specifically noted that:

...whereas a number of interments have been made in the ground now included in the Plat designated "Campo Santo or Catholic Burrial [sic] ground" and the impossibility of enlarging the Campo Santo without including that portion of graves made outside of the west-wall. Therefore your committee would recommend ...That all graves now included within the said lines, shall be respected, and remain inviolate and unmolested forever...and that any person, under the direction and authority of the Mayor, shall have the right and privilege [sic] to erect or build any monument, wall, fence, or enclosure around or about any or all of the above mentioned graves and such other conditions as your Hon. Body may deem fit and proper for the protection of the same...C. F. King – Chairman

Which report being duly considered was received and adopted [CCJMB A:135-136].

It is incontrovertible that non-Catholics were living and dying in San Antonio de Béxar beginning in the 1820s. That the non-Catholic community created an ad hoc cemetery adjacent to the Catholic Cemetery is both to be expected and understood – it was where the community, regardless of religious affiliation buried their dead. While this report is focused on the former Mission Valero and its surrounding area, the distinction between ecclesiastical burial within a

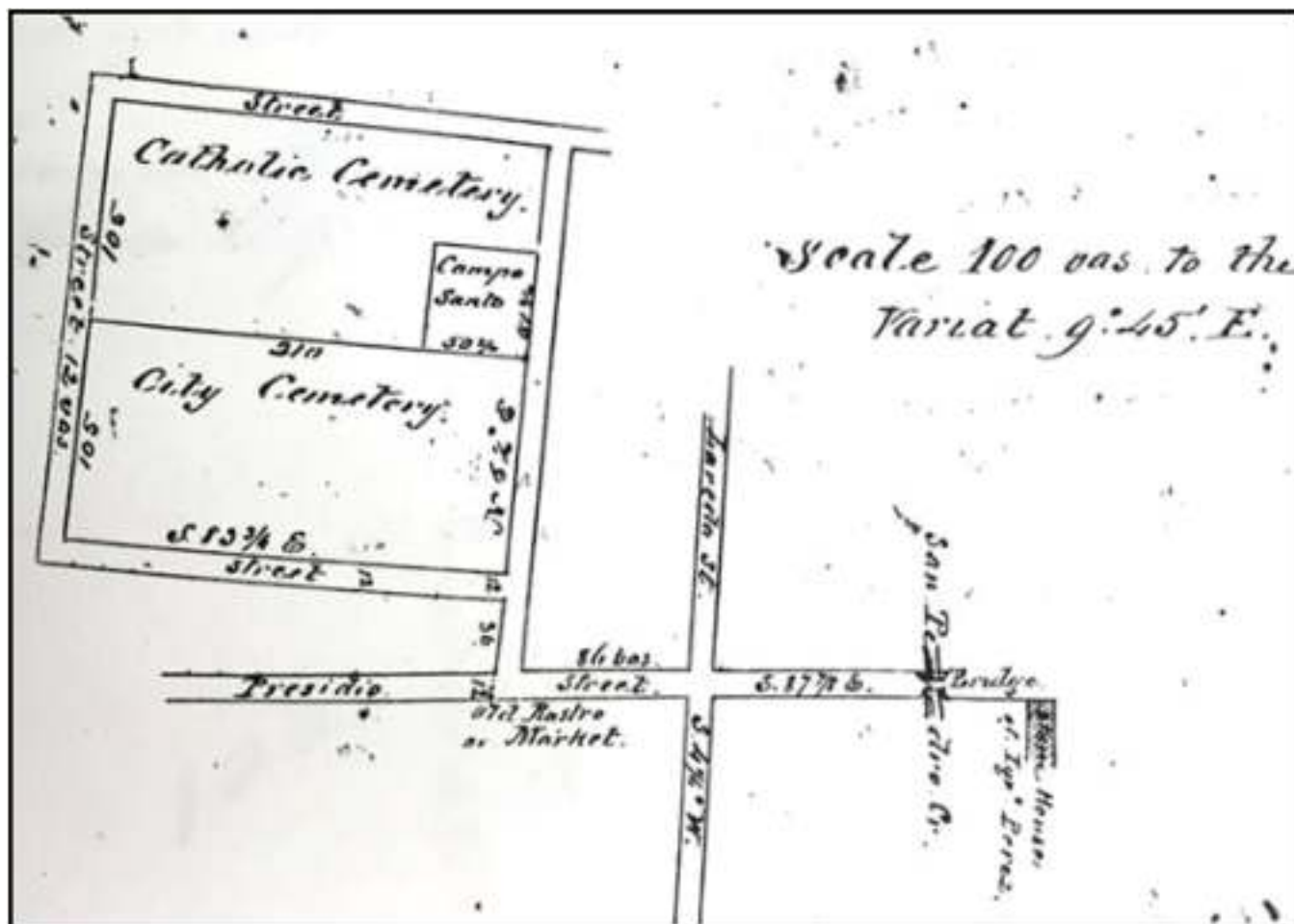


Figure 3-1. François Giraud Survey of the Catholic Cemetery and City Cemetery, March 22, 1848 (north is up; CESB 1:10).

Campo Santo for Catholics and non-ecclesiastical burial of non-Catholics (Protestants or individuals not of the Catholic faith) outside, but adjacent to the Campo Santo, suggest this same possibility exists near Valero. Certainly, the Second Protestant Cemetery (see Chapter 7), located near the intersection of Commerce and Water Streets, represents an analogous situation on the east side of the San Antonio River to that on the west bank of the San Pedro in that both the Catholic and Protestant communities buried their dead in faith restricted or delimited ground set aside for that purpose and in proximity.

A final consideration concerning burial of the dead in the Colonial period relates to the burial of the unbaptised. Catholic doctrine restricts burial of the dead to "...the Christian faithful" and defines them as such on the basis of baptism when they are "...reborn as children of God, and, configured to Christ by an indelible character, are incorporated into the Church" (CCL Book IV Part II, Title III: Ecclesiastical Funerals, Canons 1176; Book IV Part I, Title I, Baptisms, Canon 849). Ostensibly, anyone who died unbaptized would not qualify for an ecclesiastical burial. While there are no extant records or archaeological

encounters that indicate a dedicated burial site for non-Catholics or unbaptized Catholics during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods (1718-1820), the funeral records of both Mission Valero and the parish church of San Fernando contain entries where it is clear that the officiating priest or, in their absence, a layman baptized infants, children and adults *in periculo mortis* (in danger of death) so that they could die with the sacrament of baptism and, by extension, be afforded an ecclesiastical burial (Leal 1975: San Antonio de Valero [SADV] Burial 292, March 11, 1732; Burial 518, August 1745; Leal 1975:62, 67 -San Fernando de Austria [SFDA] Burial 1621, 28 June 1795; Burial 1731, 14 September 1797).

### Church, Campo Santo, Ad Sanctos and Ad Hoc Burials

The requirement of ecclesiastical burial created the need for specifically designated and consecrated locations in which the Catholic dead could be interred. Two of the three categories of burial types address consecrated ground (Church and Campo Santo burials). In both cases, the commonality is that the

ground is consecrated, with the distinction that the church proper is consecrated ground serving multiple sacramental purposes, the site for burial of the dead, the celebration of the Mass, the baptism, confirmation, marriage and ordinal rites, etc. The distinction for a formal Campo Santo is its singular dedicated use as a burial ground. The third category, *ad sanctos*, describes burials that are placed in areas known or presumed to be consecrated or sacred. The final category describes burials that were expedient or convenient referred to as ad hoc burials.

### Church Burials

Church burials describe the custom of interring the Catholic dead beneath the floor of the church itself. This practice presumably prevailed at all of the sites discussed in this report, including all Mission sites, the Presidial Chapel, and the San Fernando parish church. Archaeological investigations have documented such burials at Valero, Concepción, San José, and San Juan and San Fernando (Meissner 1995; Ivey and Fox 1999; Uhlrich 2011; Nickels and Fox 1999; Scheutz 1968; Fox et al. 1977). No work has ever been performed for the Presidial Chapel as its location is imperfectly known and no excavations have encountered evidence of its location. No burials have been encountered at Mission Espada but little or no archaeological testing has been performed in areas suspected of including human remains.

### Campo Santo Burials

When burials were made within a burial yard on the exterior of a church or in some other dedicated exterior area set apart for burials, these sacred spaces were referred to as a *Campo Santo* (literally holy ground). Occasionally, the term *cementerio* (cemetery) is used. *Campo Santo* is archaic Spanish for “Holy Field” or “Holy Ground” and refers to interments made in specifically delineated and consecrated ground set aside for the burial of the Catholic dead. The term *campo santo* corresponds with the English equivalent of “hallowed ground.” Modern Spanish convention merges the two words into *camposanto* and expands the definition from sacred ground set aside for Christian burial to a broader meaning such as the English term “cemetery” or “graveyard” which has no inherent religious connotation. In the present discussion, the older archaic usage and meaning are used rather than the generic term.

Often the campo santo of the church would be immediately adjacent to the front of the church and that was the case in San Antonio. For example, the first Campo Santo of San Fernando was a dedicated and enclosed space immediately east of the church fronting onto the *Plaza de las Islas* (Benavides 2003:24). Figure 3-2 is a photograph of the colonial church from circa 1865-1867 taken from the east (facing west). The low wall immediately behind the tree and wagons that runs



Figure 3-2. San Fernando Church, San Antonio, Texas, ca. 1861, Lender Mary Ann Noonan Guerra, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries General Photograph Collection, 075-0647.

across the east front of the church and the north side form the enclosure for the first campo santo of San Fernando.

Evidence that this area was an active campo santo is derived from period wills and testaments but also from an article published in the *San Antonio Express* in 1867. The article, titled “The Commencement of a New Roman Catholic Cathedral – Exhumation of Human Bones” describes the discovery of human remains during preparation of foundation trenches at the site:

During the past week workmen have been busily digging trenches for the foundation of a New Cathedral, to take the place now occupied by the ancient church. In digging the workmen have exhumed large quantities of human bones, the whole yard seeming to have been thickly laid with human bodies. The time when this church yard was used as a burial place, is hardly within the memory of the oldest inhabitants. For a hundred years these bones have slept in quiet beneath all the contentions of human wars and revolutions, and at last are thrown up by a new generation of men, and upon their mold is to rest

the foundation of a modern temple of worship. Their names have been forgotten – even their race, their deeds, their history; the only thing we know is that they belong to the human family. *San Antonio Express*, December 23, 1867,

Considering the footprint of the 1867 cathedral (which still stands on Main Plaza) it is clear that the foundation trenches described in the article transited through the area of the nave and Campo Santo of the original 1756 San Fernando church. Considering that over 1,000 burials were made in the church between 1756 and 1808 the statement that “...the whole yard seeming to have been thickly laid with human bodies” attests to the sheer number of burials in such a confined space.

There was at least one Campo Santo at the third site of Mission Valero and this appears to have been associated with the first church. Like that church, this cemetery is conjecturally located on the north end of what is now Alamo Plaza. A cemetery along the north wall of Valero may be shown on the 1764 Menchaca map (Figure 3-3). On that map, there is clearly drawn some type of enclosure that abuts the north wall of the recently constructed walled compound around the mission. Within that walled compound is what appears



Figure 3-3. Close up of the 1764 Menchaca map showing a possible Campo Santo just beyond the north wall of Valero.

to be a *Calvario* cross in the center. The Spanish *Calvario* directly translates as Calvary, referencing the biblical name of the site of the crucifixion of Christ. The 1808 San Fernando Campo Santo description by Adams describes just such a *Calvario*, saying: “In the center of this enclosure there is a pile of stone rudely thrown together, with a cross standing in its center” (Adams 1842). The historian Miriam Melton-Villanueva shows that a *Calvario* was used as a term indicating a cemetery association as late as the early nineteenth century, that “...the Calvary ... in the churchyard [was] used as a reference point for burials” (Melton-Villanueva 2012:170 and n. 54; McAndrew 1969:311).

The Menchaca map is a relational map and what is depicted is not a perfect one-to-one projection like a current modern map. The relationship of things shown on the map are more or less correct, i.e., Valero is across the river from the Villa and Presidio and all the Missions are in correct order relative to one another. However, there are many inconsistencies and inaccuracies on the map. Among the inconsistencies is that if the cross shown within the walled compound abutting the north side of Valero is a cemetery marker, it is the only one shown on the map as such. In the category of inaccuracies, the Menchaca map depicts a walled enclosure on the north side of Valero and west of the Acequia Madre de Valero. However, this cannot be a correct depiction of the relationship as the acequia entered the compound only 16 varas (44 ft 6 inches; 13.56 m) from the face of the western wall (this distance is given in the property description for the sale of a lot by the Mexican Government to Alexandro Treviño in 1828 (BCDR F2:206-208). Further, the interior alignment of the acequia is consistent with reports in the 1762 *visita* of Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores who described “...an extensive plaza through which runs an acequia” (de los Dolores 1762). The 1828 reference to the acequia in its original interior position indicates that it was moved outside the wall after 1828 and before it was depicted on the Labastida map of March 1836. On the Labastida map the acequia is shown in the new location, crossing northeast to southwest, outside of the north wall before turning south parallel to the west wall. Figure 3-4 is a full view of the 1885 Matlock copy of the 1849 Giraud Plat and Field Notes of the Alamo. Matlock re-drew and colorized Giraud’s original map which had deteriorated. This map depicts Giraud’s placement of the original walls and acequia alignments based on his observations in 1849.

Figure 3-5 is a close-up of the area at the northern end of the walled mission plaza with the re-routed acequia in blue but also showing the former interior alignment in dashed lines. Examining this map it is clear that the Menchaca map incorrectly shows the acequia entering the plaza too far east. Further, examination of the original alignment demonstrates that the conjectured cemetery and first church would have

been constrained south of the northern line of the acequia and east of the route as it turned south.

It is likely that the acequia was relocated from the interior to the exterior in late 1835 by the Mexican Army when they were building the defenses of the Alamo (Fox 1992:4). Re-routing the acequia to the exterior provided a defensive “moat” along the west side, and the dirt from the excavation could have been used to build the various embankments and/or cannon platforms reported erected inside the Alamo by the Mexicans under General Cós or subsequently by the Texians under direction of Green B. Jameson (Filisola 1849; Chabot 1936).

With the acequia in its original interior position, the correct relationship would locate the cemetery on the east side of the acequia, rather than on the west as depicted on the Menchaca map. The cemetery would be bounded on the north by the same acequia and on the east by the hypothetical first Valero church site. Its southern border might extend beneath the compound wall as the cemetery predated the 1762 wall by as many as forty years. It is also possible that the location and alignment of the north wall was predicated by the location of the cemetery and by extension, the location of the first church (which was no longer extant at the time of the construction of the compound walls, having been demolished between 1739 and 1743 when the second church opened).

Additional evidence that there was a cemetery in this area at Valero is found in the documents relating the case of Antonio Tello and the death of Matias Treviño (Ivey 1990:81). Aguado y Villafuerte stated that in the area around the church of 1744 there was a cemetery (Aguado y Villafuerte 1744). Accepting that the granary building was the second church location places the 1744 cemetery in the same northern area of the plaza where the first church was believed to have been located. While we lack the direct archival evidence of its creation and its location and duration of use, we do have analogs from San Antonio sites such as Mission San José y San Miguel as well as from the 1808 Campo Santo for San Fernando. The cemetery at Mission San José y San Miguel was described by Governor Jacinto Barrios y Jauregui in 1758 as:

(222 feet, 4 inches) square and is surrounded by a rubblework fence having three entrances...[and served] “...as the military plaza. Here the natives have their gun and arrow practice and their drills” [Barrios 1758].

The 1808 Campo Santo size is also known from the archival record as its precise measurements are given on the 1848 plat notes by Giraud as 50  $\frac{3}{4}$  varas (141 ft; 43 m) east-west and 51  $\frac{3}{4}$  varas (143 ft, 9 inches; 43.9 m) north-south (Giraud

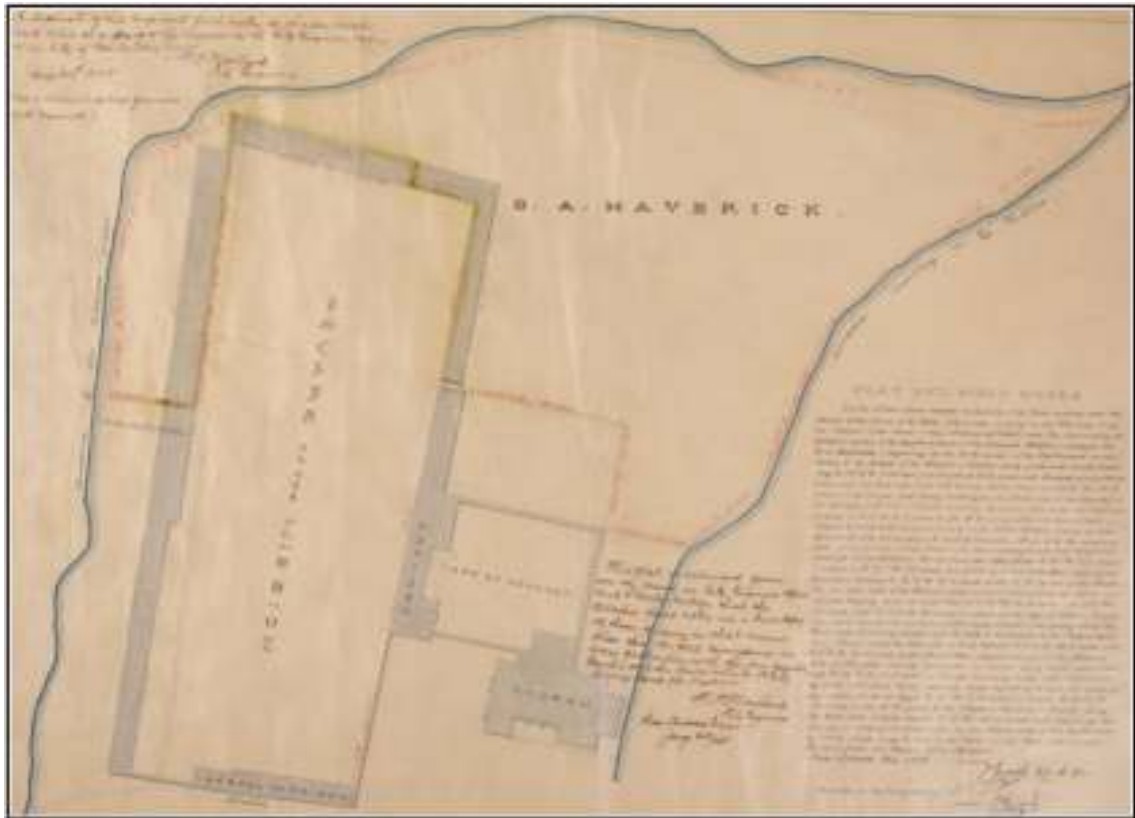


Figure 3-4. 1885 C. P. Matlock copy of the F. Giraud 1849 Plat and Field Notes of the Alamo.

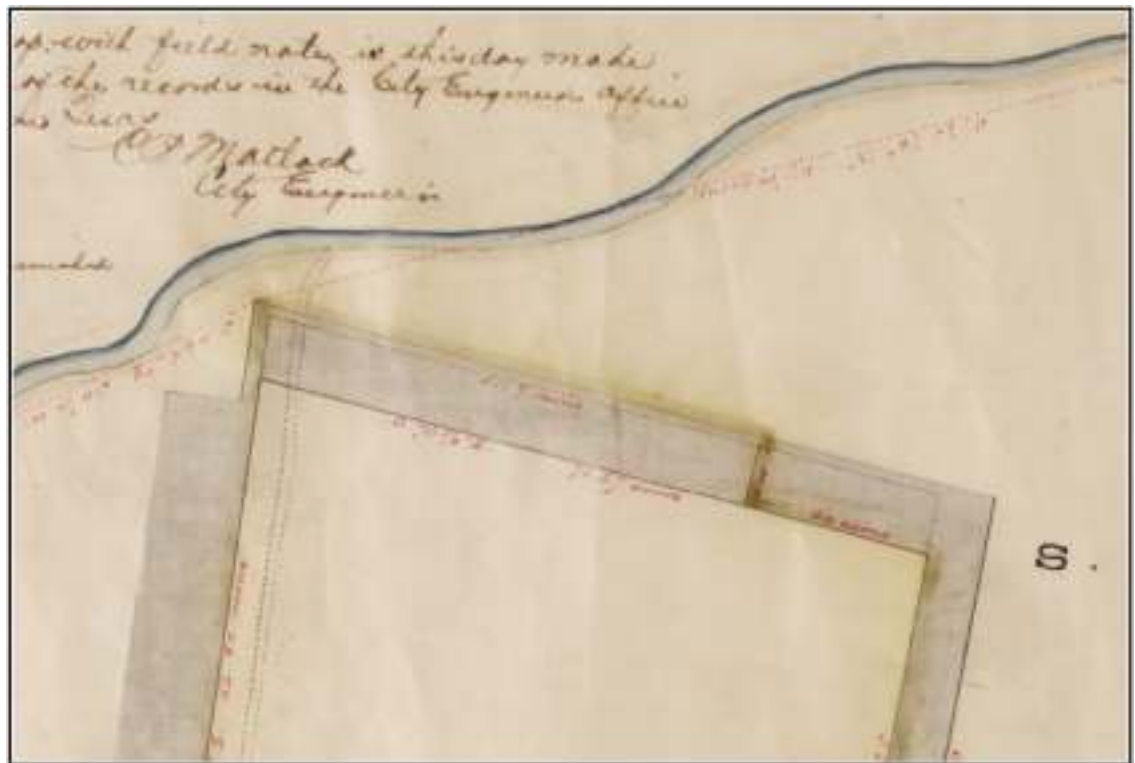


Figure 3-5. Close-up of northern plaza area on the 1885 C. P. Matlock copy of the F. Giraud 1849 Plat and Field Notes of the Alamo. The circa 1835 acequia alignment is in blue with the dashed lines representing the earlier Mission period alignment running through the interior of the plaza.

1848:10). This matches the 1842 description by H. A. Adams that "... it contained about an acre...enclosed with a wall of stone about 6 feet in height, except the gateway, with a [Key] Stone centrally fixed on the top, with the date of 1808 upon it, which was perhaps the time of its enclosure" (Hendricks 1919).

While the size and shape (both were square) of the San José y San Miguel and 1808 San Fernando Campo Santo do not perfectly predict the size and shape of the Valero cemetery, it is likely that the area of the cemetery was similar in size, rather than smaller. Figure 3-6 projects the known sizes of the San José and 1808 San Fernando Campo Santo to hypothesize their geographic impact if they were situated around or adjacent to the hypothetical Valero 3 Church 1. The figure proposes a conjectural location of the first church fitting the following criteria: a. That the church was north of the four rooms and the granary reported in the 1727 Sevillano de Paredes *visita*; b. the first church was either in line with the west row of the west convento block or north wall or both; and that the cemetery was sited adjacent to the first church. Secondly, the map hypothesizes that the cemetery associated with the first church was adjacent to the church and in a relative position, that is to the west and north of the circa 1758-1762 north compound wall at Valero. The two nested square outlines represent the actual sizes of the San José y San Miguel and San Fernando Campos Santos placed adjacent and to the west of the hypothesized first church site to give some idea of the possible area that such a cemetery would occupy at Valero.

The Figure 3-6 representation is only one of the possible interpretations that fit the criteria for placement of the first church. The size and shape of the Valero Campo Santo shown is a conjecture based on analogous *campos santos*. The associated Valero Campo Santo could be larger or smaller than these analogs. In addition, the placement is subject to variation, with the church possibly located slightly north, east, west or south. Note that the alignment of the *acequia* represents the original route that carried the acequia channel into the west side of the plaza from the north. This alignment is presumed to have changed in 1835 to that represented on the later maps associated with the Battle of the Alamo when Mexican military engineers moved it to the west side of the mission compound walls. The alignment of the earlier pre-1835 transit route through the mission plaza is shown by dashed lines on the Green B. Jameson (1836) and subsequent François Giraud (1849) maps and is the distance and alignment used for this projection. As previously mentioned, any cemetery in this area would have been to the east and/south of the *acequia*, making the *acequia*'s position an important consideration in hypothetical placement of the cemetery in this area.

The importance of these hypotheses is their potential explanatory value in understanding at least some of the

burials encountered in the Post Office area in 1887-1890 and in 1935, as well as burials reported at Houston and Alamo and Houston and Avenue E. The close packed nature of the burials that B. P. Roberts described as a mass grave containing the bones of men, women and children, in August of 1935 at the southeast corner of the old Post Office site, is also a description concomitant with a densely packed subfloor cemetery of a colonial church. Robert's observation of an east to west trending wall remnant associated with these burials adds to that possibility (San Antonio Express [SAE] August 20, 1935:16).

### Ad Sanctos and Ad Hoc Burials

The Latin words *ad sanctos* describe the practice of burying the dead in locations known or presumed to be sacred. It is important to distinguish between *ad sanctos* burials and ad hoc burials. The latter type describes the burying of the dead in a particular location because it is expedient or convenient to do so, while the former is an intentional act predicated on religious belief and practice. Both *ad sanctos* and ad hoc burials are independent of the sanction of the church and do not constitute an ecclesiastical burial despite their presence in consecrated areas. For example, the four graves encountered in 1920 on the property at the corner of Alamo Plaza and East Crockett are likely not ecclesiastical burials as they are outside of the known consecrated areas. However, their proximity to the church may indicate that they were interred there as *ad sanctos* burials. If the bodies were found to have had artifacts relating to the 1836 battle, they may be viewed as ad hoc burials. Regardless, as most Spanish Colonial burials are either under the floors of churches or within the footprint of a *campo santo*, it is effectively impossible to separate *ad sanctos* or ad hoc burials from ecclesiastical burials absent some means of discriminating one from the other (using artifacts for example). These sites continued to be used for burial after the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods; for example, the numerous post mid-nineteenth coffin burials at Mission San Juan Capistrano encountered outside the current chapel. Coffin burials, coffin hardware, and clothing fasteners each provide an opportunity to discern the age of the burial and the type of the burial (colonial/ecclesiastical or post-colonial/*ad sanctos*). Relative to the purposes of this report, it is not a clear-cut process to make a "yes" or "no" determination about ad hoc or *ad sanctos* burials for the totality of reported or recorded human remains.

### Burial plots

As opposed to modern practice, there is almost a complete lack of dedicated burial plots in Spanish Colonial and Mexican period contexts. The few exceptions to this rule apply to Catholic clergy who were often buried near altars



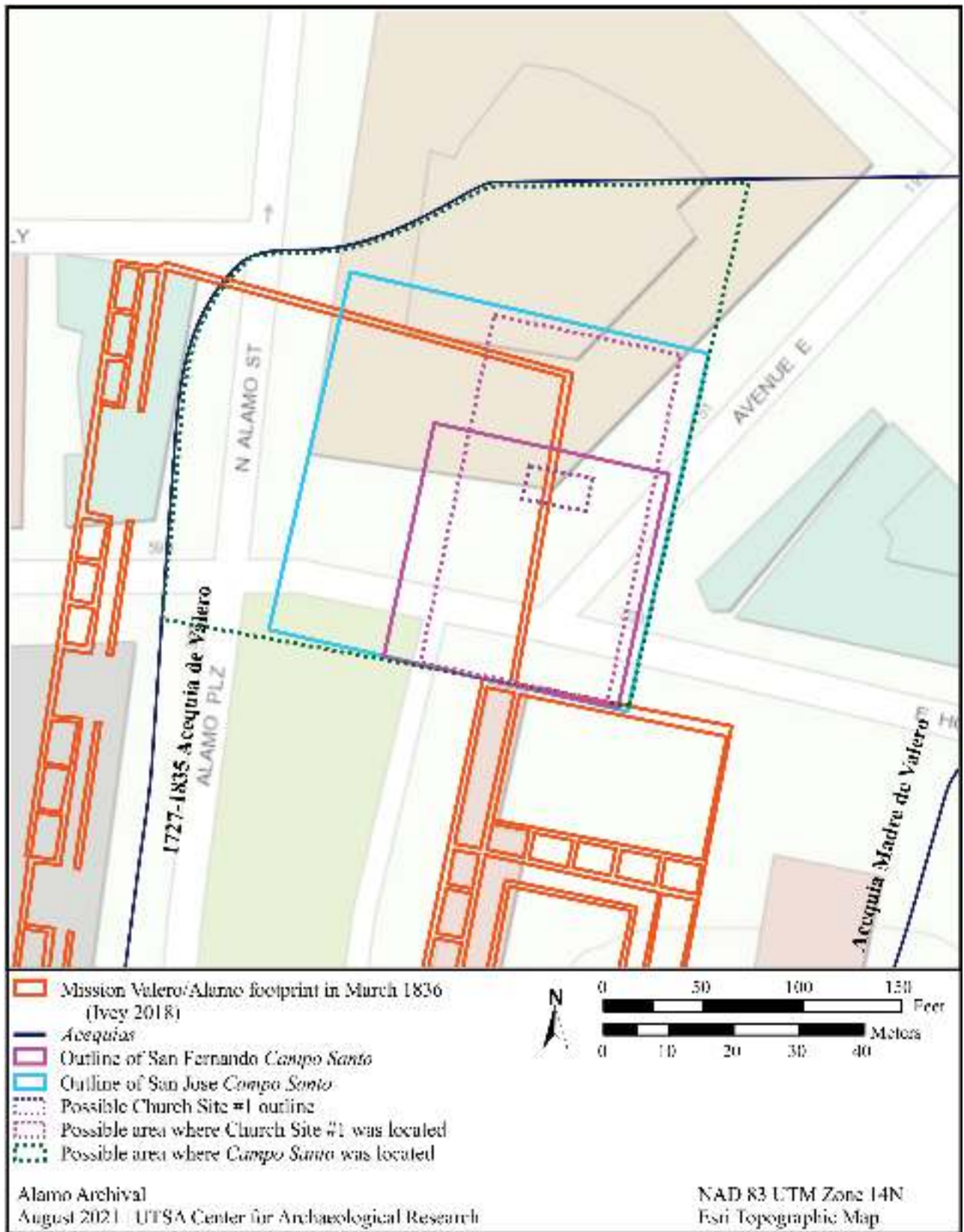


Figure 3-6. Hypothetical placement of Valero Church Site #1 and associated cemetery using the size of two analogous contemporary cemeteries. Area where the chapel was possibly located is reflected in the dashed purple line, and the area where the Campo Santo was possibly located is the green dashed line.

and individuals and families of high income and/or social standing (Cox 1994:36). For example, the bodies of several prominent officials were buried within the San Fernando parish church on August 28, 1813, including Governor Manuel Salcedo, Colonel Simon de Herrera, and fifteen others who were murdered on April 3, 1813, during the uprising referred to as the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition (Castañeda 1950:97-99). Father José Darío Zambrano collected the bodies following Spanish General Arredondo's victory at the Battle of Medina and buried them within the church in "...the first crypt with watch and mass and nine stations and the catafalque" (Zambrano 1813; Rodriguez 1913:59; Castañeda 1950:97-99; Almaraz 1971:172).

### Manner of Inhumation

#### Clothed and Shrouded Burials

The archaeological evidence demonstrates that the vast majority of Spanish Colonial and Mexican period burials in San Antonio were made with the deceased clothed, or clothed and wrapped in a burial shroud. The notion of burial absent a coffin is alien to modern sensibilities since the practice of shroud burials is now rare as a result of changes in cultural attitudes and practices as well as concerns of public health. However, just as clothed or shrouded burials seem alien from our present perspective, the standard use of a coffin would have been regarded as equally strange to Spanish Colonial and Mexican period San Antonians.

As the term implies, a "clothed" burial describes an interment in which the deceased was buried in their clothes, while a "shroud" burial describes a cloth wrap or shroud in which the body was encased prior to interment in the ground. Shrouds are also known by other names such as burial sheets or winding cloths. Shrouds were made to completely wrap the body rather than simply act as a drape over a corpse. The use of burial shrouds is ancient and extends in time to Jewish antecedents. Christians adopted the same custom, both as a continuing cultural tradition and in imitation of the burial of Jesus Christ as the canonical Gospels all relate his being wrapped in linen-cloth by Joseph of Arimathea before he was placed in a tomb (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition [bible]: Matthew 27:59; Mark 15:46; John 19:40).

It is not known what the standard size for a burial shroud would have been in the colonial period; however, there is a 1792 archival document that describes one that was used by the Spanish in the funeral of a Tejas chieftain who had died. Governor Manuel Muñoz provided the following promissory note to Antonio Baca so that he could be repaid for the expense of the cloth:

[Received] from you, eight varas [22 feet 3 inches] of cotton cloth and a half real of thread for the shroud of the Texa Indian Chief who died, and see the lieutenant paymaster or the one performing his duties so that he might compensate you for its value. 4 pesos, ½ real" [Muñoz 1792, BA:Box 2K41, Volume 184, Frame 30].

It seems likely that the shroud manufactured for the Tejas chief was perhaps more than the usual, but Governor Muñoz provides no other information than the material (cotton) and the length (8 varas). Shrouds could also have a religious embellishment with types of shrouds associated with differing patron saints as clearly indicated in Spanish Colonial last wills and testaments (Béxar County Spanish Archives [BCSA], Wills and Estates [WE], WE#16 R7 F666-668; BCSA WE#26 R7 F745-749; BCSA WE R7 F174-184; BCSA WE#108 R8 F821-823; BCSA WE#45 R71199-1200; BCSA WE#40 R7 F1016-1018; BCSA WE#2 R7 F185-196; BCSA WE R7 F201-207). Another aspect of shroud burials is the use of metal pins to fasten the shroud. Shrouds themselves leave no archaeological signature, but the presence of shroud pins, when recovered, act as a marker for this type of interment.

That shrouds were commonly used in San Antonio is evident from a survey of last wills and testaments of the period. Table 3-1 is a sample of eight Spanish Colonial wills that range in date from 1742 to 1805 which all provide particulars on their request for a shroud burial. All of these are taken from the wills and estates (WE) documents available on microfilm at the Béxar County Spanish Archives (BCSA).

Alberta Zucchi identified the same pattern of preference for shrouds, and that "Spanish testamentary dispositions of the 17th and 18th centuries indicate that during this period the preferred shroud was the religious vestment" (Zucchi 1997:36).

#### Coffin or Casket Burials

The term coffin technically describes a six-sided (not counting the top and bottom) container and still retains that same meaning in England where six-sided coffins are normative; while in the United States, the term coffin and/or casket are essentially synonymous but technically, a casket is a four-sided container (<http://www.coffinworks.org/from-coffins-to-caskets-an-american-history/> accessed October 8, 2021). For the purposes of this discussion the term coffin is utilized to cover both coffin and casket inhumations with distinctions as to shape limited to a case-by-case basis.

The research conducted for this report examined over 100 translated last wills and testaments from colonial San Antonio that range from the 1740s to 1820s, with no recorded mentions of a coffin. A search through indices for Spanish Colonial

Table 3-1. Information from Last Wills and Testaments 1742 to 1805

Year	Testator	Statement
1742	Juan Curbelo	I command that my body be <u>shrouded</u> in the habit of our Seraphic Father Saint Francis. This I ask for the love of God. (BCSA WE#16 R7 F666-668)
1764	Francisco Delgado	I direct, that if it is the will of God to take me from the present life into the eternal one, my body shall be clad in the <u>shroud of Our Patron, Saint Francis</u> . This I beseech for the love of God, and I order that the fee for this shroud be paid from my estate. (BCSA WE#26 R7 F745-749)
1769	Martín Lorenzo de Armas	I direct that...my body shall be buried in the parish church...on either side of the font of Holy water... and I direct that my body be <u>shrouded in the robe of our seraphic Father Saint Francis</u> for the love of God. (BCSA WE# R7 F174-184)
1779	Vicente Álvarez Travieso	I desire to be buried in the parroquial church of this villa, <u>shrouded in the vestments of my patron, Saint Francis</u> ... (BCSA WE#108 R8 F821-823)
1784	Pedro Granados	I command that...my body shall be <u>shrouded</u> in the vestment which my executors may find proper and it shall be buried in the parish church of this villa of San Fernando near the font of Holy Water... (BCSA WE#45 R71199-1200)
1797	Pablo Flores	I...command that...my body be buried...in the parish church of this Presidio...and I desire to be <u>shrouded with whatever material may be available</u> . (BCSA WE#40 R7 F1016-1018)
1799	María Joséfa Flores de Abrego	I...command that...my body shall be buried in a grave costing 20 pesos in the parish of this villa... <u>in the shroud which I own</u> and the double tolling of the passing bell in the customary manner. (BSA WE#2 R7 F185-196)
1805	Pedro Carlos Angel Charli	I direct that my body be buried in the church of this mission [Valero] with whatever <u>shroud</u> ...may appear to be fitting to my executors. (BCSA WE #R7 F201-207)

records from the Béxar Spanish Archives turned up no instances of the word in Spanish or in English (*ataud* and coffin).

The few coffins recorded from archaeological contexts at Spanish Colonial sites in San Antonio indicate that the interments were likely of the *ad sanctos* variety, such as was the case with a cluster of 12 coffin burials encountered at Mission San Juan in 2011. The patterning of those burials indicated that the interments were made at distinctly different times as multiple burials had intruded into prior burials, were interred above an existing burial, and exhibited different orientations with some perpendicular to the church and others parallel (Muñoz 2014:101). These haphazard aspects are indicative of *ad sanctos* burials. While all were coffin burials, examination of the coffin nails and associated artifacts indicate that these interments were made after the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period. Porcelain, machined four hole bone and wood buttons, and stamped metal buttons and fasteners all post-date the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period. The earlier mission-period burials from the original San Juan church across the plaza were uniformly absent coffin remnants or hardware and lacked buttons and fasteners such as those recovered in front of the current church (Schuetz 1967:213-217).

The distinction to be made is that while there are coffin burials reported at Spanish Colonial sites, these burials post-date the colonial period. Currently there is a complete lack of archaeological evidence of coffin hardware or coffin nails from

Spanish Colonial contexts in San Antonio. Where they have been documented they too appear to be post-1835 *ad sanctos* interments made in former Spanish Colonial cemeteries or sites with a sacred context. Recent excavations by CAR on the site of the 1808 Campo Santo and 1848 Catholic Cemetery observed a scarcity of coffin remnants within the smaller, earlier Campo Santo and a pronounced increase of the same in the 1848 to 1855 Catholic Cemetery (McKenzie, Muñoz and Mauldin 2020). A similar transition was noted for investigations at the cemetery of the Presidio San Agustín Del Tucson in Arizona. The cemetery was utilized from 1775 until 1856, during the period of transition from shroud to coffin burials. Wood fragments and coffin nails from those excavations indicate that only 2 of the 20 burials encountered were coffin burials (Theil et al. 1995; Thiel 2020:234).

Aside from the prevailing cultural preference for shroud burials, lack of access to wood prevented the acquisition of coffin-grade lumber. This lack of access was a result of both limited supply but also because of security concerns. Spanish Governor Felipe Winthuysen, remarking on the lack of progress on the construction of the Presidio in 1744 stated:

There is no construction now in progress in the said presidio...This is not due to the scarcity of stone, since there are abundantly rich quarries of very fine stone nearby; there is, however, a scarcity of lumber, which is so far away that

it is necessary to use a guard for cutting and transporting it because all this region and its environs are encroached upon by the enemy [Box2Q24X Barker Library translation of Winthuysen 1744:1-20].

A second reason militating against the use of coffins is expense. Throughout the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period carpenters processed hewn-wood by hand into useable lumber to fabricate building materials and furnishings. Milled lumber was not available in colonial San Antonio and the flat lumber needed to produce a coffin would have required riving wood from a suitable log and then hand-planing the planks before assembling the finished piece. McEwen in her research on Spanish customs noted that "... coffins were used in both Spain and Spanish America during this time, [but] they were labor intensive and expensive" (McEwan 2001:640). Undoubtedly a coffin could have been constructed for a burial in San Antonio but the expense to do so would have been beyond the means of most people, particularly Native Americans in the missions or lower and middle class citizens of the Villa. Most of the wills requesting shroud burials in Table 3.1 are from Villa residents of higher social and economic standing who could have afforded to have a coffin manufactured. Also of note is the will of Pedro Carlos Angel Charli, who was both a barber and carpenter by trade. In his Will, he makes no mention of a coffin – only a reference to a shroud (Charli 1805 BSA WE R7 F201-207).

Following the Texas Revolution and the influx of settlers between 1835 and 1850, milled lumber became more common-place making it both more available as well as less expensive to purchase and fabricate something like a coffin. Another consideration is that coffins, for Americans of the time, were the cultural normative, just as shroud burials were the normative during the Spanish Colonial period. An account documenting the transition between the two customs is provided by Emmanuel Henri-Dieudonné Domenech who was a Catholic priest. He arrived in San Antonio July of 1848 as a young French postulant and was housed in the Priest's House located on the north side of Plaza de Armas. Domenech recounted that:

(July-September 1848) There being no room for me, I was lodged in the garret which was divided into two compartments, of which one contained provisions... The other part, which served me as a bedroom, was very small... My sofa was a public coffin, in which the mortal remains of the poor were conveyed to the cemetery; after consigning them to the grave, the coffin returned once more to the garret, ready to perform the same duty again, as often as its services were required [Domenech 1858:38-39].

Domenech's account is indicative of the transition to coffin burials as the normative by 1848. His account also indicates that even in 1848 a coffin was an expense beyond the average means as he makes a clear distinction that it was the "poor who were conveyed to the cemetery" using his sofa as an impromptu coffin or bier. Inhumations absent coffins that can be clearly attributed to this period are likely a social and economic class indicator, with the poor and indigent buried without coffins.

### Re-interments

The archival record indicates that ecclesiastical burials from churches were sometimes exhumed and re-interred at other active church sites. The practice is very rarely documented in the archival records. Recorded instances include the re-interment of the bones of María Magdalena, a Native American of the Xarame tribe who died October 26, 1746, and Gabriel María, a Pacuache infant, who were both buried at Mission San Ildefonso del Rio de San Xavier in Milam County, east-northeast of Austin, Texas. Their bones were exhumed and then reinterred in their home mission of San Antonio de Valero on July 17, 1750 (Garcia 1749: SFBF # 646, 647). Another recorded instance was the exhumation of Pedro Ramirez de Arellano, the Father President of the Zacatecan College who died and was buried in the sacristy of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo on September 30, 1781 (Habig 1977:202; Nichols and Fox 1999:5). The Father President's bones were exhumed in January of 1784 and returned to the College in Mexico (Leutenegger and Habig 1973).

### Monuments

Another marked difference between Spanish Colonial and Mexican period burials and the present day is the almost total absence of individual grave markers or monuments. Even in such cases as the burial of Governor Salcedo there would rarely be any monument or marker erected or placed to commemorate the location. There are reports of specific family crypts or tombs at San Fernando Church. In 1759, Captain Torribio de Urrutia was permitted to have two tombs for himself and his immediate family and other direct descendants in exchange for re-roofing one of the transepts and for the erection and maintenance of a side altar to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (Benavides 2003:21). Occasional references to specific tombs or crypts are found in wills specifying a burial location. José Francisco Ruiz was interred to the right of the main altar of San Fernando in 1840 (Martínez de Vara 2020:178). There are also secondhand accounts of the same; for example, Frederic Chabot mentions that there was a tomb for María Gertrudis Perez (1790-1832) who was first married to Governor Manuel Antonio Cordero y Bustamante in 1814 and secondly to José Casiano in 1826 (Chabot 1930:27; Chabot 1937:223). No markers or monuments remain in San Fernando Cathedral

to commemorate the dead except for the marker for Bishop Pelicer which is affixed to the wall in the colonial apse of the building. There are additional memorial markers for each Bishop or Archbishop who served; however, the historical record makes clear that only Pelicer was interred at San Fernando, the other monuments are memorials rather than grave markers (Wangler 1974:20, 23, 30).

## **Literature Review of Spanish Colonial Cemeteries and Burials**

Archaeology reports for investigations conducted at San Fernando Cathedral, the Spanish Governor's Palace, the San Antonio Missions Concepción, San Francisco de Espada, San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, and San Juan Capistrano, as well as five analogous Texas Missions of Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción del Pueblo Socorro, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz, and Nuestra Señora del Refugio, were reviewed to determine how many burials were recorded at each site, and their locations, context and possible temporal attribution. Human remains have been documented at all but one of these sites, Mission San Francisco de Espada being the only exception. Table 3-2 presents the results of the literature review.

### **San Fernando Cathedral**

Three archaeological projects at San Fernando Cathedral (Figure 3-7) identified human remains. During renovations in the Cathedral in 1975 investigations were conducted by Texas Historical Commission archaeologists prior to the installation of subfloor air-conditioning ducts (Fox et al. 1977). The articulated burials of a child and a juvenile were recorded under the floor. Commingled human bone was recovered from 18 additional archaeological test pit excavations. Subsequent laboratory analysis concluded the commingled bones represented a minimum of 14 individuals: six adults, two juveniles, and six infants. Only six of the 14 could be sex attributed, one was male, three were probable males, and two were probable females. In 1977, CAR archaeologists conducted archaeological investigations at the rear of the cathedral to locate the foundation walls of the original sacristy. Two isolated human bones, a long bone and a skull fragment, were recovered (CAR 1977). Investigations by Meissner (CAR 2001) in advance of a 2001 renovation of the cathedral recovered commingled human remains representing a minimum of nine individuals. The assemblage included seven adults, a juvenile, and an infant. The remains from both investigations were returned to San Fernando for reburial. No traces of coffins, coffin nails or hardware were recorded in any of the excavation reports.

### **Spanish Governor's Palace**

In 1976, Fox (1977) recorded a single coffin burial found during CAR test excavations at the Spanish Governor's Palace (Figure 3-8). The excavations were conducted in advance of the construction of a small park immediately adjacent to the north of the Spanish Colonial structure. The burial was encountered under a packed caliche floor. The remains were complete and were determined to belong to an infant who died sometime between birth and six months of age. Brass pins within the soil matrix of the coffin indicate that the infant was buried in a shroud. The age of the burial was not determined.

### **Mission Concepción**

A burial was recorded by the Texas Historical Commission Office of the State Archeologist in 1973 during extensive excavations at Mission Concepción (Scurlock and Fox 1977). A pit exposed in Test Pit 8 within the church revealed the remains of an infant with machine-cut coffin nails. Scurlock and Fox determined the remains were buried in the late nineteenth century. In 1981, seven burial pits were recorded by Ivey and Fox in Test Units 22 and 25 adjacent to the west corner of the north wall of the probable convent kitchen (Ivey and Fox 1999). The only excavated pit, Burial 1, contained an infant intruding into a burial of an adult. The infant was wrapped in cloth. The report does not mention coffin wood, hardware, or nails. Ivey and Fox concluded that the burials predate the kitchen foundation and were likely interred during the first permanent construction phase, 1731-1750. The locations of the burials at Mission Concepción (Figure 3-9) suggest individuals were interred within the church and a Campo Santo located west of the convent.

### **Mission San Francisco de Espada**

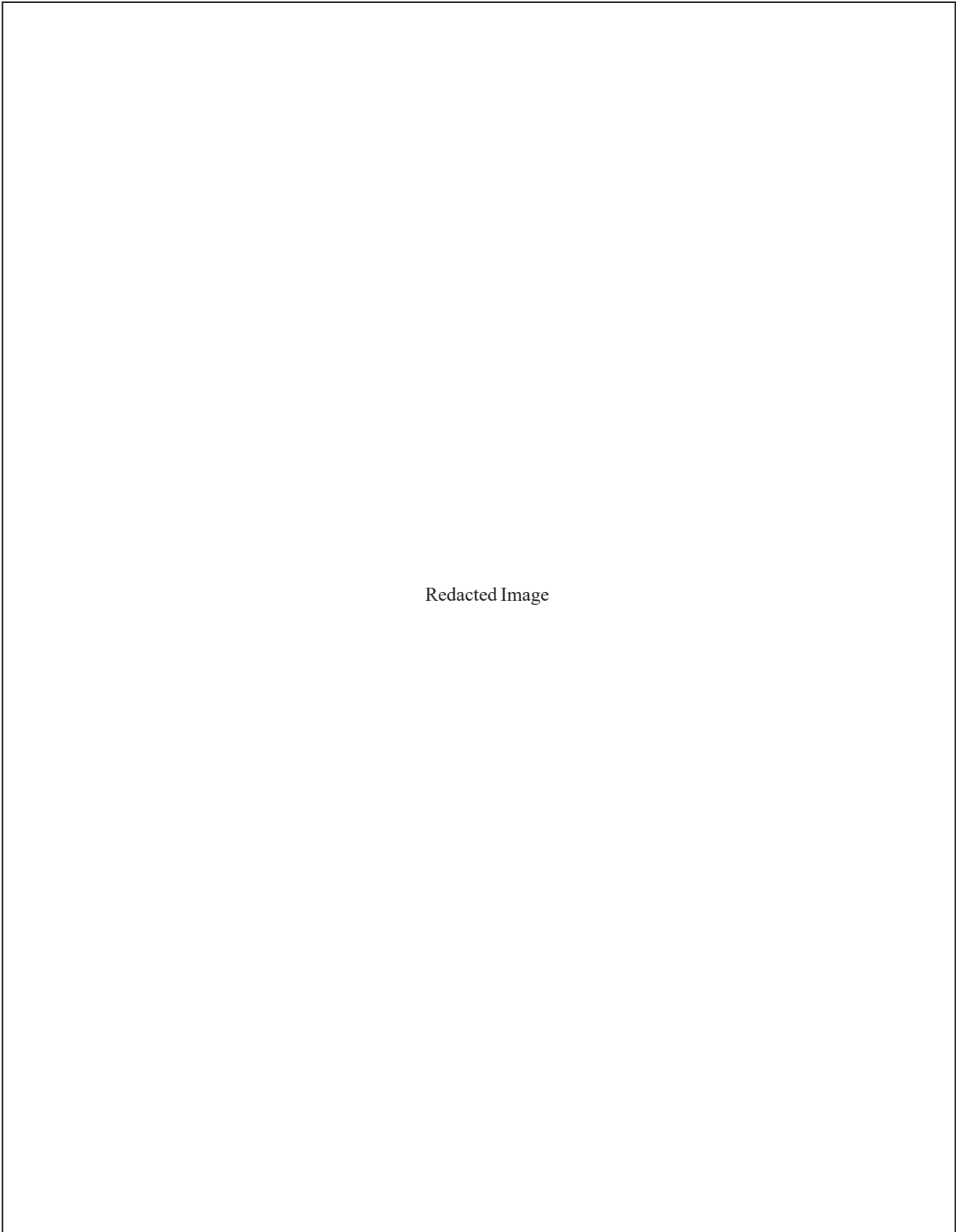
No documentation of human remains at Mission San Francisco de Espada was in the reviewed archaeological reports. In a 1981 report of test excavations at the mission, Fox (1981) notes that informants talked of burials within a low stone wall to the north of the church on the mission property. She also mentions that burials in this location ceased sometime in the late nineteenth century. Two test units excavated to 19 inches below surface (inbs) and 34 inbs within the low stone wall revealed no evidence of burials (Fox 1981).

### **Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo**

Six archaeological investigations completed in 1970, 1976, 1981, 2007, 2011, and 2013 at Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo uncovered human remains. Nineteen disarticulated human bones including several large cranial fragments were

Table 3-2. Recorded Burials from Spanish Colonial Sites

Site	Documented Burials	Reference
San Fernando Cathedral (41BX7)	Two articulated burials and commingled remains representing another 14 individuals	Fox et al. 1977
	Two isolated human bone fragments	
	Commingled human remains representing 9 individuals	Meissner 2001
Governor's Palace (41BX179)	One infant, shrouded and buried in a coffin	Fox 1977
Mission Concepción (41BX12)	One infant recorded in Test Pit 8 as Feature 2	Scurlock and Fox 1977
	Seven burial pits recorded in Test Units 22 and 25 of Block XIII	Ivey and Fox 1999
Mission San Francisco de la Espada (41BX4)	Per report "sometime in the late 19th century burials ceased within the mission cemetery and some of the families began to use a new, private cemetery a short distance away"; "informants could not tell us any local tradition of burial within the mission anywhere outside the cemetery, which is outlined by a low stone wall to the north of the church."	Fox 1981
Mission San José y San Miguel (41BX3)	Isolated human bone (n=19) from four areas - including two trenches and two test units	Fox 1970
	one possible human tooth from a sewer trench	Roberson and Medlin 1976
	No, but per report, WPA trenching for reconstruction uncovered human remains	Traylor et al. 1982
	Human bone recorded in the sacristy	Nickels and Fox 1999
	7 locations with human remains within the church	Ulrich 2011
	One isolated calvarium and one possible burial pit recorded as Feature 2	Wack 2013
Mission San Juan Capistrano (41BX5)	One individual within a drainage channel	Cargill and Robinson 2000
	18 burials consisting of 43 + individuals in Room 26, the old church	Schuetz 1968
	92 individuals in Room 17, present chapel	Schuetz 1974
	Disarticulated remains (n=10) from Trench 2 located outside Room 17	Thompson 2011
	17 articulated burials and disassociated human bone representing a minimum of 12 additional individuals located outside Room 17 along the east, south, and west walls	Nichols et al. 2014
Mission Socorro (41WP1532)	32 individuals plus hundreds of disarticulated bones recovered from the church and from outside the church on its northwest side	Evans 1989; Vierra, Bradley J. et al. 1999
Mission Nuestra Señora del Rosario (41GD2)	26 burial pits recorded as Feature 2 and 10 burial pits recorded as Feature 5 containing at least 56 individuals in the original church; one burial pit recorded as Feature 14 in the final church; 28 burials recorded as Feature 6, an unknown number of burials in Area B, and one burial in Area C all located in the Campo Santo	Gilmore 1974
Mission San Lorenzo (41RE1)	At least 12 burials were recorded in Structure 2, the church; of the 12, the 10 that were excavated contained at least 17 individuals	Tunnell and Newcomb 1969
	1 infant recorded in plaza in front of church	Walter 2021
Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio (41RF1)	37 burial features containing 165 individuals within first church	Tennis 2002

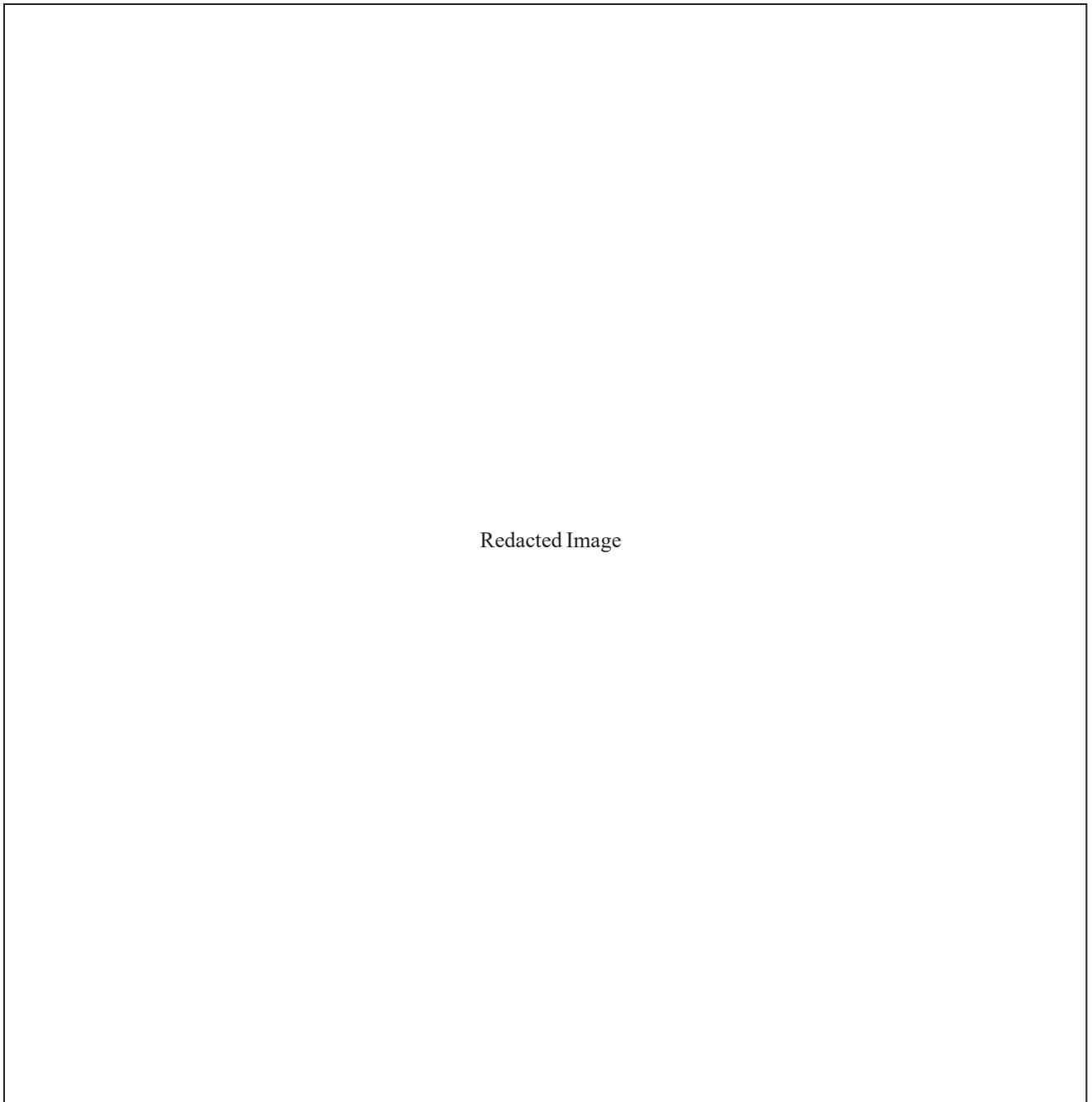


*Figure 3-7. Locations of human remains at San Fernando Cathedral.*

Redacted Image

Figure 3-8. Locations of human remains at the Spanish Governor's Palace.





*Figure 3-9. Locations of documented human remains at Mission Concepción.*

recovered from four areas during electrical trench excavations in 1970 (Fox 1970). Of the 19 fragments, 14 were recovered from a 40 cm deep trench running from the front of the church to the concession shop in the north wall Indian quarters. The remaining five were uncovered in test units and a trench along the north wall of the Convento. The report introduction states that prior to professional excavations in 1968 many human skeletons were exposed under the floor of the church.

One tooth, recorded as possibly human, was recovered in 1976 in a sewer trench by the main entrance of the mission

compound near the south end of the west wall (Roberson and Medlin 1976). In 1981, the CAR uncovered human bone in the San José sacristy in a trench along the north edge of Test Unit B, on its east side, and within Post Hole 1 (Nickels and Fox 1999). The fragmented bones (n=146) represented at least two individuals, an adult and an infant. Ivey, in Appendix D, suggests that the fragmented bone represents what was left of burials originally interred in the nave of first stone church, which predated the sacristy (Nickels and Fox 1999). The report also states that by 1777, there had been 359 burials at the mission.

During monitoring of utility installation by the CAR in 2007, two human rib fragments were recovered in front of the church entrance approximately 35 cm below surface (cmbs) near the small cemetery containing the grave of Juan Huizar and one unmarked grave (Ulrich 2007). Monitoring of utility installation within the church by the CAR in 2011 revealed seven locations containing human remains (Ulrich 2011). The trenches were excavated to a depth of 30.5 to 40.6 cmbs. Only the portions of the burials located with the 30.5 cm wide trenches were removed. The seven locations were located along the south and west walls of the church. The report does not mention coffin remnants or grave items. An isolated calvarium and a possible burial pit recorded as Feature 2 were documented in 2013 by the CAR during monitoring of electrical conduit and drainage pipe trenches (Wack 2013). The remains and burial pit were both located approximately 3 m northeast of the church entry. The burial pit was not explored.

Although no human remains were recovered, a 1982 report on investigations at the San José Grape Arbor mentions that the Works Progress Administration (WPA) found human bone during the 1930's reconstruction of the mission (Traylor et al. 1982). Figure 3-10 maps the locations of the burials at Mission San José. The locations suggest individuals were interred within the church and in a Campo Santo located to the north and west of the church and convent.

### **Mission San Juan Capistrano**

Five archaeological projects at Mission San Juan Capistrano documented burials. Mardith Schuetz of the Witte Museum conducted extensive investigations from 1967 through 1971 that completely excavated the interiors of Rooms 4 through 13, Rooms 19 through 22, and portions of the courtyard, old church, and present chapel. She recovered 18 burials consisting of a minimum of 43 individuals from the old church (Room 26) and 92 individuals from the present chapel (Room 17; Schuetz 1968, 1974). There were no indications of coffins in the Room 26 burials. No buttons were recovered with these burials, suggesting they were shrouded. One burial contained coins dating to 1772 and 1777. Schuetz (1968) concluded that the old church was used from about 1775 to the 1780s. All but one of the individuals from Room 17 were in rectangular wood coffins constructed with square cut nails (Schuetz 1974:24). The room was used as a church from about 1786 to 1862 (Ivey et al. 1990; Schuetz 1980).

During the 1999 monitoring of an 800 ft (244 m) drainage channel on the southern portion of the mission compound by the CAR, human bone fragments were recovered (Cargill and Robinson 2000). No documentation of the location of the remains within the trench can be located. The recovered remains contained the post-cranial elements

of an adult. Neither grave goods nor coffin remnants were noted in the report.

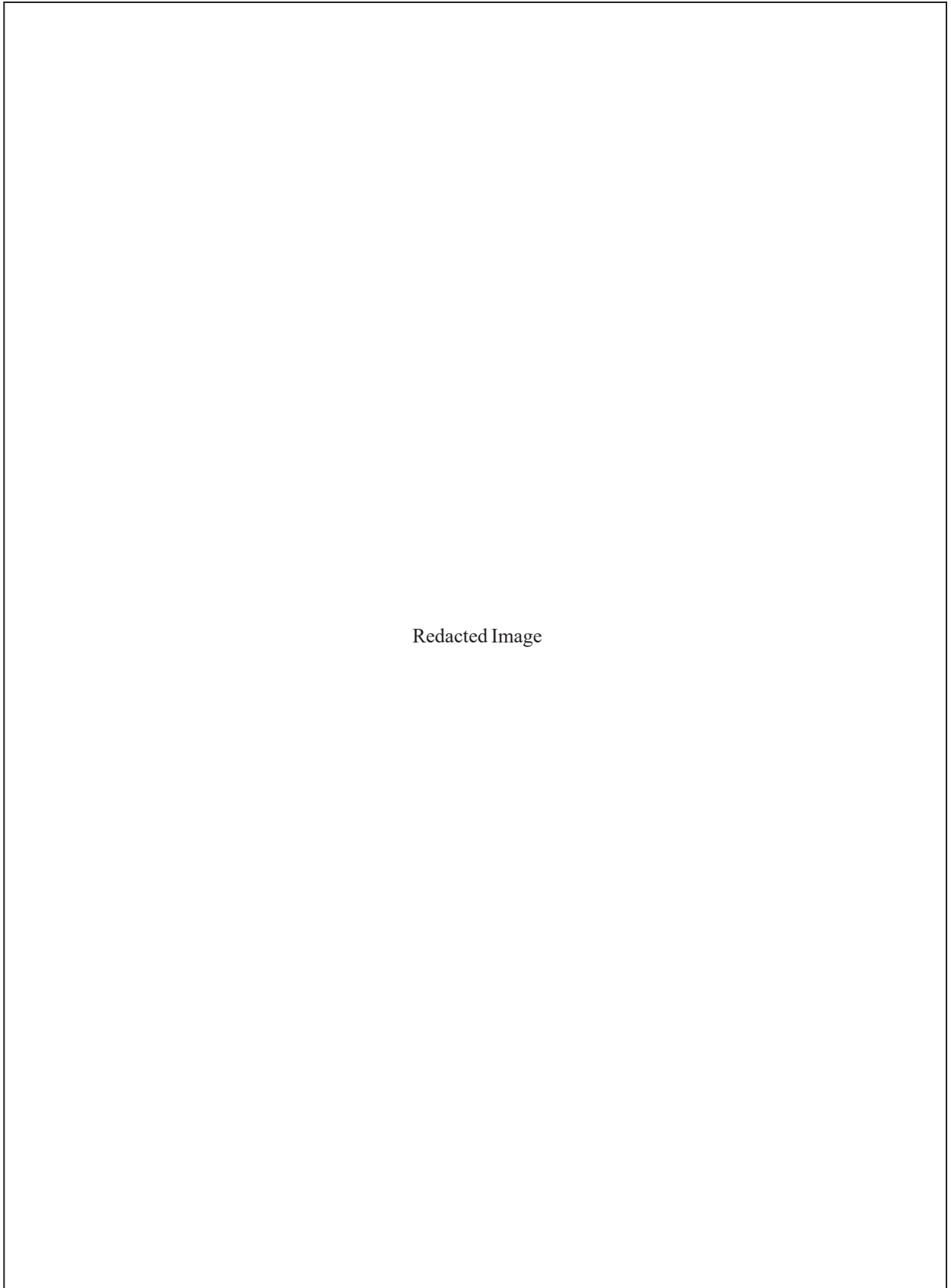
Disarticulated human remains, including teeth, ribs, and phalanges, were recovered from screened matrix during trench excavations by the CAR in 2011 (Thompson 2011). The trench, excavated to 1.37 mbs was located near the buttress on the north side of the north door of the chapel (Room 17). The CAR conducted extensive excavations around the foundation of the chapel as part of the 2014 underpinning project (Nichols et al. 2014). Seventeen articulated burials and disassociated remains representing at least 12 additional individuals were recovered. All the articulated and most of the disassociated remains were located along the northeast side of the chapel wall between the northernmost and fifth buttresses. The burials extended below the buttresses and continued to the east into the courtyard. Additional isolated skeletal elements were recovered along the chapel's south and west walls. Remnants of coffin wood, nails, and tacks were present for most of the burials. The recovered burials at Mission San Juan (Figure 3-11) suggest individuals were interred within the old church, present chapel, and within a Campo Santo extending from the east wall of the chapel into the courtyard.

### **Mission Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción del Pueblo Socorro**

The Old Socorro Mission was established between 1684 and 1690 in El Paso County for the Native American residents of the Salinas Valley. Flooding of the Rio Grande destroyed the mission in 1770 (Evans 1989). After locating ruins of the mission in 1970, Rex Gerald of the University of Texas at El Paso conducted a series of field schools from 1981 through 1986 to explore and document the mission. One additional field school was held in 1990 after the passing of Dr. Gerald (Vierra et al. 1999). Thirty-two individuals and hundreds of disarticulated human bones were recovered from the interior of the church and outside the north wall of the Sanctuary. Residents from the area reported that human remains were frequently plowed up from the surrounding fields. No coffin wood, hardware, or nails were recorded. Recovered grave goods included glass beads, thread, cloth fragments, and matting, suggesting that the individuals were shrouded or wrapped in matting (Vierra et al. 1999). The recovered burials at Mission Socorro (Figure 3-12) points to interments within the old church, and within a Campo Santo extending to the northwest of the church.

### **Mission Nuestra Señora de Rosario**

Mission Nuestra Señora de Rosario was established in Goliad County in 1754 to bring Christianity to the various



*Figure 3-10. Locations of documented human remains at Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo.*

Redacted Image

Figure 3-11. Locations of documented human remains at Mission San Juan Capistrano.

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*Figure 3-12. Locations of documented human remains at Mission Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción del Pueblo Socorro.*

Karankawan tribes. The mission was formally closed in 1807. In 1973 and 1974, test unit excavations by the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department documented 36 burial pits containing at least 56 individuals in the original church. The burials were recorded as Features 2 and 5. One burial pit was documented in the final church as Feature 14. An additional 28 graves, recorded as Feature 6, and an unknown number of burials in Areas B and C were uncovered in the inner courtyard. No material indicating coffin burials was recovered. The report mentions only a handful of grave items including beads and fragments of cloth (Gilmore 1974a, b). The cloth and the

absence of buttons suggest shroud burials. The documented burials at Mission Rosario (Figure 3-13) point to interments within both the original and final church, and within a Campo Santo extending to the west of the original church and to the north of the final church.

#### **Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz**

Located in Real County on the upper Nueces River, Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz was founded in 1762 for the Lipan Apache Indians. It was burned and abandoned in

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Figure 3-13. Locations of documented human remains at Mission Nuestra Señora de Rosario.

1771. In 1962, the Texas Memorial Museum conducted archaeological investigations to map structures, features, and walls of the mission complex (Tunnell and Newcomb 1969). The courtyard was not excavated. At least 12 burial pits were recorded within the church (Structure 2). Ten of the 12 pits were excavated, resulting in the identification of at least 17 individuals. No coffin wood, hardware, or nails were recovered. The burials were covered with homespun cloth within linen sheets without buttons or fasteners. The only grave items recovered were glass beads and religious ornaments. In 2017, a Texas Tech University field school excavated in the areas not covered in the 1962 investigations. One infant burial was recorded in front of the church roughly five to ten meters from the door. No additional burials were recorded (Walter 2021). It appears that individuals were interred within the church and within a Campo Santo in the courtyard in front of the church. Figure 3-14 shows the location of the burials at Mission San Lorenzo.

### **Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio**

Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio was founded in 1793 near the confluence of the San Antonio and Guadalupe Rivers near Matagorda Bay to convert the Karankawan Indians to Christianity. The mission was active for 37 years at which point it was secularized (Tennis 2002). From 1998-1999, the CAR conducted archaeological investigations concentrated along US 77, in the TxDOT right-of-way, adjacent to Our Lady of Refuge Catholic Church. The excavations documented the location of the 1796 church, associated mission compound features, and 165 burials. All but two of the burials, documented against the outer south wall, were located within the old church. Excavations in the TxDOT right-of-way to the north of the church did not expose any human remains suggesting that if a Campo Santo had been established it would have been located to the south of the old church. Of the 165 burials, only seven individuals were interred in coffins. The relatively few grave items found with the burials included a metal cross, a metal medallion, a brass bell, a ring, several hundred beads, around 40 buttons, and two shell pendants (Tennis 2002). The documented burials at Mission Refugio (Figure 3-15) suggest that individuals were buried within the 1796 church, and possibly within a Campo Santo extending to the south.

### **Summary of Burial Practices and Cemetery Literature Review**

The fundamental characteristics of Spanish Colonial and Mexican period cemeteries leave no telltale visible above ground marks. The dead lie beneath 200- to 300-year-old church floors or are unknown and unnoticed in Campos Santos that have no markers. They are otherwise unseen,

and unseen they become lost to memory. The visible absence of old graveyards in the 1880s was commented upon by comedic writers Alex E. Sweet and J. Armory Knox in their humorous 1883 travelogue titled *On a Mexican Mustang through Texas*. Writing of their time in San Antonio, they made the following observations:

Although one of the oldest cities in the United States, San Antonio has no ancient graveyard. If the antiquarian were to spend months hunting up the last resting-places of the old San-Antonians who died between 1690 and 1800, he would not be rewarded by finding as much as a coffin-plate. Why it is that San Antonio has no ancient graveyard, is a question difficult to answer...According to the best authorities, the first [Catholic] graveyard was established on the western side of the San Pedro

The whole city is one vast graveyard. The cheerful voice and affluent brogue of the Irish laborer is heard in the silent tomb of many a forgotten Spanish gallant; and the shovel scatters their bones every time a gas-pipe is laid [Sweet and Knox 1883:329-330].

The comprehensive review of archaeological reports on excavations conducted at the contemporaneous Franciscan Missions Concepción, Espada, San José, San Juan, Socorro, Rosario, San Lorenzo, and Refugio document familiar patterns for mission cemeteries: interments within churches or within areas presumed to represent campos santos, as well as the presence of ad sanctos burials from later periods. Burials have been archaeologically documented at all the above missions except Mission Espada. However, the absence of burials at Espada is almost certainly due to a lack of deep excavations within its church and grounds.

Despite Spanish cemeteries lacking obvious visibility, their various characteristics derived from burial customs and practices provide a means to understand burials encountered at the Alamo and in and around Alamo Plaza. The defining characteristics of Spanish Colonial burial practices address the treatment of the deceased and the location of burial. These unique customs persisted throughout the majority of the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period and differ markedly from the cultural practices that followed the Texas Revolution in 1836 and subsequent accession to the United States in 1846. These differences in custom and practice allow these characteristics to serve as general temporal indicators. Table 3-3 provides a macroscopic view of the normative differences.

Each of these differing aspects leave an archaeological signature. Spanish Colonial cemeteries for missions, presidios and civil settlements for the period 1700 to 1830

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Figure 3-14. Locations of documented human remains at Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz.





*Figure 3-15. Locations of documented human remains at Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio.*

Table 3-3. Comparison of Burial Normative Characteristics of Periods

	<b>Spanish Colonial – Mexican Republic</b>	<b>Texas Republic - United States</b>
<b>Locations</b>	Beneath Church Floors, in Campo Santos	In public, private or church cemeteries
<b>Treatment</b>	Clothed or shrouded burials	Coffin burials
<b>Graves</b>	Common burial yard	Dedicated plots with no reuse
<b>Memorials</b>	No individual monuments in Campos Santos	Grave Markers
<b>Artifacts</b>	Shroud pins, lack of fasteners	Coffin hardware & nails, fasteners

are found beneath church floors or in ground dedicated for use as a campo santo. Both church and *campo santo* burials will generally lack specific designated plots, with later interments interrupting earlier burials. There will be no markers or monumentation. Most of those interments will be shroud burials rather than coffin burials. Graves from after 1830 will have archaeological signatures that differ in key ways, in particular the use of coffins for interment and the presence of artifacts such as cut coffin nails and buttons and other fasteners that post-date the colonial period.

Table 3-3 provides normative expectations of period burials and does not account for exceptions, such as deaths by suicides

or deaths of the unbaptized. These characteristics do not apply to all burials. The apparent lack of coffins from Spanish Colonial sites and contexts in San Antonio does not de facto mean that coffins were entirely absent. Archaeological and archival data indicate the high probability of a coffin burial post-dating the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period. In such cases where a coffin is present, additional examination of artifacts may provide alternate means to assign a specific age or period. Likewise, other prevailing conditions may account for non-normative burials, such as economic status limiting burial of the poor or indigent to clothed or shrouded burials as mentioned by Abbe Domenech for the San Fernando Campo Santo in the late 1840s (Domenech 1858:38-39).

## Chapter 4: Mission Valero Burial Records

Raymond Mauldin, Jason Perez, Sarah Wigley, and Clinton M. M. McKenzie

This chapter has two primary objectives. The first was to compile information based on burials recorded in the burial register of Mission Valero from April of 1721 to June of 1782, the time frame reflected in most of the burial records. This compilation would ultimately result in an online dataset, available to researchers, which would minimally be searchable by name, tribal or other affiliation, and the date of interment. This database will be housed and maintained on the UTSA CAR website and updated as new information becomes available. The second objective was to provide a general summary of these burials, including discussion of missing burial records for the period from June of 1782 until secularization of Mission Valero in 1792. Each of these objectives are considered below.

### A Compilation of Burial Records

Table 4-1, located at the end of this section, presents our compilation of the Mission Valero burial records. There is little that is new in this Table 4-1 compilation as it was created primarily from two secondary sources and a recently published transcription of the burial and baptismal records. The first is Gabehart's tabulation of John Leal's translation of the original burial registry (Gabehart 1995; Leal 1978). The second is a draft copy of a recent translation of the burial registry graciously provided to us by Art Martínez de Vara (2021). Importantly, the Martínez de Vara document often includes baptismal records that help to establish ages and relationships of the interred. Finally, the third source is the recently published transcription of the Valero burial (Garcia Ruiz and Gragera 2020a) and baptismal (Garcia Ruiz and Gragera 2020b) records. Unfortunately, an English translation of the Garcia Ruiz and Gragera works is not yet available. While we were not able to make extensive use of the Garcia Ruiz and Gragera transcriptions given time constraints and the lack of an English translation, we have used both the burial registry (2020a) and baptismal records (2020b) to investigate contradictions between the earlier accounts in several cases.

CAR personnel began with Gabehart's compilation of Leal's translation focusing on burial number in the registry, burial date (month, day, and year), the surname and given name of the interred, and tribal or ethnic affiliation. That tabulation was then compared with each record in the Martínez de Vara translation. With over 1,000 entries, two translations, and a transcription of records originally recorded by several priests beginning three centuries ago, discrepancies are to be expected. These discrepancies included differences in

spelling of names and affiliations, differences in burial date, and differences in tribal/ethnic affiliation. Data not recorded in the Gabehart compilation were sometimes present in the Martínez de Vara summary, and several records absent in Gabehart are present in both the Martínez de Vara work and the transcription by Garcia Ruiz and Gragera. Our final compilation, then, frequently will have data from multiple sources for a given burial.

There are two other caveats that users of Table 4-1 should keep in mind. The first of these relates to issues of tribal, band, and ethnic affiliations. Originally referred to as *castas* (literally "caste" or "race"), the priest recorded his opinion of the "race" of the deceased. As most of the Valero entries are for Native American converts, the priests generally wrote down a specific tribal affiliation rather than the general term "*Indio*." Table 4-1 uses tribe, ethnicity, or nationality rather than "*Castas*" as a column header. The tribal/ethnic terms listed under that header reflect the subjective opinion of the priests who entered that information. Examining baptism and marriage records from Valero show that in a small number of cases, the tribal/ethnic affiliation of an individual may be recorded differently in baptismal, marriage, and burial records. While the additional research required to affect a concordance between these records or clarify tribal affiliation in other cases was beyond the scope of this project, the reader should be aware of this potential issue.

The second caveat, related to the first, is that we made no concerted effort to identify or correct entry mistakes made by the original recorders. That is, an entry mistake or misinterpretation, such as a mistake in a tribal or ethnic affiliation, made in the 1700s is still wrong in our current tabulation. The work of Leal, Gabehart, Martínez de Vara was, to a large degree, to transcribe, translate and tabulate—not to identify and correct mistake made by the Franciscan Fathers. Martínez de Vara does note several of these discrepancies where he was able to identify them during his translation work, but no holistic approach to these issues has been made to date. The Garcia Ruiz and Gragera transcriptions of the burial registry (2020a) and baptismal records (2020b) may also help identify additional discrepancies in these records.

The Table 4-1 compilation lists burial number, burial month, day, and year, the surname record in Gabehart (1995), the revised surname if different in Martínez de Vara (2021), the given name recorded by Gabehart, the revised name if different in Martínez de Vara (2021), tribal/ethnic affiliation in Gabehart, the revised affiliation if different in Martínez de Vara (2021),

the sex of the deceased, and information on age at death. Spelling differences are maintained between the sources. The sex data was compiled from both secondary sources.

Where possible, CAR recorded or estimated the age at death of the interred. Age data primarily was derived from the Martínez de Vara summary, which frequently included reference to baptismal records as well as the translation of each individual burial registry. In many cases, an age estimate or an age range of the deceased is present in the records. If a precise age is given either in the burial or baptismal records, such as 40, we recorded that age. If a range is given, such as between 40 and 50 years of age, the mean of that range is recorded as the age. In other cases, an individual is only referred to as an adult or as an infant/child. Comparisons of the use of the adult and infant/child designation with cases of known age suggest that at the age of 12, individuals were frequently recorded as an adult, with the infant/child designation covering ages younger than 12. A variety of different conventions were used in reporting ages in the records. In several cases, individuals were described as “older than 100.” These cases were recorded simply as 100. Infant/child deaths were frequent, especially before the age of 6. These deaths were sometimes recorded as days, sometimes in weeks, sometimes in months, and sometimes in years. In order to make comparisons easier, where possible we grouped age estimates in the “infant/child” category into age classes. The youngest class consisted of infants that died within one month of birth. A second class included those that died between 1 month and 1 year. Ages of infant/child burials were then grouped into yearly ranges (e.g., 1 to 2 years, 2 to 3, etc.) up to infants dying between 5 and 6. After the 5-to-6-year range, notations on age are more consistently recorded by year, rather than by a combination of years and months. For ages greater than 6, CAR personnel recorded the actual age in years or the average if an age range was given. Clearly, the original age ranges, as well as the precise ages given in the records, are approximations and should be treated as such.

Missing records, identified by gaps in the burial number, are not included in Table 4-1 or in any summary material presented in the following section. Missing information within a record is left blank in the table. As noted above, the recent Martínez de Vara translation supplies both new records and information not available in the work by Gabehart. To clarify sources, all additions derived from Martínez de Vara are presented in red text in Table 4-1. Several new records provided by Martínez de Vara lack burial numbers. In these instances, CAR recorded the burial number as “9999”. Because of the deteriorated condition of the records, there are several cases where only partial information could be ascertained. For example, a year is listed as “1758?” or as “174?”. The available information

was presented as recorded. There are a small number of cases where two records for the same individual disagree on dates of burial. In those cases, a cross check of the Gabehart summary against the original Leal translation (Leal 1978) was made to eliminate the potential for copying errors in the Gabehart work. No errors were found in the Gabehart summary when compared to the Leal translation, indicating that Gabehart’s work was an accurate reflection of Leal’s translations. In those cases with discrepancies between Gabehart/Leal and the more recent Martínez de Vara records in dates of death, the more recent Martínez de Vara records were used in Table 4-1. There are also several cases with multiple entries for a given burial number when the Martínez de Vara and the Gabehart/Leal records are used. These are reported as recorded in the two original works. As an English translation of the Garcia Ruiz and Gragera transcription of the Valero burial and baptismal records is in development, these and other minor differences and contradictions may subsequently be resolved.

## A Summary of Burial Records

The second objective of this Chapter is to provide a summary of the Table 4-1 burial records. Most of the patterns presented and discussed in this section have been observed by earlier research based on previous tabulations of the Valero burial registry. For example, Schuetz, in her dissertation (1980), anticipated many of the patterns summarized here. Focusing primarily on Mission Valero and based on her own translation of the burial registry and baptismal records, she discusses demography, including observations on fertility, mortality, impacts of disease, nutrition, and other related topics (1980:116-231; See also Schuetz 1966). Others, including Gabehart (1995), summarize aspects of these data (see also Cox 1994; Habig 1968).

Table 4-1 lists 1,055 burials associated with Mission Valero between 1721 and 1789. Not all data are available for each of these 1,055 burials. For example, male/female designations are available for 1,036 individuals. Some age data are listed for 1,020 burials. Tribal, band or ethnic attributions are recorded for 973 burials, while surname is listed for only 385 cases. Year of interment is available for 1,046 cases, with burial months listed for 1,021 cases. There are occasional references to cause of death, with disease, violence, and accidents all noted in the records. Unfortunately, these notes are too infrequent for any meaningful analysis of the causes of death, though we will consider impacts of epidemics on aspects of the Valero population. In addition, note that from 1781 through secularization in January of 1793, a 12 year period, only 10

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
19	4	1	1721	Blanco		Juan		African		M	adult
20	4	14	1721			Anastacia		Pamaya/ Pauigan		F	3 to 4 yr
21	6	4	1721	Guerra		María		Spaniard		F	adult
22	8	6	1721	de Valero	de Valero	Antonia		Pamaya	Pamaya/ Puigan	F	infant/ child
23	9	18	1721			Agustin		Xarame		M	adult
24	3	13	1722		de Valero	Balthazar		Pamaya		M	42
28	5	5	1722	Guerra		Francisco		Spaniard		M	infant/ child
25	5	6	1722		de Valero	Martin		Pauigan/ Pamaya	Pamaya/ Payugan	M	19
26	5	10	1722			Lorenzo		Xarame		M	adult
27	5	15	1722			Ysidro				M	adult
121	6	7	1722			María	María Theresa	Tuicasa	Tucara	F	1 to 2 yr
122	6	19	1722			Antonio		Ticmama	Ticmamar	M	infant/ child
29	6	20	1722			María		Paquache		F	
30	6	21	1722			Sebastian		Xarame		M	5 to 6 yr
123	6	21	1722			María	María Magdalena	Hierbipiamo		F	infant/ child
31	7	4	1722	Castro	de Castro	Juan	Mathias Antonio	Spaniard		M	adult
32	8	15	1722	De Caravajal	De Carabaxal	Francisco		Spaniard		M	adult
33	10	18	1722	Maldonado		Manuel		Spaniard		M	adult
124	4	10	1723	De La Cruz		Mateo		Hierbipiamo		M	
125	5	6	1723			María		Hierbipiamo		F	
125	5	6	1723		De La Cruz		Salvador		Hierbipiamo	M	70
35	7	15	1723	De La Garza		Christobal		Spaniard		M	adult
34	7	17	1723	Flores		Patricio		Spaniard		M	adult
36	10	17	1723	Guerra		María	María Josepha	Spaniard		F	infant/ child
37	1	2	1724				Vicente		Payaya	M	adult
126	1	13	1724			María		Ticmama	Ticmamar	F	11.5
38	1	29	1724			Policarpio		Xarame		M	<1 m
39	2	6	1724	Hernandez		Brigida		Spaniard		F	infant/ child
127	3		1724	De La Cruz		Diego		Mestizo		M	adult
40	5	6	1724			Juan	Juan Antonio	Xarame/ Payaya		M	infant/ child
41	5	8	1724	De La Garza		Juan	Juan Joseph	Spaniard		M	infant/ child
42	5	24	1724			María		Pamaya		F	24
128	5	27	1724			Francisco			Mahuame	M	4 to 5 yr
43	5	28	1724	Valdez		Rosa	Rosa Nicolasa	Spaniard		F	infant/ child

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
44	5	28	1724			Floren	Florencia		Pamaya	F	
130	7	18	1724			Juan		Murame	Muruame	M	26
45	8	27	1724		Hernandez	Miguel		Payaya		M	24
46	2	8	1725			Juana		Payugan		F	35
47	4	19	1725	Guerra		Bicente		Spaniard		M	adult
129	4	30	1725				Athanasio		Hierbipiamo		7.5
48	8	10	1725	Cantu		Josepha		Spaniard		F	infant/ child
131	8	31	1725			Salvador			Heirbiprian	M	8.5
49	1	26	1726	Sepeda	de Sepeda	María		Spaniard		F	60
50	4	12	1726	De La Cruz		María	María Feliciana	Spaniard		F	10
62	4	30	1727	Guerra				Spaniard		M	infant/ child
51	5	24	1727					Mesquite/ Nonopho		M	1 to 2 yr
63	6	8	1727		Guerra	Santiago		Mesquite		M	50
9999	9	23	1727		Jimenes		Andres			M	infant/ child
65	12	24	1727			Rosa		Apache		F	infant/ child
66	12	25	1727			Mathias		Jerobipiamo	Hyperbipiamo/ Moruame	M	infant/ child
69	2	2	1728	Espinosa	de Espinosa	Phelipe		Spaniard		M	adult
67	2	17	1728			María	María Josepha	Siaguan		F	adult
68	2	24	1728				Francisa	Siaguan		F	infant/ child
70	3	6	1728	Castro		Brigida		Spaniard		F	<1 m
71	3	9	1728			Theresa		Siaguan		F	adult
72	3	10	1728	López		Assencio		Siaguan/ Payuguan		M	1 to 12 m
73	3	12	1728			Josepha	Josepha Manuela			F	2 to 3 yr
74	3	22	1728	Perez		Juan	Juan Joseph	Spaniard		M	<1 m
75	3	31	1728		de Guadalupe	María		Muruame		F	24
76	4	4	1728	De Jesus		María		Pataguo		F	adult
77	4	11	1728			Manuel		Spaniard		M	12.5
78	4	16	1728	Flores		María	María Catalina	Spaniard		F	1 to 2 yr
79	4	19	1728	De Santiago		Juan	Juana	Haipocasa	Necpacha	M	70
80	4	23	1728	de los Reyes	de los Reyes	Andres		Pallala	Payaya	M	infant/ child
81	4	27	1728			Ildefonso	Yldefonso	Jarame/ Zolajan	Zolojame	M	1 to 12 m
82	4	29	1728			Antonio		Pamaya		M	50

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
83	4	30	1728			Ana	Ana María	Jarame/ Zolajan	Zolojame	F	infant/child
84	5	5	1728			Joseph		Mesquite		M	adult
85	5	11	1728	Quinones		María	María Antonia	Pamaia/ Siaguan	Pamia/ Siaguan	F	infant/child
86	6	21	1728			María	María Gertrudis			F	infant/child
87	7	3	1728			Rosa		Pazac		F	infant/child
88	7	24	1728			Carlos		Ziaguan		M	adult
89	8	9	1728			Nicolas	Nicolasa	Junacai/ Junzan	Juanzan	M	infant/child
90	8	15	1728			Catharina		Jancaz	Jancas	F	adult
91	8	23	1728			Lorenzo		Zolajun	Zolajan/ Jancaz	M	<1 m
92	8	26	1728			Manuela		Pallaya/ Mesquite	Payaya	F	1 to 12 m
93	9	1	1728			María	María Antonia	Macona	Ocana	F	25.5
94	9	7	1728			Francisco		Muruame	Moruame	M	15
95	9	16	1728	Valdez	Valdes	Ana María		Spaniard		F	adult
96	9	16	1728			Marcela		Muruame	Moroame	F	
97	9	17	1728			Blas		Moruame		M	1 to 12 m
98	9	17	1728			María	María Barbara	Mesquite		F	adult
99	9	18	1728			Asencio		Mesquite		M	adult
100	9	18	1728			Antonia		Jarame/ Pallala	Xarame	F	infant/child
101	9	20	1728	Pasos	Pazos	Antonio		Moruame		M	50
102	9	21	1728			Agustin		Hierbipiamo		M	adult
103	9	21	1728			María	Ana María	Ocana		F	adult
104	9	23	1728			Joachin	Joaquin	Moruame		M	infant/child
105	9	23	1728			Josepha	Josepha Gertrudis	Mesquite/ Tucame	Mesquite	F	1 to 12 m
106	9	24	1728			Pedro		Zolajan		M	adult
107	9	25	1728	De Alcantara		Pedro		Jarame	Xarame	M	adult
108	9	26	1728			Francisca		Siaguan		F	adult
109	9	26	1728			Theresa		Siaguan		F	adult
110	9	26	1728		Cotarma?	Juan	Juan Francisco	Moruame		M	adult
111	9	27	1728	De Ledesma	Ledesma/ De Ledezma	Antonio		Siaguan	Siaguan/ Xarame	M	adult
112	9	28	1728	Guerra		Miguel		Pamaya		M	adult
113	9	30	1728			Agustina		Jarame	Xarame	F	adult
114	10	2	1728	Garcia		Juan		Jarame	Xarame	M	infant/child

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
115	10	3	1728			María	María Antonia	Pacoache		F	1 to 12 m
116	10	4	1728			Gertrudes	Gertrudis	Paiaya	Payaya	F	adult
117	10	5	1728	Treviño		Gaspar		Spaniard		M	adult
118	10	12	1728	Barrera		Jochain	Joaquin	Paiaya/ Mesquite	Payaya	M	infant/child
119	10	15	1728			Barbara		Pallugam	Payugan	F	adult
120	10	15	1728			Catharina		Pamaya		F	adult
121	10	19	1728			Cassimiro	Cassimiro Antonio	Pamaya		M	adult
122	10	21	1728			Luzgarda	Luzgarda María	Paiaya	Payaya	F	1 to 2 yr
123	11	4	1728			Lorenzo	Lorenzo Agustín	Senizo		M	infant/child
126	11	19	1728	Flores		Rosa		Spaniard		F	1 to 2 yr
127	11	19	1728			Efigenia	Efugenia	Payaya		F	infant/child
124	11	21	1728	Villareal	Villareal/ VillaRial	Francisco		Spaniard		M	Adult
125	11	25	1728			Joseph	Joseph Francisco	Jarame	Xarame	M	1 to 12 m
128	2	11	1729	Flores		Nicolas		Spaniard		M	Adult
129	4	9	1729			Angela		Paiaya	Payaya	F	infant/child
130	5	21	1729			Narciso		Pamaya		M	infant/child
131	6	6	1729			Gaspar		Jarame	Xarame	M	infant/child
132	6	27	1729			Pedro	Pedro Joseph	Pataguó		M	infant/child
133	7	2	1729			María	María Theresa	Moruame		F	Adult
134	7	8	1729			Santiago		Moruame	Moruame/ Moruome	M	80
135	8	29	1729			María		Mesquite		F	Adult
136	8	30	1729	Gaspar		Ygnacio	Ygnacio Gaspar/ Gaspar Ignacio	Moruame	Xarame	M	infant/child
137	10	20	1729	Ximenes		Francisco	Francisco Nicolas	Xarame		M	infant/child
138	11	5	1729			María	María Magdalena	Hierbipiamo	Hierbipiamo/ Hierbipiamo	F	Adult
139	11	10	1729			Petronia	Petrona	Hierbipiamo		F	infant/child
140	11	25	1729			Lorenzo		Paiaya	Payaya	M	9.5
141	1	29	1730			Ynes		Hierbipiamo		F	infant/child
142	2	6	1730	Flores	Nolasco	Juan Pedro		Spaniard		M	infant/child
143	2	12	1730	Perez		Rosalía		Spaniard		F	infant/child
144	3	3	1730	Flores		María	María Nicolasa	Spaniard		F	infant/child
145	3	12	1730			Francisco	Francisco Juan	Xarame		M	infant/child
146	3	17	1730	De Castro		Juan	Juan Manuel	Spaniard		M	infant/child
147	3	22	1730			Agustín		Xarame/ Paiaya	Xarame	M	infant/child



Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
148	3	22	1730	Copera	Coronado / Conrado	Antonio		Xarame/ Hierbipiamo	Xarame	M	1 to 12 m
149	3	31	1730			Ynes		Paiaya	Payaya	F	infant/child
150	3	31	1730			Thomasa		Xarame		F	infant/child
151	4	17	1730	Ybanes		Ynes		Spaniard		F	infant/child
152	4	28	1730			María	María Gertrudes	Paiaya	Payaya	F	infant/child
153	5	2	1730			Joseph	Joseph Bernardo	Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo/ Hyerbipiamo	M	infant/child
154	5	6	1730			Rosa		Fumse	Tumzi	F	adult
155	5	9	1730	Quinones		Antonio		Spaniard		M	infant/child
156	5	10	1730			Joseph		Timamar	Yorica	M	infant/child
157	5	12	1730	Guerra		Micaela	Michaela	Paiaya/ Hierbipiamo	Payaya	F	infant/child
158	5	20	1730	Ramirez		Juan		Spaniard		M	infant/child
159	5	28	1730			Francisco		Paiaia/ Mesquite		M	infant/child
160	6	1	1730			Rosa		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo/ Hierbipiamo	F	infant/child
161	6	23	1730					Mesquite	Apache	F	infant/child
162	8	3	1730			María	María Rosa			F	infant/child
163	9	21	1730			María	María Guadalupe	Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo/ Hierbipiamo	F	infant/child
164	9	27	1730			Juan	Juan Baptista	Papanac		M	infant/child
165	10	26	1730			Agustina		Siaguan	Hierbipiamo	F	infant/child
166	1	6	1731			Thomas		Hierbipiamo		M	adult
167	1	10	1731	Longoria		Josepha		Spaniard		F	adult
168	1	28	1731			María	María Rosa	Paiaia	Payaya/ Tucompa	F	infant/child
169	4	3	1731	De Castro		Ana	Ana Luisa	Spaniard		F	infant/child
170	4	12	1731	De Baldez	de Baldes	Juana	Juana Flores	Spaniard		F	adult
171	4	21	1731			Rosa				F	infant/child
172	7	2	1731			Antonia		Payaya		F	100
173	7	5	1731					Payaia	Payaya	F	3 to 4 yr
174	7	20	1731			Francisco	Francisco Pa.	Hierbipiamo		M	adult
175	8	31	1731			Lucas			Vlagame	M	adult
176	3	11	1732	De Jesus		Ana		Pasana		F	adult
177	7	11	1732			Santiago		Xarame	Xarame/ Zolajane	M	infant/child
178	8	2	1732			Juan	Juan Ignacio	Payaya		M	adult
179	8	7	1732			Francisco		Paiaya	Payaya/Xarame	M	5 to 6 yr

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
180	9	1	1732			Juliana		Hierbipiamo	Yerbipiamo/ Hyerbipiamo	F	adult
181	10	31	1732			Antonia	Antonia Florencia	Pazac	Pazac/ Hierbipiamo	F	infant/child
182	11	2	1732	Baldes		Rosalia		Yijame	Xijame	F	18
183	12	17	1732			Eusebio	Antonio Eusebio	Pazac/ Xarame		M	<1 m
184	1	5	1733	De Santiago		Antonio		Yerbipiamo/ Yman	Hierbipiamo/ Yman	M	9
185	1	12	1733			Brigida	Brigida/Bridida	Xarame	Jarame	F	infant/child
186	2	2	1733			Francisco		Timamare	Timamare/ Timarmare	M	80
187	2	26	1733			Manuel		Xarame		M	43
188	5	23	1733			Nicolas		Pazac/Pamaya		M	1 to 12 m
189	6	11	1733			Marcela		Saiguan		F	infant/child
190	7	1	1733			Pedro	Pedro Joseph	Xarame/ Yerbipiamo	Xarame	M	2 to 3 yr
191	7	26	1733			Antonio	Antonio Bentura	Pamaia	Pamaya	M	45
192	11	5	1733			Monica		Yerbipaimo	Hierbipiamo	F	3 to 4 yr
193	1	15	1734			Roberto	Roberto Dionicio	Xarame		M	1 to 12 m
194	1	17	1734			Luisa		Paiaya/ Yerbipaimo	Payaya	F	infant/child
195	1	20	1734	Guiteria	Quiteria	Paula		Payaya		F	17
196	2	9	1734			Joseph		Quinze/Peana	Quinze	M	1 to 2 yr
197	2	10	1734			Manuela		Peana/Xarame	Peana	F	2 to 3 yr
198	2	12	1734			Lucia		Yerbipaimo/ Ziaguan	Heirbipiamo	F	1 to 12 m
199	3	1	1734	Copera		María	María Antonia	Yerbipiamo	Heirbipiamo	F	adult
200	3	9	1734			Gregoria	Gregorio	Pataguó		F	16.5
201	3	27	1734			Antonia		Mesquite		F	infant/child
202	4	29	1734	De San Juan		Petra		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo	F	adult
203	6	9	1734			Raphael		Pamaia	Pamaya	M	adult
204	10	9	1734			María	María Theresa	Paiaya	Payaya	F	1 to 12 m
205	10	20	1734			Juana	Juana Luisa	Pamaya		F	21
206	11	1	1734			Martin		Zolajan		M	adult
207	12	17	1734	Baldez	Baldes	Juan		Paiaya	Payaya	M	adult
208	1	9	1735	Barrera		Juan		Paiaya	Payaya	M	adult
209	3	20	1735			Viridiana		Jamama	Ticmamare	F	11
210	4	19	1735			María	María Antonia	Paiaya	Payaya	F	13
211	6	1	1735	Montenilla		Antonio		Siaguan		M	90
212	7	4	1735			Antonia	Antonia María	Papanac		F	60

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
213	7	9	1735	Baptista		Pedro		Xarame		M	1 to 2 yr
214	7	13	1735	De Prado	de Prado	Juana		Paiaya	Payaya	F	50
215	7	29	1735	Maleta		Manuel		Yerbipiamo	Hierbipiamo	M	16
216	8	20	1735	Rincon		Petra		Spaniard		F	adult
217	9	20	1735	De Ybarra	Ybarra	Joseph		Xarame		M	adult
218	9	21	1735			Cecilia				F	adult
219	9	21	1735			Feliciana				F	adult
220	9	21	1735			Ana				F	adult
221	12	25	1735			Lucas		Xarame		M	adult
222	12	28	1735	Rodriguez		María				F	adult
223	12	28	1735			María		Peana		F	adult
231	1	2	1736			Damion	Matheo	Paiaia	Payaya	M	infant/child
232	1	2	1736			Domingo	Damian	Zulajan	Payaya	M	adult
224	1	7	1736			Nicolas		Xarame	Pazanac	M	16
225	1	7	1736	Joseph		Fernando		Payaya		M	infant/child
225	1	7	1736			Feliciana		Hierbipiamo		F	
233	1	12	1736			Domingo		Zulajan		M	infant/child
234	1	19	1736			Antonio	Antonio Chiquito (Antonio Jr.)	Paiaia	Payaya	M	50
235	1	19	1736		Neri	Phelipe		Paiaia	Payaya	M	23
236	1	20	1736	María		Juana		Pazoay	Pozoay	F	60
237	2	4	1736	Antonio		Joseph		Mesquite		M	1 to 12 m
238	2	4	1736		Antonio	Casimiro		Paiaia	Payaya	M	1 to 12 m
239	2	4	1736	Diego		Antonio		Paiaia	Payaya	M	11
240	2	4	1736			Joseph		Paiaia	Payaya	M	Adult
241	2	11	1736			María		Xarame		F	infant/child
242	2	18	1736	Getrudes	Getrudis	Barbara		Hierbipiamo		F	90
243	2	22	1736	De Concepción	de la Concepción	María		Pataguó		F	42
244	3	6	1736	María		Josepha		Paujan/ Hierbipiamo	Paiupan	F	1 to 12 m
226	9	16	1736			Ana	Ana María	Pauihan	Paiuhan	F	7
226	9	16	1736			María		Hierbipiamo		F	
227	9	18	1736	Getrudes		María		Paiaia/ Puncatago	Payaya	F	infant/child
228	9	22	1736			Alexo		Puncataguó	Puncataguó	M	7
229	10	6	1736			Luia	Luis	Pamaia	Pamaya	M	24
230	10	7	1736	Rodriguez		Juan		Xarame/Paiaia	Xarame	M	1 to 12 m

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
245	10	27	1736	Florentina		Margarita				F	infant/child
246	11	3	1736	Antonio		Eusebio				M	2 to 3 yr
247	11	4	1736		Antonio		Joseph			M	infant/child
249	11	25	1736				Ysabel			F	infant/child
250	11	29	1736				Francisca			F	infant/child
251	2	22	1737		Aldana		Miguel	Xarame		M	adult
252	5	2	1737		Xavier		Francisco			M	6.5
253	5	30	1737		Miguel		Joseph			M	1 to 2 yr
254	6	10	1737		Casilda		Lorenza			F	1 to 2 yr
255	9	23	1737				Lazaro	Pataguó		M	adult
258	2	14	1738	De Amaya	de Amaya	Salvador				M	24
257	2	15	1738				Diego	Pachajuen		M	infant/child
259	5	1	1738			Mathiana		Hierbipiamo	Payaia	F	infant/child
260	8	8	1738	Rita		Josepha		Xarame	Heirbipiamo	F	4 to 5 yr
261	8	25	1738			Martin		Payaia/ Aplome	Payaya	M	1 to 2 yr
256	11	5	1738				Bernabel		Ziahuan		adult
262	1	25	1739			Marsela		Pamaia	Pamaya	F	58
263	2	2	1739			Ynes		Papanac		F	adult
263	3	6	1739			Domingo	Dominga			F	infant/child
264	3	17	1739			Jasinta		Xarame		F	adult
265	3	18	1739	Rita		María				F	<1 m
266	3	20	1739	María		Juana				F	46
267	3	21	1739			Brigida		Mesquite		F	41
278	4	3	1739	Gonzales		Sebastian	Sevastian	Aponpia		M	adult
279	4	3	1739			Andrea		Peana	Mapeana	F	33
280	4	4	1739	Francisca		María		Censot	Censoc	F	adult
281	4	6	1739			Pasqual				M	adult
282	4	6	1739			Salvador		Ziapuan	Ziaguan	M	adult
283	4	8	1739			Teresa				F	adult
284	4	15	1739			Rosa				F	adult
285	4	27	1739	De Leon	de Leon	Fernando				M	adult
285	5	4	1739	María		Juan	Juana	Hierbipiamo		M	adult
286	5	26	1739			Francisca		Zacpoco		F	70
287	6	17	1739			Margarita		Pomaia	Pamaya	F	adult
288	6	19	1739			Pablo		Hierbipiamo		M	100
289	6	22	1739			Francisca				F	adult
290	6	30	1739	Xavier		Francisco		Pauiguan		M	7

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
291	8	5	1739	Baptista		Juan		Xarame		M	2 to 3 yr
292	8	26	1739			Juan		Ziapuan	Ziaguan	M	1 to 2 yr
293	8	26	1739			Dominga		Mesquite		F	1 to 2 yr
294	8	29	1739	Hidalgo		Francisco		Paiaya	Payaya	M	adult
295	10	11	1739	Toribio		Francisco		Paiaia	Payaya	M	1 to 2 yr
296	10	28	1739			Juan				M	5 to 6 yr
298	10	29	1739			Catharina		Tacame		F	1 to 12 m
299	11	10	1739			Lorenzo		Pataguó		M	adult
300	11	12	1739			Feliciana		Xarame		F	adult
297	11	15	1739			Juana		Xarame		F	60
301	12	2	1739			Anseimo	Anselmo	Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo	M	<1 m
302	12	4	1739	Marcelina		María		Apion		F	1 to 2 yr
303	12	26	1739			Brigida		Paiaia	Payaya	F	1 to 2 yr
304	12	30	1739	Luis		Joseph		Paquache	Pacauache	M	infant/child
9999			1739		Biterio		Rosa		Peana	F	39
305	1	2	1740	Venancio		Antonio		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	M	51
306	1	12	1740			Coleta		Zarame	Xarame	F	1 to 2 yr
307	2	9	1740			Josepha		Papanaque		F	40
308	3	11	1740			Francisca		Pacuache		F	70
9999	4	11	1740				Clara			F	
309	6	12	1740			Matheo		Zarame	Xarame	M	1 to 12 m
310	6	14	1740			Martin		Zarame	Xarame	M	1 to 2 yr
311	7	7	1740			Bartolo				M	infant/child
313	7	25	1740	Capistrano		Juan		Zarame	Xarame	M	1 to 12 m
9999	7	25	1740				Lorenzo		Caguas	M	40
314	7	31	1740			Martin			Sijame	M	<1 m
312	7		1740				Clara			F	infant/child
315	8	19	1740			Petra		Papanaque		F	1 to 2 yr
316	9	3	1740			Xaviera		Jarame		F	37
317	9	14	1740			Bartolo		Xarame		M	1 to 2 yr
318	9	15	1740			Joseph		Zarame	Xarame	M	3 to 4 yr
319	11	11	1740			Luis		Jarame	Xarame	M	infant/child
320	11	30	1740			Teresa		Apion		F	infant/child
321	12	13	1740	Rodriguez		Juan		Yerbipiamo	Hierbipiamo	M	61
9999	12	20	1740	Josepha		María		Xarame		F	adult
323	2	6	1741			Marta		Caguia	Caguas	F	4 to 5 yr
324	2	13	1741	Manuela		María		Xarame		F	7
325	3	20	1741	Baldes		Juan				M	26

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
326	5	21	1741			Marcos		Cagua	Caguas	M	8
327	5	23	1741			Michaela				F	adult
322	6	16	1741			Clemente		Tou	Tuu	M	4 to 5 yr
328	8	6	1741			Estevan		Pataguo		M	80
329	9	10	1741			Bernabe		Zarame	Xarame	M	adult
330	9	25	1741			Anseimo	Anselmo	Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo	M	1 to 12 m
331	10	22	1741			Clara		Paiaya	Payaya	F	1 to 2 yr
332	12	6	1741			Marta		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo	F	1 to 12 m
333	12	7	1741			Rosa		Sifame	Sijame	F	9
334	12	9	1741			Matheo	Mateo	Sifame	Sijame	M	3 to 4 yr
334	12	23	1741			Efepimia	Efgenia				adult
335	1	22	1742			Andres		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo	M	70
336	1	22	1742			Conrado	Coronado	Hierbipiamo	Aiyuiap	M	3 to 4 yr
337	2	16	1742			Viridiana		Tetzino		F	50
338	2	20	1742	De Los Angeles	de los Angeles	Jasinta				F	1 to 2 yr
339	3	6	1742			Paula		Caguas		F	16
340	3	9	1742			Regina				F	7
341	3	18	1742	Canario		Joseph				M	5 to 6 yr
342	3	19	1742			Clemente		Zarame	Xarame	M	3 to 4 yr
343	4	2	1742			Fulgencio				M	infant/child
344	4	6	1742			Elceario				M	2 to 3 yr
345	4	23	1742			Bacilio				M	1 to 2 yr
346	5	19	1742	La Concepción	de la Concepción	Lucia				F	adult
347	5	31	1742			María		Zana		F	adult
348	7	12	1742	Isabel		María		Zana		F	adult
349	7	14	1742			Daniel		Zana		M	3 to 4 yr
350	7	27	1742	Isidora		María		Jarame	Payaya	F	infant/child
351	8	12	1742			Antonio		Paiaya	Payaya	M	9
352	8	22	1742			Jasinta		Zana		F	65
353	8	26	1742			Christina				F	1 to 2 yr
9999	10	27	1742				Barbara Bernarda		Spanish?	F	infant/child
9999	11	6	1742				Francisca		Apache	F	1 to 2 yr
354	12	22	1742	Guerra		Miguel				M	infant/child
355	2	13	1743	De Alcantara	de Alcantara	Pedro				M	10
356	2	17	1743			Damion	Damian			M	5 to 6 yr
357	3	26	1743	Aldana		Santiago				M	27
558	5	14	1743			Viridiana		Zarame	Xarame	F	1 to 2 yr

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
559	6	20	1743			Jorge		Mesquite		M	1 to 2 yr
560	8	5	1743	De Ybarra	de Ybarra	Gabriel		Xarame		M	adult
561	8	15	1743			Jasinta		Paiaia	Payaya	F	infant/child
562	8	15	1743			Cornelio		Zana		M	1 to 12 m
563	9	1	1743			Liborio		Moruame		M	1 to 2 yr
564	9	3	1743			Fulgencio		Paiaia	Payaya	M	1 to 2 yr
9999	9	4	1743				Theodora			F	infant/child
565	9	6	1743			Michaela		Siaguan		F	adult
566	9	6	1743			Alejo		Maicy		M	<1 m
567	9	7	1743			Andrea		Paiaya	Payaya	F	2 to 3 yr
568	9	9	1743			Lucia		Zana		F	infant/child
569	9	17	1743			Elzeario		Zarame		M	1 to 2 yr
570	9	19	1743			Petronila		Zana		F	1 to 12 m
571	9	21	1743			Paula		Paiaia	Payaya	F	1 to 2 yr
572	9	22	1743			Felix		Zifame	Zijame	M	infant/child
573	9	24	1743	María		Juana		Menanguen	Menanquan	F	1 to 2 yr
574	10	3	1743			Dorotea		Mecocama	Mecocoma	F	24
575	10	7	1743			Ygnacia		Moruame		F	4 to 5 yr
576	10	9	1743			Emerenciana		Papanaque		F	2 to 3 yr
577	12	15	1743			Santiago		Paiaya	Payaya	M	adult
579	1	4	1744	Antonio		Juan			Aiyuiap	M	infant/child
578	1		1744				J...		Muruame		
580	2	7	1744			Hipolito		Sifame	Sijame	M	10
581	2	25	1744			Venseslao	Vuenseslao	Moruame		M	1 to 2 yr
582	3	6	1744				Ana María			F	infant/child
583	5	11	1744			Felix		Sifame	Sijame	M	70
584	5	12	1744			Andres		Zarame		M	3 to 4 yr
585	5	14	1744	Rita		María		Zana		F	5 to 6 yr
586	8	19	1744		Quinones	Miguela	Manuel		Payaya	M	adult
9999	10	19	1744		Gomez		Viviana		Pazajou	F	
587	11	29	1744			Florentina		Pasojo	Payaya	F	2 to 3 yr
588	12	12	1744			Bacilio		Paiaya	Payaya	M	2 to 3 yr
589	12	14	1744			Martina		Pasajo	Pacajo	F	infant/child
590	12	15	1744				Lazaro		Zana		infant/child
591	12	27	1744			Melchor		Paiaya	Payaya	M	infant/child
592	1	24	1745			Henrique		Zana		M	adult
593	3	15	1745			Rufina		Tou		F	adult
594	3	30	1745	Antonio		Luis		Zana		M	5 to 6 yr

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
595	4	15	1745			Florentina		Paiaya		F	1 to 12 m
596	6	12	1745		Xaviera	Florentina	Francisca	Paiaya	Zana	F	42
597	6	16	1745			Placido		Menenguen	Menanquen	M	1 to 12 m
598	6	16	1745	Lorenza		María			Xarame	F	15
599	6	19	1745			Conepunda		Sifame	Siame	F	1 to 12 m
600	6	23	1745			Faustino		Sifame	Sijame	M	infant/child
601	7	1	1745			Raimundo		Zana		F	13
602	7	22	1745	Rosa		María			Zana	F	infant/child
603	8	7	1745		de Candelaria		Juana	Mesquite		F	4 to 5 yr
604	8	19	1745			Edwardo	Eduardo	Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	M	1 to 2 yr
605	8	20	1745			María		Paiaia		F	39
606	8		1745		Rosa	María		Zana		F	adult
607	9	11	1745			Anastacio		Sifame	Sijame	M	7
608	10	5	1745			Coleta		Zana		F	12
609	10	9	1745			Tecla		Zana		F	infant/child
610	10	30	1745			Casimiro			Xarame	M	4 to 5 yr
611	11	1	1745			Pasqual	Pascual	Siaguan	Paiuguan	M	44
612	12	3	1745			Martin		Maiey		M	12
613	12	8	1745	De Santa María	de Santa María	Antonio				M	19
9999			1745				Urbano		Apache		11
614	1	1	1746			Thomas		Pamaya		M	adult
615	1	4	1746			María	Marcos		Gems	M	5 to 6 yr
616	1	4	1746			Matheo		Guimen	Gianen	M	4 to 5 yr
617	2	20	1746			Remigio		Zana		M	infant/child
618	2	28	1746			Jasinta		Tou		F	50
619	3	6	1746			Bernardino		Sifame	Sijame	M	13
620	3	6	1746			Mathias		Paiaia		M	16
621	3	21	1746			Roman		Tou		M	73
622	5	13	1746			Pedro		Moruame		M	adult
623	5	14	1746			Coleta		Mesquite		F	infant/child
624	5	20	1746			Luisa		Zarame		F	adult
625	6	13	1746			Dorothea		Siaguan		F	infant/child
626	11	5	1746	Baptista		Juan		Paiaya		M	23
627	11	12	1746		de Jesus	Anacleto		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	M	1 to 2 yr
628	12	15	1746			Isabel		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	F	77
629	12	18	1746			Monica		Pazan		F	55
630	12	21	1746			Ubaldo		Zana		M	infant/child
631	12	27	1746			Domitila		Paiaya		F	<1 m



Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
9999			1746				Lorenzo		Tuu	M	8.5
632	1	7	1747			Remigio		Menanguen	Menanquen	M	1 to 12 m
633	2	21	1747			Miguel		Zana		M	25
634	2	25	1747			Romualdo		Paiaya		M	1 to 2 yr
635	3	18	1747			Zelerino	Zeberino	Zana		M	3 to 4 yr
636	4	2	1747			Tecla		Pataguao		F	1 to 2 yr
637	6	7	1747	Ygnacia		María		Zana		F	infant/child
638	6	13	1747			Ana		Zana		F	16
639	7	18	1747			Pasqual			Zana	M	adult
640	8	23	1747			Conrado		Coco		M	65
641	9	12	1747			Venancio		Pacuache		M	infant/child
642	9	19	1747			Cornelio		Zana		M	1 to 12 m
643	9	30	1747		de la Cruz		Juan		Zana	M	1 to 12 m
9999	9	30	1747				María Ysabel		Moruame	F	adult
644	10	9	1747								
645	10	27	1747			Francisca		Zana		F	adult
646	10	30	1747		Rafaela	María		Zana		F	2 to 3 yr
647	10	30	1747				Regina		Xarame	F	5 to 6 yr
651	11	9	1747		Manuela		María		Zana	F	adult
648	11	10	1747			Christobal	Christoval	Zarame		M	adult
649	11	19	1747			Juana		Paiaya		F	adult
650	11	29	1747	De Los Angeles	de los Angeles	Jasinta		Paiaya		F	1 to 2 yr
652	11	30	1747	Caitano		Francisco		Paiaya		M	infant/child
653	12	5	1747			Sebastian		Paiaya		M	17
654	12	15	1747	Dolores		María		Zana		F	6
655	12	16	1747				Christina		Papanaque	F	2 to 3 yr
656	12	21	1747	De Dios	de Dios	Juan		Payaia		M	62
9999	12	24	1747				Joseph Joachin			M	infant/child
657	1	20	1748	Juanico		Juan				M	adult
658	2	3	1748			Faustino		Zana	Sana	M	21
659	2	8	1748	María		Susana		Paquana	Paguana	F	2 to 3 yr
660	3	11	1748			Martin		Sifame	Sijame	M	2 to 3 yr
661	3	18	1748	Ana	Ano	María		Sana		F	11.5
662	3	20	1748	Anselmo	Abelino	Andres		Siaguan		M	15
663	4	12	1748			Basilio		Zorguan		M	1 to 2 yr
664	4	19	1748	Rosa		María				F	36
665	5	16	1748			Adriano		Paza		M	87

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
666	8	13	1748	María		Ana		Mescal		F	59
667	8	30	1748			Apolonia		Sana		F	22
668	9	1	1748			Acisclos		Sana		M	1 to 12 m
670	9	8	1748			Victoria		Sana		F	1 to 12 m
671	9	8	1748			Josepha		Sana		F	1 to 12 m
672	9	13	1748			Beatris	Beatriz	Paguanan		F	14
673	9	14	1748	Dolores		María		Sana		F	27
674	9	15	1748			Cosme		Menangan		M	adult
669	9	16	1748			Pasqual	Pascual	Sana		M	1 to 2 yr
675	9	18	1748			Freylan	Froylan	Payaya		M	5 to 6 yr
676	9	24	1748			Paula		Xana	Sana	F	26
677	9	24	1748			Regina		Sana		F	41
678	9	25	1748	Joseph		Francisco		Papanaque		M	72
679	9	30	1748			Florentina		Pataguó	Pataquo	F	1 to 2 yr
680	9	30	1748			Romualdo	Romaldo	Sana		M	2 to 3 yr
681	10	3	1748	Roman	Ramon	Andres		Pacuache		M	10
682	10	3	1748			Thomasa		Payaya		F	4 to 5 yr
683	10	6	1748			Eusebio		Sifame	Sijame	M	4 to 5 yr
684	10	7	1748			Nicolasa		Tou		F	1 to 12 m
685	10	8	1748			Susana		Tou		F	3 to 4 yr
686	10	10	1748	De La Cruz	de la Cruz	Juan		Sana		M	1 to 2 yr
687	10	11	1748			Celedonio		Sana		M	35
688	10	11	1748	Francisco		Juan			Payaya	M	1 to 12 m
689	10	15	1748			Antonia		Caguas		F	35
690	10	16	1748			Hermenegildo	Heremenegildo	Payaya		M	1 to 2 yr
691	10	16	1748			Dorothea		Hierbipiamo	Hierbipian	F	1 to 2 yr
692	10	17	1748			Santiago		Sana		M	27
693	10	20	1748			Blas		Sana		M	1 to 2 yr
694	10	20	1748			Jacome		Payaya		M	infant/child
695	10	21	1748			Agueda		Sana		F	6
696	10	22	1748			Angela		Sana	Payaya	F	1 to 2 yr
697	10	23	1748			Monica		Payaya		F	1 to 2 yr
698	10	25	1748			Petronila		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	F	infant/child
699	10	26	1748			Mariano		Papanaque		M	17
700	10	27	1748	Francisca		Justa		Pactan		F	infant/child
701	10	27	1748			Ursula		Sifame	Sijame	F	adult
702	10	30	1748			Marcela	Marcelo	Quems		F	38

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
703	11	1	1748			Gaspar		Xarame		M	infant/child
704	11	5	1748			Efegenia	Efigenia	Sana		F	45
705	11	7	1748			Ana		Payaya		F	1 to 2 yr
706	11	18	1748	Josepha		María		Payaya		F	12
707	11	27	1748			Antonio		Sana		M	100
708	12	2	1748			Hilario		Payaya		M	6.5
709	12	13	1748	Alphonso		Valentino	Valentin	Mesquite	Mezquite	M	53
9999			1748				Santiago		Papanaque	M	adult
710	1	27	1749			Petrona		Sifame	Sijame	F	adult
711	2	19	1749			Agapito		Siaguan		M	infant/child
712	5	1	1749	Barbara		Rita		Hierbipiamo	Hierbipian	F	31
9999	5	31	1749			Jacinta			Ipandi	F	infant/child
713	6	3	1749	Antonio		Juan		Tou		M	3 to 4 yr
714	6	5	1749			Juliana		Xarame		F	34
715	6	9	1749			Estanislao		Paiaya		M	infant/child
716	6	19	1749			Egidio		Payaya		M	infant/child
717	6	22	1749			Paula		Payaya		F	4 to 5 yr
718	7	10	1749	Manuel		Joseph		Pacha		M	18
719	8	6	1749			Coleta		Penaca		F	1 to 2 yr
720	9	6	1749	De La Asumpcion	de la Asumpcion	Eugenio		Ipandi		M	13.5
721	9	20	1749			Luzgarda	Leocadia	Payaya		F	21
722	10	8	1749	Molina			Pedro Joseph		Muruame	M	22
723	10	12	1749			Delphina		Xarame		F	13
724	10	14	1749	De La Asumpcion	de la Asumpcion	Phelipa		Patagu		F	15
725	10	19	1749			Lucas		Payaya		M	10
726	10	21	1749			Marcelino				M	6
728	10	22	1749	Manuel		Joseph		Mesquite		M	12
729	10	27	1749			Lasaro	Lazaro	Pasajo	Pazajo	M	4 to 5 yr
730	10	28	1749			Luisa		Sana		M	30
731	10	28	1749	De San Miguel	de San Miguel	Agustina		Xarame		M	1 to 12 m
735	10	29	1749	Magdalena		María		Xarame		F	22
736	10	29	1749	María		Gabriel		Pacuache		M	7
732	10	31	1749			Gabriela		Xarame		F	2 to 3 yr
733	11	1	1749	Valerio		Joseph		Payaya		M	11
734	11	6	1749			Benvenuto		Muruame		M	3 to 4 yr
737	11	16	1749			Thomas		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	M	11

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
738	11	16	1749	Bueno De Roxas	Bueno de Rojas	Don Joseph	Joseph Antonio			M	36
739	11	26	1749			Martha		Ajaunsap	Aujuiap	F	17
740	12	8	1749			Roman		Muruame		M	4 to 5 yr
758		1	1750				María		Xarame	F	adult
741	1	10	1750	María		Ana				F	20
742	2	27	1750			Margarita		Iman		F	42
743	2	27	1750	Mariano		Luis		Sana		M	1 to 12 m
744	3	15	1750			Anacleto		Sana		M	43
745	3	18	1750			Athanacio		Sana		M	67
746	3	19	1750			Bentura	Benito	Pataguó	Putzai	M	adult
747	3	28	1750			Rita		Sana		F	infant/child
748	4	8	1750			Dorothea		Sana		F	25
749	5	25	1750	Xaviera		Francisca		Siaguan		F	5 to 6 yr
750	5	26	1750			Theresa	Teresa	Hierbipiamo		F	69
751	6	5	1750	Manuela		Juana		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	F	1 to 12 m
752	6	5	1750			María		Ipandi		F	adult
753	6	15	1750			Jacintha		Sana		F	1 to 12 m
754	7	12	1750	Antonia		María		Pacao	Paear	F	adult
755	7	16	1750			Juliana		Pazajo		F	1 to 2 yr
756	9	18	1750			Anseimo	Anselmo	Sana		M	12
757	10	6	1750				Marcos		Sijame	M	30
759	1	22	1751			Agustin		Pataguó		M	adult
760	2	11	1751			Alonso		Mesquite		M	adult
761	2	15	1751	De Jesus	de Jesus	Antonio		Pataguó		M	59
763	2	22	1751				Cecilia		Heirbipian	F	2 to 3 yr
762	3	22	1751			Bernardino		Tou		M	32
764	3		1751				María de Jesus		Heirbipian	F	31
765	4	6	1751	Cayetano	Cayetana	María		Yuta		F	5 to 6 yr
766	5	18	1751			Luisa		Siaguan		F	1 to 2 yr
767	6	1	1751			Seraphina		Siaguan		F	33
768	6	11	1751			Delphina		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	F	58
769	6	14	1751	Buenaventura	de San Buenaventura	María		Payaya		F	1 to 2 yr
770	6	18	1751			Elzeario		Tou		M	62
771	7	3	1751	Trinidad		María		Sana		F	32
772	7	8	1751		de Santa Rosa		Antonio	Siaguan	Sana	M	1 to 2 yr
773	7	11	1751			Ysabel		Payaya		F	1 to 2 yr

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
774	7	11	1751	Xaviera		Francisca		Sana		F	34
775	7	12	1751	María		Juana		Sana	Muruame	F	25
776	7	13	1751			Tecla		Sana		F	44
777	7	20	1751			Clemente		Sana		M	44
778	7	28	1751			Pablo		Muruame		M	adult
779	8	4	1751		de Jesus	Magdalena	Agustina	Apion		M	2 to 3 yr
780	8	10	1751			Alexo		Sana		M	25
781	8	13	1751			Angela		Sana		F	48
782	8	14	1751	Magdalena		María		Payaya		F	35
783	8	14	1751			Conegunda		Sana		F	35
784	8	14	1751	De La Candelaria	de la Cadelaria	Clara		Jancataguo	Jancataguo	F	61
785	8	17	1751	De Los Angeles	de los Angeles	Francisca		Pahuanan		F	<1 m
786	8	17	1751	Ana		María		Sifame	Sijame	F	adult
787	8	17	1751			Miguel		Sana		M	20
788	8	19	1751			Seferino	Serefino	Sana		M	42
789	8	20	1751			Damion	Damian	Paguanan		M	28
790	8	26	1751			Helena		Tou		F	15
791	8	27	1751			Ysabel		Tou		F	16
792	8	28	1751	De La Asumpcion	de la Asumpcion	Bernardo		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	M	<1 m
793	8	29	1751			Luis		Tou		M	<1 m
794	9		1751			Bernardo		Pataguo		M	24
795	10	2	1751	Brigida		Francisca		Payaya		F	18
796	10	5	1751			Manuela		Payaya		F	1 to 12 m
797	11	3	1751	Capistrano		Juan		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipian	M	<1 m
798	12	5	1751	Antonia		María		Payaya		F	adult
799	2	28	1752								
800	3	25	1752	Antonia		María		Pataguo		F	22
801	4	6	1752			Gertrudes	Gertrudis	Muruame		F	36
802	5	14	1752			Petra		Payaya		F	<1 m
803	5	22	1752	Gertrudes	Gertrudis	María		Xarame		F	adult
804	6	26	1752			Diego		Siaguan		M	2 to 3 yr
805	8	26	1752			Phelipa		Payaya		F	1 to 12 m
806	11	17	1752	Joseph		Juan		Xarame		M	adult
9999	11	27	1752		de los Santos		María		Ypandi	F	26
807	12	11	1752			Simon		Sana		M	25
808	12	23	1752	Aparicio	Aparico	Francisco		Siaban		M	<1 m
809	1	20	1753	Viego	none	Geronimo		Payaya		M	adult
810	1	30	1753			Pablo		Muruame		M	<1 m

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
811	2	21	1753			Rosa		Pahuanana	Pahuanan	F	15
812	2	26	1753			Margarita		Pataguó		F	adult
813	5	17	1753			Antonia		Pahuanan		F	2 to 3 yr
814	7	3	1753			Juan		Payaya		M	65
815	10	5	1753			Rosa		Payaya		F	1 to 12 m
816	11	3	1753			Bartholome		Payaya		M	13
817	11	5	1753			Fermin		Hierbipiamo	Hyerbipian	M	4 to 5 yr
818	11	8	1753			Patricio		Mesquite	Mezquite	M	54
819	11	28	1753			Delfina	Delphina	Xarame		F	<1 m
820	2	24	1754			Margarita		Pamaya		F	33
821	5	22	1754	Bueno		Juan		Zorguan	Zorquan	M	15
822	7	25	1754			Fernando		Sana		M	2 to 3 yr
823	8	1	1754	Rosa		Andrea		Sana		F	4 to 5 yr
824	8	15	1754	De La Asuncion	de la Asuncion	Mariano		Ypandi		M	100
825	9	16	1754			Cecilia		Apion		F	36
826	10	24	1754			Asencio	Asensio	Xarame		M	adult
827	10	24	1754			Diego		Patacao	Patcax	M	adult
828	10	24	1754			Carlos		Sana		M	adult
829	11	19	1754			Luis		Zorguan	Zorquan	M	21
830	12	2	1754	Xavier		Francisco				M	adult
831	12	15	1754			Tomasa		Apion		F	2 to 3 yr
832	1	25	1755			Yldephonsa		Payson	Paysan	F	adult
833	2	22	1755			Andres		Papaia	Payaya	M	adult
834	3	11	1755			Cayetano		Pataguó	Pataugo	M	52
835	4	1	1755				Catharina	Paiaya		F	1 to 12 m
836	5	20	1755			Xisto		Apion		M	1 to 12 m
837	6	3	1755			Martin		Coco		M	5 to 6 yr
838	6	21	1755			María		Xarame		F	adult
839	6	22	1755			Roque		Coco		M	1 to 12 m
840	6	23	1755			Petra		Coco		F	60
841	6	26	1755			Magdalena		Ypandi		F	60
842	6	29	1755	De San Antonio	de San Antonio	Barbara		Zulupan	Zuluyane	F	adult
843	7	14	1755			Josepha		Pataguó		F	36
844	8	12	1755			Simon		Caguay	Caguas	M	<1 m
845	8	23	1755			Lucrecia		Zarame	Xarame	F	17
846	9	21	1755			Luis		Zarame	Xarame	M	infant/child
847	10	2	1755			Juana		Zarame	Xarame	F	adult
848	10	3	1755			Brigida			Menenquan	F	24

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
849	10	12	1755			Catharina		Tou		F	23
850	10	13	1755			Rafaela		Hipandi	Ypandi	F	39
851	10	14	1755	Magdalena		María		Paiaya		F	<1 m
852	11	3	1755			Bacilio		Mayei		M	Adult
853	12	26	1755			Bernardina		Ciaguan		F	17
836	2	22	1756			Luis	Candelaria	Zarame		M	Adult
837	2	27	1756			Bernardo	Bernardino	Zana		M	1 to 2 yr
838	4	3	1756			Visente		Caguas		M	16
839	4	12	1756			Antonio		Zana		M	80
840	4	14	1756			Roque		Oreoquese	Orcaquisa	M	infant/ child
841	4	18	1756			Hilolito	Hipolito	Mayei		M	infant/ child
842	5	23	1756	Anastacia		María		Moruame	Muruame	F	18
843	6	11	1756			Ruperto		Sifame	Sijame	M	infant/ child
844	6	12	1756			Apolonia		Caguas		F	infant/ child
845	6	27	1756			Casimiro		Zana		M	10
846	6	30	1756	Antonia		María		Paiaya		F	41
847	7	6	1756			Carlos		Paiaya		M	24
848	7	18	1756			Alberto	Alverto	Moruame		M	37
849	7	21	1756	De La Encarnacion	de la Encarnacion	Josepha		Papanaque		F	19
850	7	22	1756	Candelaria		María		Coco		F	60
851	7	24	1756			Juan		Hierbipiam	Heirbipian	M	adult
852	7	25	1756			Hipolito	Hipolita	Mayei	Maiey	F	infant/child
853	7	28	1756			Andrea		Coco		F	70
854	8	4	1756			Marcelo		Coco		M	80
855	8	23	1756			Magdalena		Coco		F	infant/child
856	10	11	1756			Gaspar		Coco		M	infant/child
857	10	13	1756			Lorenzo		Coco		M	10
858	10	20	1756			Damion	Damian	Coco		M	6
859	10	22	1756	María		Ana		Coco		F	infant/child
860	10	26	1756			Isabel		Coco		F	3 to 4 yr
861	11	4	1756			Catharina		Zana		F	<1 m
862	11	9	1756			Francisco		Coco		M	infant/child
863	11	14	1756	Florentina		María		Coco		F	1 to 12 m

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
864	2	26	1757	Ramon		Miguel		Hierbipiamo	Hierbipian	M	adult
865	2	27	1757			Marsela	Marzela	Ypandi		F	43
866	3	14	1757			Christobal	Christoval	Coco		M	adult
867	3	17	1757			Calisto		Apion		F	1 to 12 m
868	3	18	1757			Felipa		Ypandi		F	<1 m
869	3	18	1757			Teresa	Tereza	Maiey		F	1 to 2 yr
870	4	19	1757			Judas Tadeo		Ypandi		M	5 to 6 yr
871	5	24	1757			María		Coco		F	40
872	6	4	1757	Guadalupe		María		Xarame		F	26
873	6	20	1757			Martina		Coco		F	infant/child
889	6	29	1757				Augustina		Zana	F	70
9999	6	29	1757				Agustina		Zana	F	adult
879	7	22	1757			Emerenciana		Zana		F	12
880	8	24	1757			Mariquita	María	Zana		F	adult
881	8	26	1757			Fermin		Zana		M	16
882	9	14	1757			Nicolas		Coco		M	infant/child
883	9	29	1757			Toribio		Zana		M	35
890	10	24	1757				Augustina		Zana	F	43
9999	10	24	1757				Agustina			F	34
9999	11	22	1757				Paula		Paiaya	F	infant/child
892	12	18	1757			Leandro		Zana		M	24
893	12	18	1757			Bernave		Zana		M	15
894	12	30	1757	De Jesus	de Jesus	Ana		Mesquite		F	38
895	12	30	1757			Maria		Apion		F	infant/child
9999			1757				Juana Geronima			F	9
9999			1757				Patricio			M	infant/child
1029	1	14	1758			Margarita		Coco		F	infant/child
1030	2	11	1758	Concepción		María		Sifame	Sijame	F	adult
1031	2	13	1758			Jasinta		Zana		F	71
1032	3	15	1758	Asumpcion	Assumption	María		Pamaia		F	49
1033	3	20	1758			Pedro		Coco		M	25
1034	4	14	1758			Eustachio		Xarame		M	9
1035	4	20	1758			Thomas		Mayei		M	infant/child
1036	5	12	1758			Jorge		Tou		M	35
1037	6	2	1758			Anseimo	Anselmo	Mayei		M	60
1038	6	20	1758			Jorge		Hierbipian	Heirbipian	M	80
1039	6	21	1758			María		Mayei		F	adult
1040	6	22	1758			Francisca		Coco		F	infant/child
1041	6	29	1758	Pacheco		Ines		Payaya		F	17



Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1042	7	9	1758			Phelipa	Phelipe	Coco		M	infant/child
1043	7	11	1758	Luisa	Luiza	María		Coco		F	adult
1044	7	15	1758			María		Mayei		F	adult
1045	7	20	1758			Isabel		Zana		F	6
1046	7	21	1758			Liberata		Payaya		F	50
1047	11	23	1758			Raphael		Xarame	Zarame	M	adult
1048	12	14	1758	María		Ana		Paiaya		F	adult
9999			1758				Matheo			M	30
1049	1	4	1759			Prudencio		Coco		M	infant/child
1050	1	14	1759			Marta		Coco		F	adult
1051	2	9	1759			María		Hierbipian	Heirbipian	F	adult
1052	2	12	1759	Flores		Joseph		Payaia		M	25
1053	2	24	1759			Francisco		Taroname	Taroname	M	1 to 12 m
1054	2	26	1759			Mariano		Siaban		M	5 to 6 yr
1055	3	2	1759			Josepha		Pataguao		F	100
1056	3	13	1759			Feliciana		Timamar		F	adult
1057	3	15	1759	Grillo		Joseph	Joseph Manuel	Xarame		M	28
1058	6	3	1759			Toquado	Torquato	Zorguan	Zana	M	43
1059	6	3	1759			Dorothea		Ypandi		F	20
1060	6	7	1759			Clara		Zana		F	17
891	6	11	1759		Toledo		Onofre		Coco	M	adult
1061	6	14	1759	Concepción		María		Xarame	Zarame	F	38
1062	6	14	1759			Helena		Paiaya		F	1 to 12 m
1063	6	18	1759	De Ortega	de Ortega	Martina		Coco		F	adult
1064	6	24	1759			Barvara	Barbara	Zana		F	43
1065	6	29	1759			Silvestre		Zana		F	86
1071	7		1759			Rosa		Coco		F	infant/child
1066	7	1	1759			Velado	Ubaldo	Zana		M	52
1067	7	4	1759		de Espiritu Santo	Juana		Zana		F	6
1068	7	11	1759			Magdalena		Coco		F	<1 m
1069	7	15	1759			Rosalia		Coco		F	adult
1070	7	17	1759			Magdalena		Jarame	Jaraname	F	<1 m
1072	8	13	1759			María		Mayei		F	adult
1073	8	19	1759	Xaviera		María	María Francisca	Coco		F	adult
1074	8	29	1759	Josepha		María		Paiaya		F	42
1075	9	22	1759			Geronima		Paiaya		F	1 to 12 m
1076	9	24	1759			Getrudis	Gertrudis	Mayei		F	adult
1077	10	1	1759			Rufina		Coco		F	adult

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1078	10	2	1759	Rosa		Juana		Coco		F	adult
1079	10	9	1759			Francisco		Coco		M	infant/child
1080	10	18	1759			Ambrocio	Ambrosio	Coco		M	infant/child
1081	10	26	1759			Bernardino		Coco		M	infant/child
1082	11	26	1759			Petra		Tancaque	Tancague	F	adult
1083	11	27	1759			Florentina		Tancaque	Tancague	F	40
1084	11	27	1759			Ygnacia		Tancaque	Tancague	F	adult
1085	11	29	1759			Paula		Tancaque	Tancague	M	adult
1086	12	2	1759			Cleotildes	Cleotildis	Yojuan		F	adult
1087	12	3	1759			Celedonio		Yojuan		M	adult
1088	12	5	1759			Gaspar		Tancaque	Tancague	M	adult
1089	12	8	1759			María		Yojuan		F	adult
1100	12	12	1759			Clara		Tancaque	Tancague	F	infant/child
1101	12	13	1759		Ximenez	Rosa		Coco		F	adult
1102	12	18	1759	De Artiaga	de Artiaga	Cosme		Coco		M	adult
1103	12	19	1759			Delphina		Coco		F	adult
1104	12	20	1759			Sebastian		Coco		M	infant/child
1105	1	14	1760			Ygnacio	Ygnacia	Zana		F	adult
1106	3	6	1760			Lenor	Leonor	Coco		F	adult
1107	3	13	1760			Rosendo		Siaguan		M	36
1108	3	15	1760			Francisca		Ypandi		F	7
1109	5	8	1760			Conepunda	Conegunda	Cujan		F	adult
1110	5	9	1760			Juan		Yojuan	Iojuan	M	10
1111	5	14	1760			Geronimo		Coco		F	infant/child
1112	5	27	1760			Mariana		Coco		F	adult
1113	5	28	1760	Caranco	Carranco	Marta		Coco		F	adult
1114	7	9	1760	Diego		Antonio		Paiaya	Payaia	M	infant/child
1115	8	11	1760	Nepomunceno	Nepomuceno	Juan		Paiaia	Payaya	M	3 to 4 yr
1116	8	13	1760			Lucia		Apache		F	80
1117	8	29	1760		Truxillo	Catarina		Payaya		F	infant/child
1118	10	8	1760	Costales		Joseph		Coco		M	2 to 3 yr
1119	11	19	1760			Bernardo		Mayei	Mayeye	M	10
1120	12	11	1760	Alcanara	Almanza	Pedro				M	adult
1121	12	18	1760			Bautista		Payaya		M	adult
1122	12	31	1760	El Manco	Manco	Pedro		Chana		M	53
1128	1	3	1761			Fulgencio		Tou		M	38
1129	1	30	1761	De Los Santos	de los Santos	Roque		Zarame	Xarame	M	adult
1123	2	15	1761	Herrero		Geronimo		Hierbipiam	Heirbipian	M	48

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1124	5	16	1761			Felis		Yojuan	Sojuan	M	22
1125	6	22	1761	Gertrudis		María		Coco		F	adult
1126	6	25	1761	Quiteria		María		Payaya		F	24
1127	7	14	1761	De La Merced	de la Merced	María		Zana		F	13
1130	10	3	1761			Mathias		Mayei		M	infant/child
1131	11	14	1761	Ana		María		Coco		F	infant/child
1132	11	18	1761			Francisca		Paiaya		F	5 to 6 yr
1133	11	28	1761			Ana		Paiaya		F	<1 m
1137			1762				Teresa		Coco	F	adult
1134	3	17	1762	Quinones		Joseph		Paiaya		M	adult
1135	3	28	1762	Costales		Gabriel		Coco		M	adult
1136	3	31	1762				Michaela		Tou	F	31
1138	5	7	1762				Bacilio		Sojuan	M	adult
1139	5	25	1762		Benita		María		Coco	F	infant/child
1140	5	26	1762				Catharina		Coco	F	infant/child
1141	6	11	1762				Martina		Caguas	F	adult
1142	6	18	1762				Monica		Ipandi	F	41
1143	6	22	1762				María Ana		Xarame	F	57
1144	8	30	1762	Urrutia	de Urrutia	Juan	Juan Francisco	Spaniard		M	<1 m
1145	10	7	1762			Isabel		Ipandi		F	<1 m
1146	10	14	1762	Costales		Bernardo		Coco		M	Adult
1147	10	15	1762			Francisca		Coco		F	infant/child
1148	10	25	1762			Getrudis	Gertrudis	Caranquas	Carancaguas	F	adult
1149	11	3	1762			Martina		Coco		F	adult
1150	11	11	1762			Francisco				M	adult
1151	12	15	1762	Celestino		Pedro		Coco		M	adult
1207			1763			Alexandro		Capuas	Cagua	M	33
1232			1763		de Santa María		Manuel Antonio		Xarame	M	
1233			1763			María		Coco		F	adult
1237			1763				María		Coco	F	adult
1240			1763		de Santa María		Manuel Antonio		Xarame	M	adult
1152	1	3	1763			Clemencia		Coco		F	adult
1153	1	6	1763			Clemenica		Apache		F	20
1154	1	8	1763			Paula		Coco		F	adult
1155	1	9	1763	Bermudes	Bermudez	Conrrado		Coco		M	adult
1156	1	10	1763				Antonia		Ypandi	F	39
1158	1	16	1763			Joseph		Coco		M	Adult
1159	1	16	1763			Ambrocio		Apandi	Hipandi	M	infant/child

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1157	1	18	1763				Joseph Lorenzo		Caguas	M	17
1160	1		1763				Joseph			M	
1161	3	4	1763	De La Garza	de la Garza	Juana	Juana Gertrudes			F	1 to 2 yr
1162	3	4	1763			Augustina		Hierbipian	Heirbipian	F	5 to 6 yr
1163	3	5	1763			Ygnacia	Ignacia	Coco		F	adult
1164	3	25	1763	Caravajal		Juana		Ypandi	Ipandi	F	adult
1166	5	29	1763	Manuel		Juan		Coco		M	infant/child
1167	5	30	1763			Loreta		Coco		F	infant/child
1165	5		1763	López		Juana		Paiaya	Payaia	F	1 to 12 m
1168	8	1	1763			Mariano		Coco		M	infant/child
1169	8	9	1763			Geronimo		Mayei	Maiey	M	10
1170	8	11	1763	Quiteria		Paula		Coco		F	12
1171	8	15	1763	Xaviera		Juana		Coco		F	adult
1172	8	21	1763		de Leon	Brigida		Coco		F	adult
1173	8	22	1763			Pablo		Coco	Maiey	M	adult
1174	8	23	1763	Isaquirre	Isaguirre	Andrea		Ypandi	Ipandi	F	infant/child
1175	8	28	1763	Garcia		Juan		Payaya	Paiaya	M	infant/child
1176	8	28	1763	Candelaria		María		Coco		F	Adult
1177	8	28	1763			Juan		Coco		M	<1 m
1178	8	28	1763	Rodriguez		Joseph	Joseph Luiz	Spaniard		M	infant/child
1179	8	28	1763			Miguel		Coco		M	adult
1180	8	28	1763	De Jesus	de Jesus	María		Coco		F	adult
1181	8	28	1763			Toribio		Coco		M	infant/child
1182	8	30	1763			Nicolas		Coco		M	adult
1183	8	30	1763			Jorge		Carancaques	Carancaquas	M	adult
1184	8	30	1763			Sibestiana	Sebastiana	Paiaya		F	13
1185	8	30	1763	Ygnacia	Ignacia	María		Zana		F	12
1186	8	30	1763	Getrudes	Gertrudes	María		Zarame	Xarame	F	infant/child
1187	8	30	1763			Dorothea		Coco		F	adult
1188	8	30	1763			Cayetano		Palaya	Paiaya	M	2 to 3 yr
1189	8	30	1763			Florencia		Coco		F	adult
1241	9		1763			Bentura	Barbara	Carancaques	Carancaguas	F	adult
1190	9	1	1763			Joseph		Carancaques	Carancaquas	M	adult
1191	9	2	1763	Baptista		Juan		Coco		M	adult
1192	9	2	1763			Marcos		Coco		M	adult
1193	9	2	1763			Pedro		Hierbipian	Heirbipian	M	infant/child
1194	9	2	1763			Josepha		Ipandi		F	12
1195	9	2	1763	Falcon	Antonia	Marie	María	Spaniard		F	1 to 12 m

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1196	9	2	1763	Miguel		Joseph		Coco		M	infant/child
1197	9	3	1763			Isabel		Carancaques	Carancaguas	F	adult
1198	9	4	1763	Joachin		Joseph		Paiaya		M	13
1199	9	4	1763		Toledo	María		Carancaques	Carancaguas	F	adult
1200	9	4	1763	Rosalia		María		Moruame		F	6
1201	9	4	1763			Geronima		Coco		F	adult
1202	9	4	1763			Andres		Patagu		M	14
1203	9	4	1763			Mariano		Masuan		M	10
1204	9	4	1763	Josefa	Josepha	María		Carancaques	Carancaguas	F	adult
1205	9	5	1763			Bernardino		Coco		M	
1206	9	6	1763			Lasaro		Coco		M	infant/child
1208	9	6	1763	De La Encarnacion	de Encarnacion	María		Ipandi		F	12
1209	9	7	1763			Vizente		Coco		M	adult
1210	9	7	1763	Chiconapua	Chiconagua	Gabriel		Coco		M	adult
1211	9	7	1763	María		Juana		Coco		F	adult
1212	9	8	1763			Alonso		Sifame	Sijame	M	2 to 3 yr
1213	9	8	1763	Antonia		María		Paiaya		F	infant/child
1214	9	8	1763			Lucas		Paiaya		M	11
1215	9	8	1763			Simon		Carancaques	Carancaguas	M	adult
1216	9	8	1763	Josepha		María		Coco		F	adult
1217	9	8	1763			Augustin		Coco		M	adult
1218	9	9	1763			Clara		Carancaques	Carancaguas	F	adult
1219	9	9	1763	Christomo	Chrisotomo	Juan		Coco		M	adult
1220	9	9	1763	Francisco		Juan		Coco		M	infant/child
1221	9	9	1763			Jacobo		Paiaya		M	7
1222	9	10	1763			Pablo		Carancaques	Carancaguas	M	infant/child
1223	9	10	1763			Francisco		Maiey		M	7.5
1224	9	10	1763			Henrique	Henrique	Coco		M	adult
1225	9	11	1763	Abad		Antonio		Coco		M	adult
1226	9	11	1763			Elseario	Elesario	Coco		M	adult
1227	9	12	1763			Martina		Carancaques	Carancaguas	F	adult
1228	9	12	1763			Pasqual	Pascual	Coco		M	adult
1229	9	12	1763			Lucrecia		Carancaques		F	
1230	9	13	1763			Cosme		Coco		M	adult
1231	9	13	1763			Geronimo		Coco		M	adult
1234	9	15	1763			Veatris		Carancaques	Carancaguas	F	adult
1235	9	17	1763			Dionicio		Coco		M	adult
1236	9	18	1763			Josepha		Coco		F	infant/child

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1238	9	20	1763			Bentura		Tou		M	9
1239	9	20	1763			Luis		Coco		M	infant/child
1242	9	28	1763			Geronima		Paiaya		F	infant/child
1243	9	29	1763		Chiconagua	Judas		Coco		M	adult
1245	10	26	1763	De Los Angeles	de Dios	Juan		Coco		M	adult
1246	10	26	1763				María Antonia		Ypandi	F	infant/child
1247	11	11	1763			Rita		Hierbipian	Geribipian	F	22
1248	12	6	1763		Cortes	Geronimo		Xarame		M	adult
1249			1764								
1250			1764			Apolonia		Coco		F	adult
1251	6	30	1764	Seguin		Joseph	Joseph Marcelino	Spaniard		M	infant/child
1252	7	22	1764			Thomas		Coco		M	adult
1253	8	1	1764			Agustin		Chana		M	4 to 5 yr
1254	8	3	1764			Agustina		Coco		F	adult
1255	10	3	1764	Natividad		María		Yechipian	Yerbipian	F	90
1256	10	11	1764		de Camisma	Ynes		Tou		F	31
1257	12	28	1764			Vibiana		Charame		F	19
1258	1	18	1765	Gomez		Leonardo		Pasaja	Pazajo	M	51
1259	3	25	1765	María		Rosa		Apache		F	41
1260	4	11	1765			Sevastianana		Maiei	Mayei	F	adult
1261	4	21	1765	Ybarra		Phelipe		Xarame		M	adult
1262	4	29	1765	Diego		Juan		Coco		M	adult
1263	5	7	1765			Joseph	Joseph Antonio	Yerbipiamo	Yervipiamo	M	1 to 12 m
1264	6	27	1765	Nunes		Miguel		Payaya		M	53
1265	9	23	1765			Sinforosa		Xarame		F	22
1266	10	25	1765	Benitez	Benites	María	María Antonia	Coco		F	adult
1267	2	28	1766	Nunez		Dionicio		Payaya		M	23
1270	5	18	1766	Aldape		Joseph	Joseph Miguel	Spaniard		M	1 to 12 m
1268	6	2	1766			Luisa		Ypandi		F	29
1269	6	6	1766	Jacoba		María		Ypandi		F	23
1271	6	23	1766	Getrudes	Gertrudes	Juana		Ypandi		F	1 to 12 m
1272	6	24	1766	De Dios	de Dios	Juan		Ypandi		M	29
1273	7	21	1766	Joseph		Jacinto		Payaya		M	51
1274	8	10	1766	Flores		Antonio		Xarame		M	adult
1275	8	12	1766	Cadena		Nicolasa		Pacuache	Paquache	F	34
1276	8	23	1766	Cambrai		Juana		Yerbipiano	Yervipiamo	F	38
1277	8	29	1766	Gonzales	Gonzalez	Ana		Mayie	Mayei	F	adult

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1278	8	30	1766	Josepha	de la Mas	María	María Josepha	Payaya		F	4 to 5 yr
1279	1	18	1767	Garcia		Ecolastica	Escolastica	Zana	Sana	F	35
1280	2	1	1767	López		Manuel		Payaya		M	adult
1281	3	15	1767	Losoya	de Losoya	Estevan				M	adult
1282	4	13	1767	Galindo		Gertrudis		Ypandi		F	adult
1283	5	24	1767	Del Rio	de el Rio	Domingo		Payaya		F	adult
1284	7	4	1767	Parilla	Padilla	Miguel	Miguel Bernardino	Zana	Sana	M	<1 m
1285	8	17	1767	De Alcantara	de Alcantara	Pedro		Payaya		M	33
1286	10	3	1767	Cortes		Xristoval		Xarame		M	adult
1287	11	24	1767	Josepha		María		Ypandi		F	adult
1288	2	21	1768	Rosa		María		Ypandi		F	<1 m
1289	3	5	1768	De Roxas	de Roxas	Gertrudis		Ypandi		F	20
1290	3	11	1768	Viejo		Francisco		Paiaia		M	adult
1291	4	24	1768	Ruiz		Antonio		Paiaya	Paiaia	M	adult
1292	4	29	1768		el Pinto	Marcos		Sana		M	16
1293	6	9	1768		Navarro	Angela		Ypandi		F	23
1294	6	10	1768	Muñoz		Joachin		Sana		M	39
1295	7	22	1768	Ciego		Pedro	Pedro Joseph	Mayei	Maiei	M	adult
1296	11	18	1768	Bautista		Juan		Payaya		M	infant/child
1297	1	5	1769	De Castro	de Castro	Viridiana		Xarame		F	23
1298	1	8	1769	De Puebla	de Puebla	Josepha		Mayei	Mayey	F	adult
1299	3	7	1769	De Silva	de Silva	Efiguenia	Efigenia	Ypandi		F	32
1300	3	29	1769			Rosalia			Xarame	F	43
1301	5	16	1769	Pizarro		Francisco	Francisco Xavier	Yerbipiamo		M	adult
1302	6	14	1769		Cayerua	Marcos		Coco		M	12
1303	7	2	1769	Ortega	Artega	Cecilia		Carancaques	Caracangues	F	adult
1304	7	12	1769	Hermenegilda		Juana		Payaya		F	<1 m
1308	7	12	1769	Conrado		Joseph		Payaya		M	5 to 6 yr
1305	7	13	1769	Benito		Andres		Lipan		M	1 to 12 m
1306	8	4	1769			Enrique		Yerbipiamo	Yeribipiamo	M	14
1307	8	18	1769			Santiago		Coco		M	adult
1309	12	14	1769	Joseph	Calderon	Juan	Juan Joseph	Payaia		M	adult
1310	12	25	1769	Del Refugio	del Refugio	María		Lipan		F	adult
1317			1770	Cuevas		Juan	Juan Baptista	Lipan		M	infant/child
1314		8	1770			Ines	Ynes	Orejan		F	infant/child
1311	2	11	1770			Juana	Juana María	Lipan		F	7.5

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1312	3	4	1770	Robles		Martin		Hierbipiamo	Heirbipiamo	M	19
1315	4	19	1770	Solis		Eulalia		Sana		F	29
1313	4		1770				María Dolores		Lipan	F	infant/child
1316	5		1770		Medina	Buenaventura		Muruame	Murame	M	adult
1318	3	3	1771	Carrasco		Francisco		Apache		M	55
1319	5	28	1771	Gomez		Ambrosio		Payaya		M	32
1320	8	6	1771	Del Castillo	del Capillo	Ygnacio		Lipan		M	17
1321	12	6	1771	Robles	Rodriguez	Juan	Juana			M	infant/child
1322	7	16	1772			Gabriela		Sana		F	33
1323	8	10	1772	Parrilla		María	María Josepha	Mestizo	Mestiza	F	<1 m
1324	12	6	1772	Arcon		Miguel		Payaya		M	adult
1325	4	9	1773	Garcia		Santiago		Sana		M	adult
1326	4	28	1773	Cuevas	Cuebas	Miguel	Miguel George	Spaniard		M	<1 m
1327	8	11	1773	Herrera		Mauricio		Payaya		M	adult
1328	9	28	1773	Parrilla		Joseph	Joseph Bernardino	Mestizo	Sana	M	<1 m
1329	12	3	1773	Medina		Joseph		African/ Spanish/ Indian	Muruame	M	adult
1330	1	24	1774	Medina		Melchor		Muruame		M	adult
1331	3	4	1774	De Los Angeles	de los Angeles	Antonio		Spaniard		M	adult
1332	8	6	1775			Theodora		Sana		F	
1333	8	11	1775	Cervantes		Bonifacio		Sana		M	33
1334	8	25	1775	Salazar		Tecla		Payaya		F	22
1335	10	19	1775	De Mata	de Mata	Juan		Muruame		M	49
1337	4	20	1776	Del Refugio	del Refugio	Francisca	María Francisca	Sana		F	infant/child
1336	5	18	1776	Guerra		Joseph	Joseph de Jesus	African/ Spaniard		M	<1 m
1338	6	25	1776	Flores		Pedro		Spaniard		M	infant/child
1339	8	19	1776	Hernandez		Manuel	Manuel Hipolito	African/ Spaniard		M	10
1340	10	16	1776	De Los Santos	de los Santos	María		Spaniard		F	infant/child
1341	11	22	1776	Reyes		Rosa				F	adult
1350			1777								
1342	1	12	1777	Parrilla		Manuel	Josef Manuel	Mestizo		M	2 to 3 yr
1343	2	10	1777	Campo		María	María Petra	Mescalteca	Indian	F	adult
1344	2	20	1777	Cantu		María	María Josepha			F	infant/child
1345	3	6	1777	Figueroa		Julian		Sana		M	adult



Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
1346	3	10	1777			Florentina		Ghana	Chana	F	adult
1347	4	21	1777	Maldonado		Agueda		Spaniard		F	adult
1348	5	10	1777			Bartolo			Indian	M	adult
1349	7	8	1777				María Francisca		Zana	F	47
1351	10		1777		Saro		Felipa		French	F	adult
1352	11	24	1777	De La Garza	de la Garza	Juana	Juana María		Indian	F	adult
1353	12	13	1777			Policarpio			Indian	M	adult
1355			1778				Pasqual			M	
1360			1778								
1365			1778								
1354	1		1778								
1356	5	15	1778		Martínez	Juliana				F	adult
1357	7	9	1778			Jose				M	infant/child
1358	10	15	1778	Flores		Casiana			Indian	F	infant/child
1359	11	9	1778				Jose			M	infant/child
1362	11	21	1778	Cuebas		María	María Ortula		Indian	F	infant/child
1363	11	25	1778	Ynojosa		María	María Antonia		Indian	F	infant/child
1361	11		1778	Luna	de Luna	Barnabe	Bernabe		Payaya	M	infant/child
1364	12		1778				María Juliana		Mestiza	F	adult
1366	12	25	1778			María			African/ Spaniard	F	infant/child
1367	12	28	1778	Robles		María	María Sipriana		Indian	F	infant/child
1368	12	29	1778	Hernandez		María			Mestiza	F	infant/child
1369	1	4	1779								
1370			1779								
1371	2		1780	Flores		Josefa	Josepha		Spanish	F	adult
1372	8	24	1780	Cortinas		María	María Josefa		Hyerbipiamo	F	infant/child
1373		25	1780		Flores		Nicolasa		Spanish	F	infant/child
1374			1780							F	infant/child
1375	9	24	1781	De Medina	de Medina	Juan		African/ Spaniard		M	
1376	5	25	1782	Josefa		María		Lipan		F	infant/child
1377	6	24	1782				María Josepha		Lipan	F	
9999	3	5	1787				María Rudesinda		Lipan	F	
9999	3	19	1787				María Antonia		Lipan	F	
9999	6	15	1787				María Petronila		Lipan	F	
9999	6	29	1787				Margarita		Lipan	F	
9999	8	10	1787		Flores			Mariana	Indio		

Table 4-1. A Compilation of Mission San Antonio De Valero Burial Records (continued)

Burial Number	Burial Month	Burial Day	Burial Year	Surname	Surname (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Given Name	Given Name (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality	Tribe/Ethnicity/ Nationality (Martínez de Varo 2021)	Sex	Age Group*
9999	2	4	1789						Lipan		11
9999	2	8	1789						Lipan		adult
9999			174?		Caictana		María Luisa			F	
9999			1758?		de Santa Rosa		Isabel		Sana	F	infant/child
64					Santos Coy	Andres				M	adult
64					Gimenes		Joseph			M	adult
248							Ascencio		Ziagua		
248					Antonio		Joseph		Payaya	M	
9999							Gregorio		Sijame	M	infant/child
9999							Joseph Thoribio		Maquems	M	infant/child
9999						Andres				M	infant/child

burials are recorded in Table 4-1. Five of these are in 1787 and multiple years in this time frame have no interments recorded. As noted subsequently, sections of these post-1780 records are missing.

The focus of the remainder of this chapter is on burials listed after the summer of 1724 through 1789. This period encompasses the time frame during which the Mission was located within Alamo Plaza. Using this subset of the Table 4-1 data, we summarize burial records by affiliation, sex, and age. This is followed by an exploration of temporal patterns and a consideration of epidemics on Mission Valero populations.

### Tribal/Band/Ethnic Affiliations

A variety of affiliations are recorded for burials associated with the Alamo Plaza location. Numerous spellings are used for those affiliations in Table 4-1. In addition, there are differences between Martínez de Vara (2021) and Gabehart (1995) in attribution, and differences within each source on spelling. There are multiple cases where a given individual was attributed to more than one group. To create large categories for analysis, we used a variety of sources, including Campbell and Campbell (1985), Campbell (1979), and Schuetz (1980:48-60) to combine various listing and spellings. For example, the Xana (n=1), Sana (n=49), and Zana (n=56) were grouped together for analysis and are listed under Zana with a count of 106 individuals. Similarly, our Payaya group (n=129) combines eight different

spellings including Paiiaia (n=16), Paiaya (n=51), Payaia (n=4), Payaya (n= 54), and four other spellings, each with a single individual. While Table 4-1 lists all of the original designations, allowing the reader to create different groups if desired, Table 4-2 presents our combined designations along with the number of individual burials recorded and the overall percentage for each group. Several affiliations had only a single individual represented. These are grouped as “other” and comprise 3.4% of the total. There are also 25 cases of multiple attributions for tribal/ ethnic affiliation. These account for 2.7% of the 937 burials listed in Table 4-2.

Figure 4-1 presents a histogram of those cases that have more than 1% representation. The multiple affiliation group (n=25), the “other” group that is composed of individuals with unique affiliations (n=32), and individuals that have affiliations that make up less than 1% (n=62), have been combined in the figure. While additional combinations may be possible with further research, both the Table 4-2 data and the Figure 4-1 distribution highlight the diverse ethnic/tribal/band character of the Mission Valero populations over its relatively short existence in Alamo Plaza.

### Sex and Age Data

Of the 1,018 burial records associated with the Alamo Plaza locations of Mission Valero, 999 have records or names that can be identified as female or male. Females comprise 51.3% of the burials with determinations, with males accounting for the remaining 48.7%. Age data

Table 4-2. Affiliations of Burials Recorded as Present in Alamo Plaza

<b>Ethnic Affiliation</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Payaya	129	13.8
Coco	109	11.6
Zana	106	11.3
Xarame	82	8.8
Hierbipiamo	59	6.3
Spanish	39	4.2
other	32	3.4
Moruame	28	3
Papanaque	29	3.1
Ypandi	30	3.2
Siaguan	28	3
Multiple Affiliations	25	2.7
Patagu	21	2.2
Lipan	21	2.2
Mayei	20	2.1
Sifame	20	2.1
Tou	19	2
Mesquite	18	1.9
Pamaya	15	1.6
Carancaques	14	1.5
Caguas	11	1.2
Apion	10	1.1
Yojuan	10	1.1
Pazac	7	0.7
Tancaque	7	0.7
African/African Spanish	6	0.6
Zolajan	6	0.6
Mestizo	5	0.5
Menanguen	5	0.5
Pasajo	5	0.5
Peana	4	0.4
Timamar	3	0.3
Pacao	3	0.3
Macona	3	0.3
Mescal	2	0.2
Oreoque	2	0.2
Chana	2	0.2
Jancatagu	2	0.2

exists for 987 burials, with 532 interments classified as “adult” and 455 cases assigned to the “infant/child” group. Detailed breakdowns of age are available for 530 burials,

and 527 of these also have determinations of sex. Table 4-3 presents the female and male distribution of burials relative to age groups. Also shown are adjusted residuals

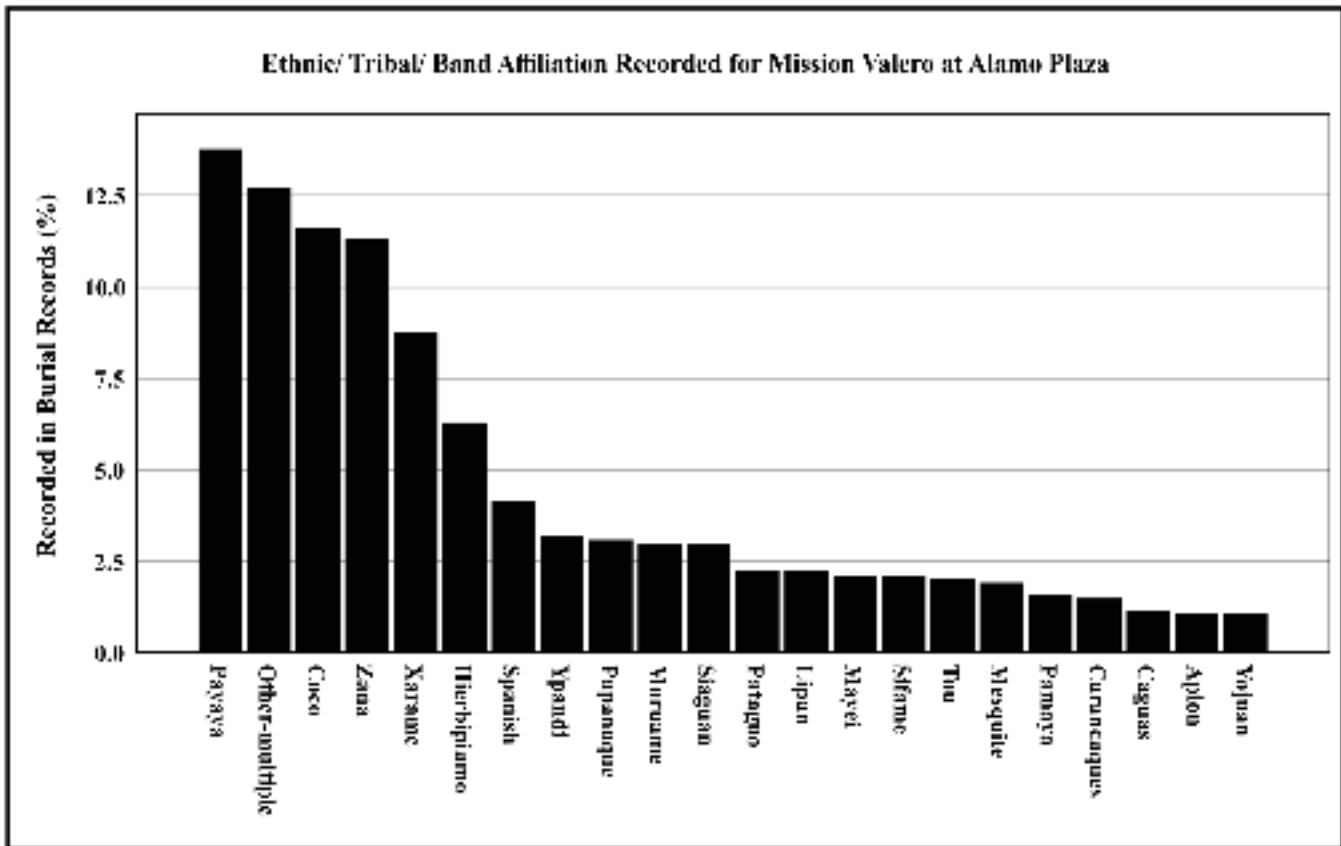


Figure 4-1. Ethnic/ Tribal/ Band affiliation with percentage representations that exceed 1.0% (see Table 4-2).

for the table. As females account for 50% of all the cases with detailed sex identification and age breakdown, if age group and sex are independent, we would expect that in each age group, roughly 50% should be female and 50% should be male. Adjusted residuals provide a measure of the degree to which the observed counts vary from this expectation. They are analogous to Z-scores such that a value greater or lesser than 1.96 indicates that the number of cases in that cell is significantly larger or smaller than would be expected

at the .05 probability level (see Agresti 2002). Examination of Table 4-3 identifies two sets of cells, highlighted in bold, are statistically significant. For the 6-to-12-year age group, males account for 69% of the burials, with females comprising 31%, and for the 35-to-50 age group, females make up 69% of the burials, while males comprise 18%.

As the adjusted residual values with two columns are mirror images, we cannot say which of the two cells is

Table 4-3. Sex Designations by Age Groups

Age of Interred	Female		Male		TOTAL COUNT
	Number	Adjusted Residuals	Number	Adjusted Residuals	
< 1 month	16	-.37	18	.37	34
1 to 12 months	27	-.16	28	.16	55
1 to 6 years	60	-.84	68	.84	128
6 to 12 years	<b>15</b>	<b>-2.74</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2.74</b>	48
12 to 20 years	32	.53	28	-.53	60
20 to 35 years	43	1.35	32	-1.35	75
35 to 50 years	<b>40</b>	<b>3.05</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>-3.05</b>	58
50 years and over	31	-.92	38	.92	69
Totals	264		263		527

driving the overall significance of the row. Figure 4-2, which presents the percentage breakdown for females and males relative to the age groups, is of some use in this regard in that it allows us to look for trends in the data across several related age groups. The figure lines suggest that from birth until the age of 12, male burials exceed females. From 12 through the age of 50, female deaths exceed males. Muñoz and Mauldin (2020), using burial data from the San Fernando Campo Santo have shown that deaths caused by violence are much more common in males, but it is unlikely that this accounts for the differences in the infant/child categories as violent deaths appears to be dominated by adults (Muñoz and Mauldin 2020:63-64). In addition, there is no difference in male and female deaths due to accidents in the Muñoz and Mauldin data. While the reason for the increased male deaths, or, alternately, the decreased female deaths during this age range is not clear, deaths related to immediate and longer-term impacts of childbirth are a likely candidate for the higher adult female deaths.

To consider this in more detail, we tabulated the ages of individuals between 26 and 50 in five-year increments. While this reduces the sample size for several temporal blocks, there are 100 burials in this more restricted data set. Figure 4-3 shows the percentage of female burials in each of the five-year increments, as well as the percentage of female burials in the over 50 group. Note the roughly 30% increase in female burials relative to

males between the 26-to-30 and the 31-to-35 age ranges. There is also higher than expected presence of female burials through age 50, after which male deaths make up a higher percentage. Clearly, a variety of factors may account for this pattern. Without detailed records of the cause of death, which do not exist, we are left to speculate regarding the causes. Note, however, that deaths related to childbirth is a likely candidate, especially for the 31-to-40-year age groups.

### Yearly and Seasonal Patterns in Burials

Figure 4-4 presents the overall pattern by interments reflected in the Table 4-1 data set between 1725 through 1790. There are 1,009 burials with years recorded during this period at Mission Valero, with at least one burial recorded in every year from 1725 through 1782. The highest number of interments was in 1763 when 96 burials were recorded. The average number of burials for years with at least one burial was 16.82. The median value for the 60 years with a death is 12 burials.

A principal impression from Figure 4-4 is the presence of several years with extremely high numbers of burials. These extreme years are 1728 (n=61), 1739 (n=36), 1748 (n=54), 1749 (n=31), 1751 (n=40), 1759 (n=47), and 1763 (96). Each of these years, and the resulting high number of deaths, appears to be associated with epidemics. Although the precise disease is not always

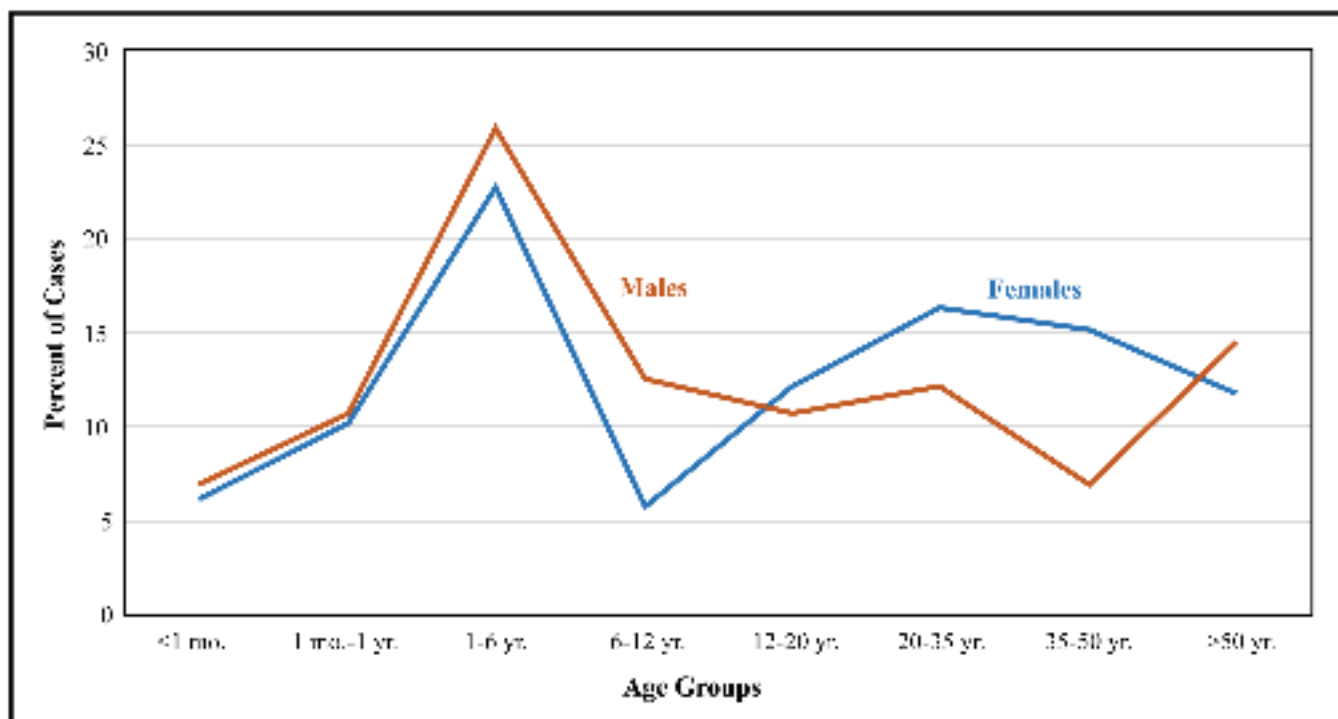


Figure 4-2. Percentage distributions of burials assigned as either male or female by age classes.

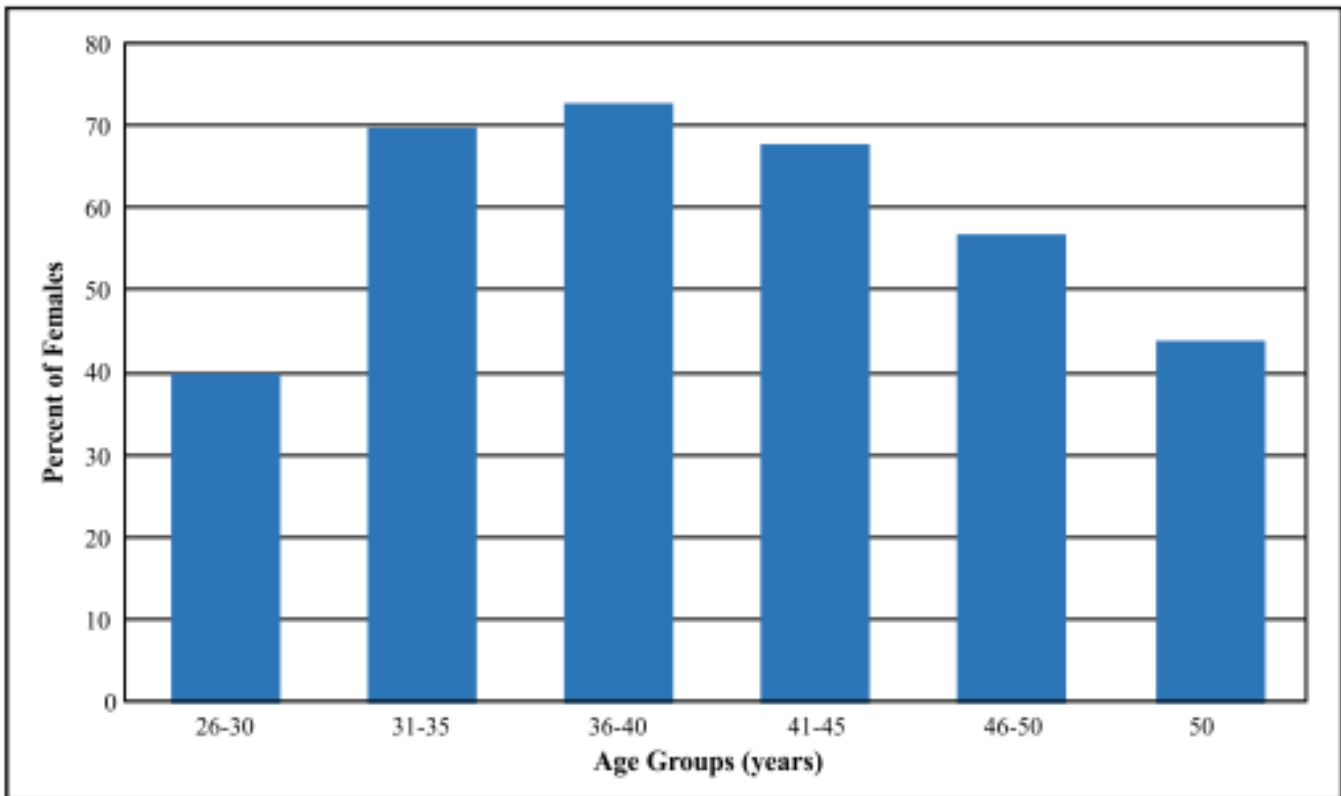


Figure 4-3. Percentage of burials assigned as female within selected age classes.

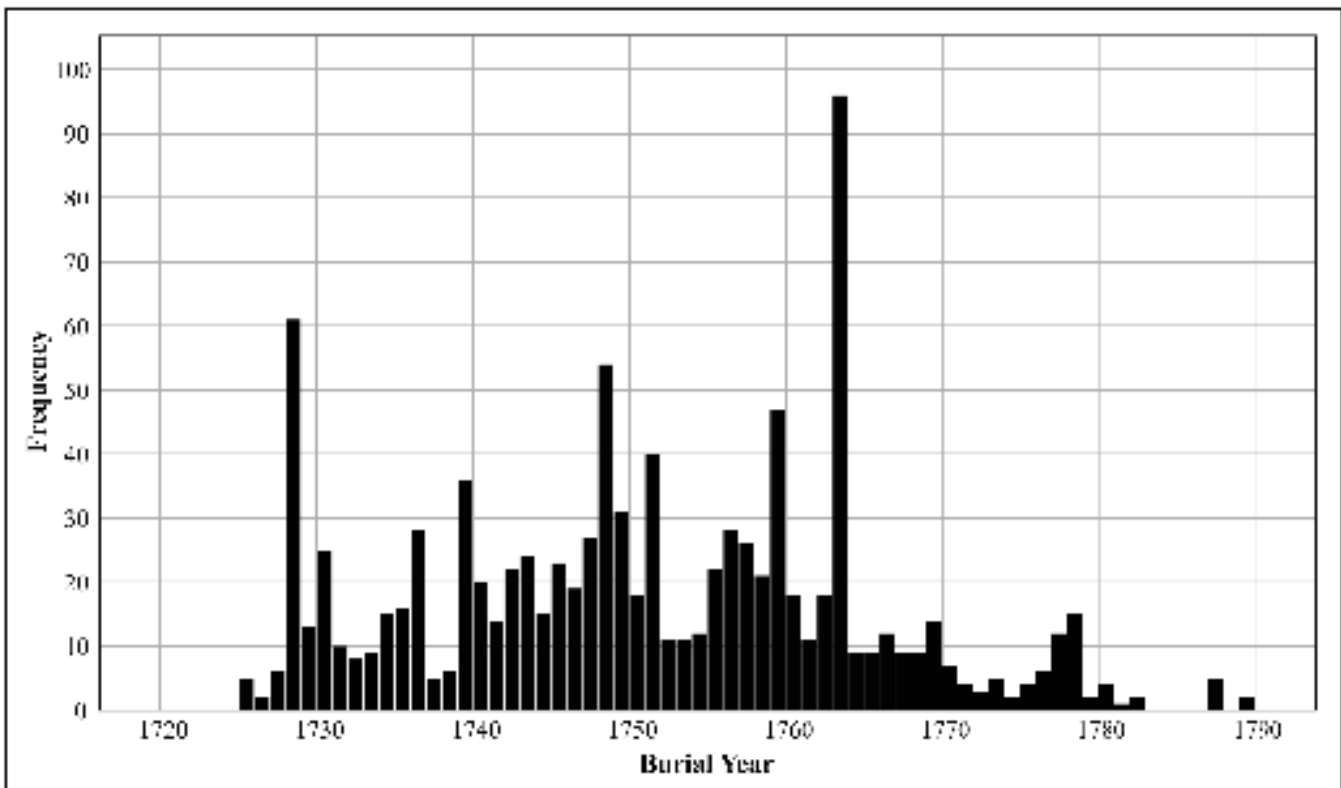


Figure 4-4. Number of burials per year recorded in the Mission Valero burial registry associated with Alamo Plaza locations.

known, smallpox, and possibly measles, have been identified (see Schuetz 1980:61-70), and cholera was also present in the registry (see also Ewers 1973). While not all deaths during these years can be attributed to epidemics, and while there are epidemics noted for other years (e.g., 1736; see Martínez De Vara 2021), burials in these seven extreme years account for 36.2% of all burials in the registry, with an average of 52.1 burials per year. Removing these seven, there were 644 interments in the remaining 53 years with at least one interment, an average of 12.1 burials per year.

A second pattern of note in Figure 4-4 is the fall-off of burials after 1780. Populations were still occupying Mission Valero after this date, with a 1783 census recording 149 persons at Mission Valero (Schuetz 1980: 128; Martínez De Vara 2021). Yet there are no deaths recorded in the records for 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, or 1788. Using the average number of interments for non-epidemic driven years of 12.1 burials per year we would expect at least 60 deaths for these five years, and roughly 145 burials between 1781 and secularization. Rather than use the long-term average, if we simply use the average number of recorded deaths in the previous decade (1770-1779), we would anticipate 72 interments for 1781 through 1792 period. There are 10 recorded. It is probable, then, that somewhere between 62 to 135 individuals are buried at the Mission but missing from the Mission Valero Registry.

Previous research, using more detailed records from the Campo Santo and Old Catholic Cemetery of San Fernando, found strong seasonal patterns reflecting increased deaths attributed to respiratory and infections, as well as gastrointestinal causes, in October, November, and December (Muñoz and Mauldin 2020:57-63). As noted previously, we lack a consistent record of the cause of death for many of the Alamo Plaza burials. Figure 4-5 uses the 1,009 Plaza burials with data on the month of interment to consider the timing of death within a year. Although deaths increase earlier (August) and peak in September rather than October or November, Figure 4-5 shows a broadly similar pattern in seasonal death as was identified by Muñoz and Mauldin (2020).

Figure 4-6 considers these same data but contrasts the pattern of burial month for the 358 individuals recorded in the seven epidemic years with the month of burial for the remaining 651 interments. The pattern in 4-6 suggests that the seasonal deaths shown in Figure 4-5 are driven primarily by deaths during epidemic years, with deaths increasing during August, peaking in September, and remaining high in October.

The impact of epidemics and the seasonal nature of these deaths can be seen more clearly by considering the pattern for 1763. A census from the previous year, 1762, recorded 275 individuals at Mission Valero (Schuetz 1980:128).

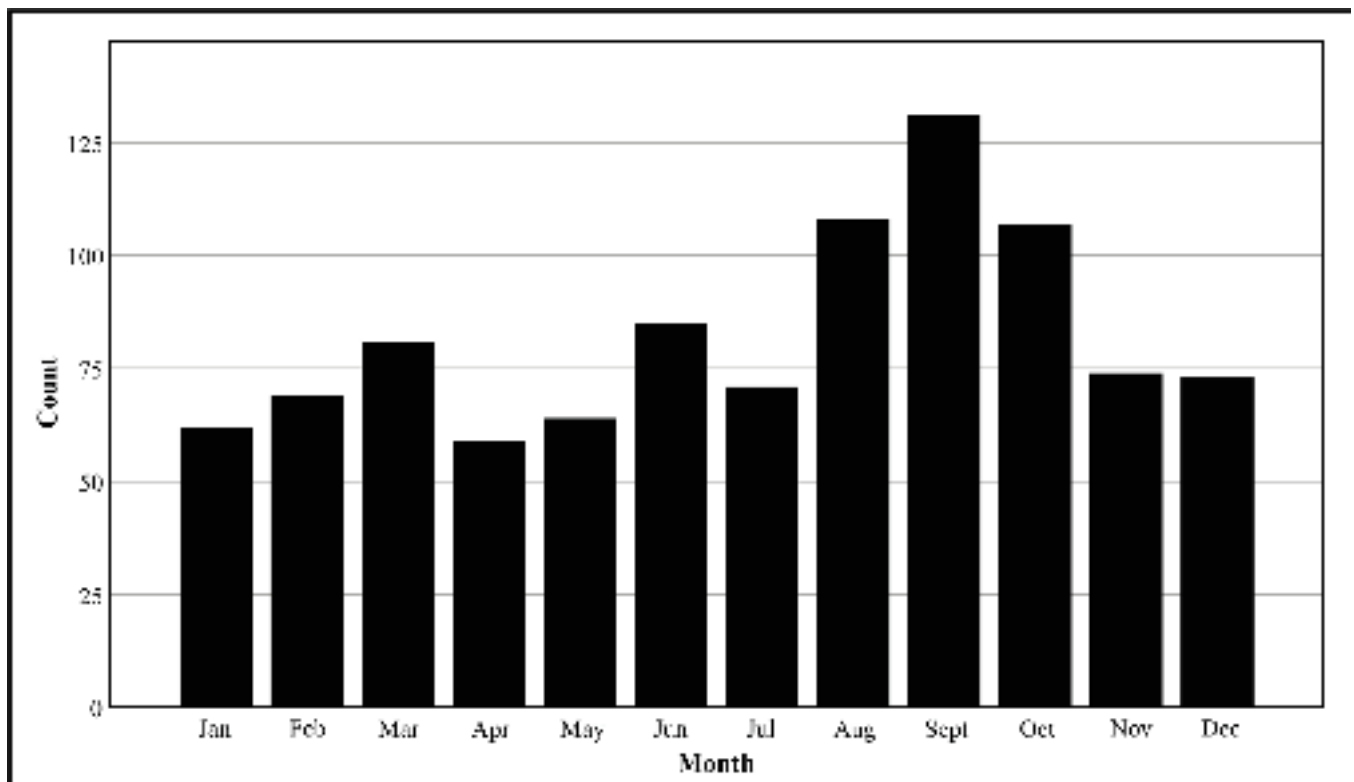


Figure 4-5. Burials by month (n=1009) for all years with data.

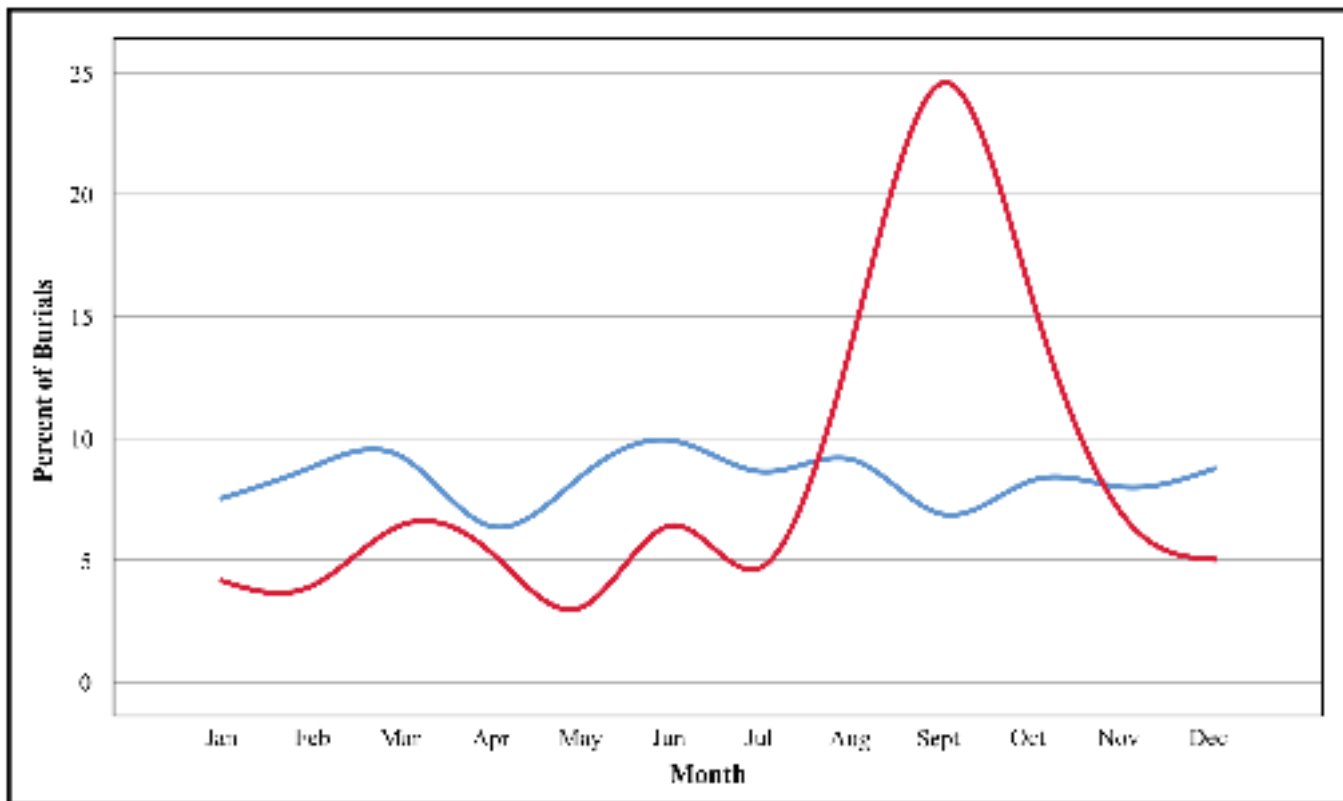


Figure 4-6. Patterns of monthly burials for the seven epidemic years (red line) and 53 non-epidemic years (blue line).

In 1763, 96 individuals, or roughly 35% of the 1762 population, died. Table 4-1 lists months of burial for 92 cases, and in 91 cases, the day of the month is noted. These data show that deaths were concentrated in August and September, with 71 deaths occurring during these two months. Over a 30-day period between August 21st and September 20th, 63 deaths occurred. Seven individuals were buried on August 28th and eight were buried on August 30th. The 15 deaths recorded on these two days exceeded the number of yearly deaths in 34% of all years with recorded deaths at the Mission. Seventy-five percent of the deaths in this 30-day period were adults. Clearly, this level of sickness in a relatively small population would have had a devastating impact on all aspects of life.

interments that year. There are few Coco burials following the 1763 surge, suggesting that the Coco had likely left the Mission. Finally, the distribution of the burials attributed to the Zana is shown in Figure 4-9. There are 105 cases with year of burial recorded. The yearly patterns in the distribution of the Zana burials reflect a somewhat broader time range. They appear to have arrived sometime in the 1740s and maintained a presence, at least at some level, into at least the 1780s. Impacted by the epidemics of the later 1740s, the Zana are represented by only a single burial in the 1763 epidemic.

## Summary

Figure 4-7 through 4-9 consider the yearly patterns of burial for three tribal/band/ethnic affiliations with the highest representations in the burial registry (see Table 4-2). The distribution of the burials attributed to the Payaya, which make up 13.8% of burials with an affiliation, have a similar pattern to that shown previously for all burials with yearly data (Figure 4-4). The highest number of burials follows the epidemic peaks. The pattern for the Coco burials with year designations is quite different (Figure 4-8). This group appears to have been absent from the Mission prior to the mid-1750s, and they were obviously severely impacted by the 1763 epidemic as they accounted for 45 of the

The principal objective of Task 4 of this report was the creation of Table 4-1, a compilation of selected information from the interments recorded in the burial register of Mission Valero. Table 4-1, in a slightly altered form, will eventually be available on-line, using a format searchable by selected variable. The listing of 1,055 entries present in Table 4-1 is not complete. There is compelling evidence to suggest that most of the records after 1781 through secularization in early 1793 are missing. Using various estimates, it appears that an additional 62 to 135 individuals may have been buried at the Mission during this period. While incomplete, the Table 4-1 burial records



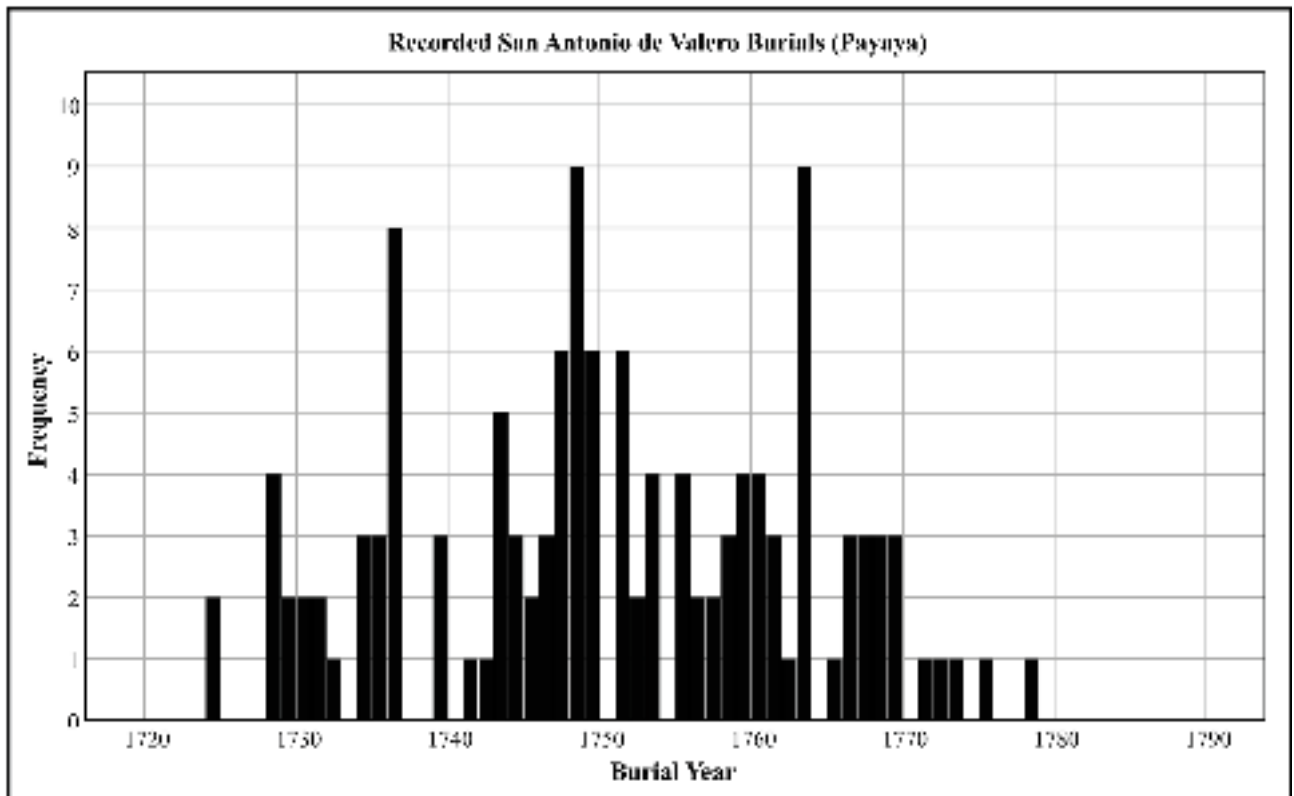


Figure 4-7. Number of burials per year recorded in the Mission Valero burial registry associated with the Payaya from 1725 through 1789 (n=126).

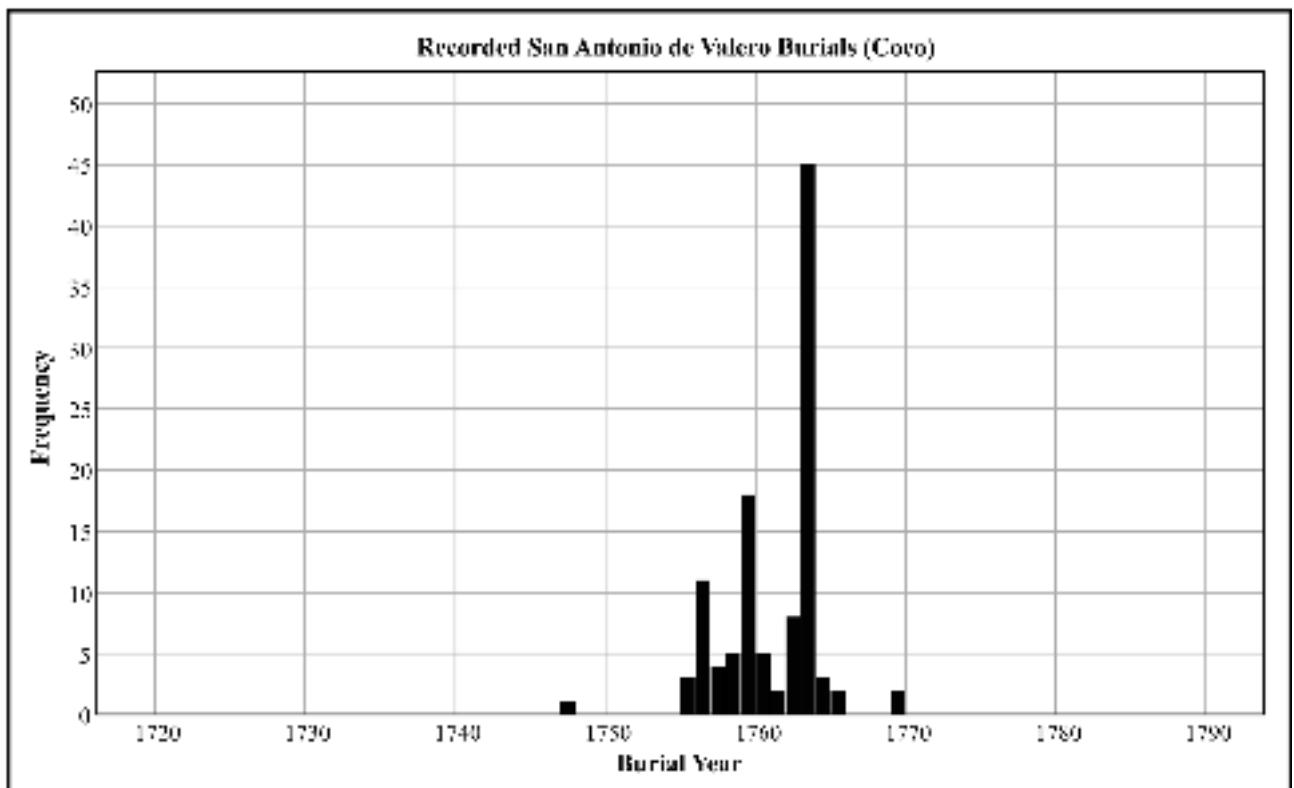


Figure 4-8. Number of burials per year recorded in the Mission Valero burial registry associated with the Coco from 1725 through 1789 (n=109).

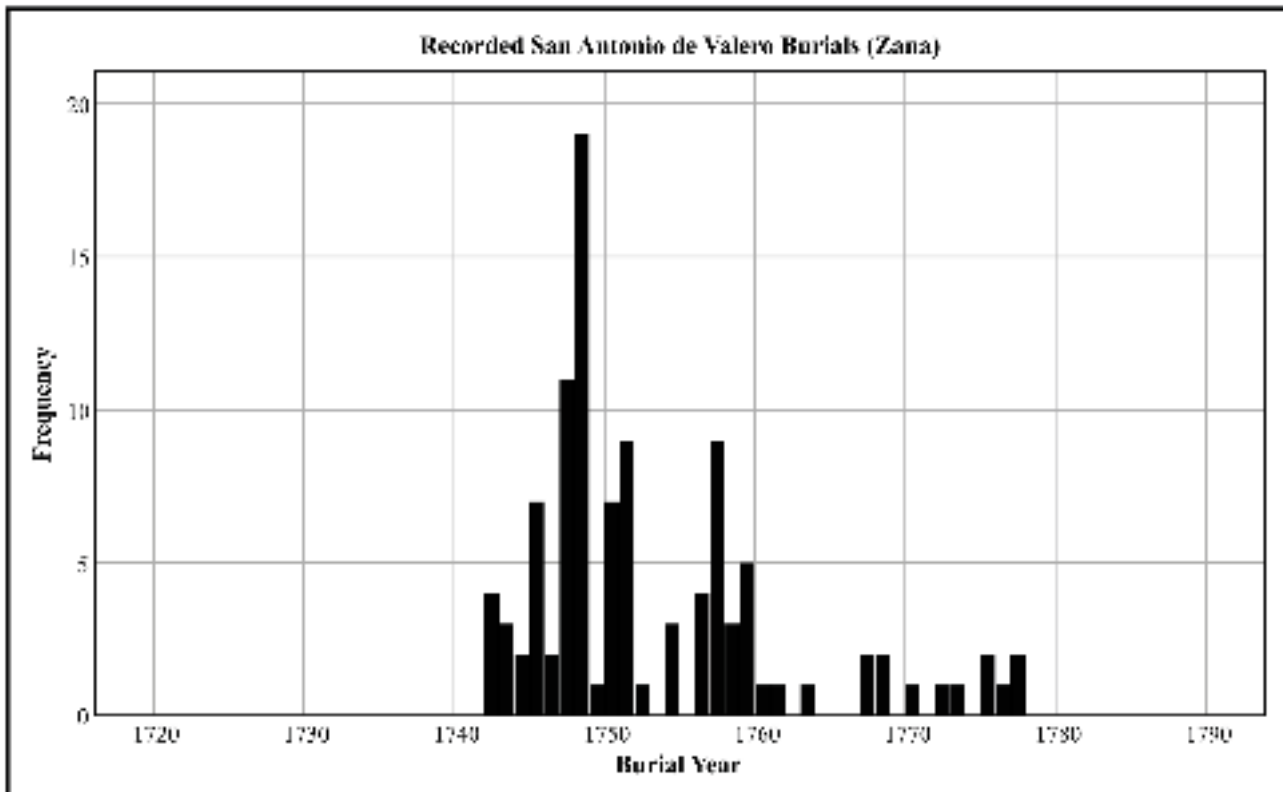


Figure 4-9. Number of burials per year recorded in the Mission Valero burial registry associated with the Zana from 1725 through 1789 (n=105).

provide data for the exploration of several topics, some of which have been explored in our brief summary. We anticipate that with the eventual publication of an English

translation of the Garcia Ruiz and Gragera transcription of the Valero burial records that additional updates to the on-line version of Table 4-1 will be necessary.

## **Chapter 5: The Pueblo de Valero 1793 to 1810 and Barrio de Valero 1811 to 1846**

*Clinton M. M. McKenzie*

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the possibility of human interments occurring at the Mission San Antonio de Valero site following secularization in 1793 to the end of the Mexican Period on April 21, 1836. This discussion focuses on polities that utilized the site during the period: the Pueblo de Valero (1793 to circa 1810); the Barrio de Valero of the Villa de San Fernando (circa 1811 to 1835); and the Compañía Volante de Alamo de Parras, a Spanish and subsequently Mexican military unit headquartered at Valero (1803-1813, 1817-1830 and 1832-1835). The Pueblo de Valero and Alamo de Parras Company had a period of contemporaneous site use between 1803 and circa 1810. After 1810 the Pueblo de Valero ceased to exist and was subsequently referred to as the Barrio de Valero – a neighborhood of the Villa de San Fernando. The Barrio de Valero and Alamo de Parras Company were co-located at and around the old Mission Valero from 1810 to 1830. Between 1830 and 1832 the Alamo de Parras Company was stationed at Fort Tenoxtitlan, before returning to San Antonio again from 1832 to 1836. During these periods the Company continued to utilize the former mission site within the Barrio de Valero.

### **Census Data for the Pueblo de Valero**

Census records of the period provide a picture of a small community around the Pueblo de Valero. Table 5-1 provides the total population as well as Native American population as both a number and percent of total population. Both total population and percentage of Native Americans fluctuate over the period, but Native Americans constitute an average of 37% between 1792 and 1806. The Native American category consists of a combination of both former Mission families as well as new immigrants.

There is both direct and circumstantial archival evidence that burials continued at Valero during the period of the civilian Pueblo de Valero. The evidence in favor of continuing burials is drawn from analysis of period archival documents. The first archival analysis examined declared residence on Spanish census documents compared to the same names as found on burial registers. This comparison permitted the separation of individuals from the Pueblo by parish affiliation and place of interment. Table 5-2, below, provides the names of 33 residents of the Pueblo de Valero who meet the criteria of residence drawn from Spanish census documents and who are also present in the San Fernando Burial records for

the period 1793, the time of the secularization of Mission Valero and the creation of the Pueblo de Valero, to 1825, some fifteen years after the Pueblo ceased to exist and had become the Barrio de Valero. The period spans the important transition of the Pueblo to the Barrio de Valero (circa 1810) and the transition of the San Fernando parish cemetery from the parish church to the new 1808 Campo Santo. The presence of these individuals in the burial records denotes both their membership in the parish of San Fernando and their burial in the parish cemetery in use at that time. The column denoting “Cemetery” provides the specific location of the cemeteries used at the time of the interment.

As discussed in Chapter 1, during the period 1793 to October 31, 1808, San Fernando parish was using the interior of the church, the original Campo Santo immediately outside of its eastern doors, and the sides of the church for interments. The early period of interments for Table 5-2 roughly corresponds to the period of the Pueblo de Valero, 1793 to circa 1810. After November 1, 1808, until sometime in mid to late 1855, the parish buried its dead in the second Campo Santo now located beneath the northern half of Houston Street and block containing Santa Rosa Hospital.

There are several patterns in this data that stand out. The first is that for the early period, 1793 to October of 1808, there is only a single Native American from Valero, Joaquín Cuevas, listed on the burial register of San Fernando. His interment took place in May of 1807, but much like the other San Fernando burials between 1805 and November of 1808, there is no clear burial location provided. Aside from the Joaquín Cuevas entry, there is an absence of Native Americans from Valero in the San Fernando Burial records prior to May of 1807. For the later period, in this case only examining the period from November 1, 1808, to December 31, 1825 (Table 5-2), there are 21 burials of residents of Valero. These are composed of 10 Native Americans and 11 Spaniards. Undoubtedly Native Americans and others at Pueblo de Valero were dying in the early period, but they are not shown in the San Fernando records until May of 1807.

The second pattern that stands out is a clear castas association with the Pueblo de Valero residents’ burials listed between 1793 and the opening of the 1808 Campo Santo. The pattern demonstrates that two caste-based communities worshiped and buried their dead at two different locations. Except for Joaquín Cuevas, all of the dead from the Pueblo de Valero in the early period are listed as Spanish, Flemish, or European. This indicates that social caste considerations explain the

Table 5-1 Population of Pueblo de Valero and Percentage of Native American Population 1792-1808

Pueblo de Valero	1792	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1804	1806	1808
Total Pop	97	166	103	122	139	115	122	106	153
Native American	39	59	45	30	77	58	25	24	N/A
% Nat. Am.	40%	36%	44%	25%	55%	50%	20%	23%	N/A

presence of higher caste Spaniards and those of European decent in the San Fernando records and the absence of Native Americans. These otherwise racial distinctions appear to relate to preexisting preferences of Pueblo residents rather than obvious racial bias, as the Spaniard Vicente Amador was governor of the Pueblo for 13 years from 1796 until 1809. Likewise, many of the Spanish and European residents of the Pueblo de Valero regularly appear in the marriage and baptismal records as witnesses for Native American marriages and as godparents for infant Native American children. More simply put, the records indicate the majority of the two caste-defined communities preferred to worship where they had always worshipped – the Native Americans at the old mission and most non-Native Americans at San Fernando parish. There are exceptions to this general rule, the previously mentioned Cuevas for example, and Pedro de los Angeles Charli, a Frenchman, who was a barber and carpenter for the Valero community in both the Mission and post-Mission period. Charli obtained the carpenter’s shop at the southwest corner of the fortified Valero compound in 1785 along with land and a house (Béxar County Deed Records, May 25, 1785, G1:1). Pedro de los Angeles Charli and his family worshipped at Valero, his children were baptized there, and at the time of his death in 1805 he specifically requested burial in the church at Valero (Valero Baptismal entries: No. 1545, August 20, 1774, godfather to Francisco Parilla; No. 1569, June 14, 1779, father, baptism of María Concepcion de los Angeles Charli; BCA Microfilm Roll 7, Wills & Estates, pp.201-207).

The absence of Pueblo de Valero Native American burials, along with a handful of non-Native Americans, in the San Fernando records in the 1793-1808 period appears to be accounted for in a second archival document. In 1802, immediately following the preface to a new burial register for the parish of San Fernando, two notations were made by the parish priest Padre Gavino Valdez concerning burials for the Pueblo de Valero as well as for soldiers and their families. Figure 5-1 is a black-on-white reverse image (for clarity’s sake) of the actual entries made by Padre Valdez taken from microfilm of the San Fernando Burial Register. A Spanish transcription and English translation follow immediately below.

The Gavino Valdez document is subject to interpretation. What is apparent from the text is that there were at least two burial registers—the one in which he placed these *notas* and

a second separate register for the Pueblo de Valero. Further, that in the San Fernando register he was going to denote the “...soldiers and their families...” by placing an “S” for *soldado* in the margin. The question is whether the presence of a second book for the Pueblo de Valero provides evidence of a separate burial ground from the parish of San Fernando. Logically, if the Pueblo residents were being buried by and at San Fernando, then Father Valdez could have made the same sort of notation or distinction as was made for the soldiers and their families by marking them with a “P” for example. Further, we know from the review of both the census records and from the extant San Fernando burial registers, that only some members of the the Pueblo de Valero are recorded for San Fernando parish while others are not recorded in those registers. Two distinct sub-communities are present at the Pueblo de Valero and these separate based on personal choice and castas status. Former Mission residents and *Veciños* like the Charli family are generally not accounted in San Fernando baptismal, marriage, or burial registers, while Spanish and former Villa de San Fernando residents of the Pueblo de Valero continue to remain at the parish of San Fernando and are recorded in the parish registers. This implies that while there is the 1802 Valdez *nota* that clearly states there is a separate burial book for the Pueblo de Valero, it also strongly suggests that there were also separate baptismal and marriage registers for the Pueblo just as there were separate books for marriages, baptisms and funerals for the Alamo de Parras Company. A cursory review of San Fernando records by the author indicates the same patterning for baptisms and marriages as for burials – that former Mission residents are almost entirely absent from San Fernando parish registers. This separate book of burials, as well as the implication of the possible existence of baptismal and marriage records, is not currently a part of the Archdiocesan archives and it is not known if these documents are still extant. Further research on this topic in the various archives in Mexico may produce these records and provide greater insight on the names, numbers, and place of baptism, marriage and burial for the diverse community of people that comprised the Pueblo de Valero.

Based on Padre Valdez’ statement concerning a burial book for the Pueblo de Valero, as well as the analysis of both census and San Fernando registers, it appears that the Native American families, and others like the Pedro Carlos de los Angeles Charli family, continued to inter their dead at the former mission where their ancestors were buried.

Table 5-2. Residents of Valero and Place of Interment 1793-1825

<b>Surname, First Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Caste</b>	<b>Month</b>	<b>Day</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Cemetery</b>
Hidalgo, Gaspar	56	European	Apr	4	1793	San Fernando Church
Amador, María Joséfa	34	Spanish	Aug	22	1795	San Fernando Church
Berban, Antonia	52	Spanish	Jun	18	1797	San Fernando Church
Fragoso, José Manuel	6 days	Spanish	Apr	19	1797	San Fernando Church
Gortari, Miguel Antonio	36	Spanish	Oct	14	1797	San Fernando Church
Fragoso, José Luciano	7	Spanish	Jan	13	1799	San Fernando Church
Castro, Isabel de	78	Spanish	Aug	24	1799	San Fernando Church
Losoya, Manuela	36	Spanish	Aug	3	1799	San Fernando Church
Lara, Manuela de	80	Spanish	Mar	8	1802	San Fernando Church
Posos, Catarina	18	Mestiza	Apr	2	1802	San Fernando Church
Banul, Manuela	70	Flemish	Aug	13	1803	San Fernando Church
Cuevas, Joaquin	40	Indian	May	11	1807	Unknown
Hinojosa, José María	1	Indian	Dec	3	1808	1808 Campo Santo
Cuevas, Dolores	Adult	Indian	Oct	20	1809	1808 Campo Santo
Losoya, José Barnadino	8 days	Spanish	May	22	1809	1808 Campo Santo
Cortez, Juan de Dios	65	Indian	Jan	18	1812	1808 Campo Santo
Ramirez, Manuela	35	Indian	Jun	26	1812	1808 Campo Santo
Alcantar, Juan Polonio	UNK	Indian	Apr	3	1812	1808 Campo Santo
Losoya, María del Refugio	4 months	Spanish	Feb	28	1812	1808 Campo Santo
Cuevas, Juan José	Adult	Indian	Jul	24	1813	1808 Campo Santo
Losoya, José Antonio	Child	Spanish	Feb	11	1813	1808 Campo Santo
Fragoso, José	Adult	Spanish	Mar	12	1814	1808 Campo Santo
Losoya, José Teodoro	Child	Spanish	Dec	27	1814	1808 Campo Santo
Alcantar, Pedro Nolasco	1 week	Indian	Feb	6	1816	1808 Campo Santo
Losoya, Manuel	Child	Spanish	Jan	14	1816	1808 Campo Santo
Alcantar, Eugenio	2 months	Indian	May	28	1817	1808 Campo Santo
Losoya, Angel	Adult	Spanish	May	1	1817	1808 Campo Santo
Amador, José	45	Spanish	Sep	20	1818	1808 Campo Santo
Cuevas, María	Child	Indian	Mar	14	1819	1808 Campo Santo
Amador, Vicente	76	Spanish	Jun	27	1820	1808 Campo Santo
Gortary, María Ignacia	Child	UNK	Jul	8	1822	1808 Campo Santo
Cuevas, María Petra	35	Indian	Sep	28	1824	1808 Campo Santo
Losoya, María Concepción	Adult	Spanish	Sep	24	1825	1808 Campo Santo
Losoya, Matiana	34	Spanish	Oct	1	1825	1808 Campo Santo

Another factor supporting the contention is that by 1800 the ground beneath the San Fernando parish church as well as the original Campo Santo were fast becoming too full to accept many burials. Governor Cordero made the statement that "...in September 1805, the bishop ...provided that the parish church should not be used for some time because of its stench...from the corpses that were superficially and carelessly buried in the parish church" (Cordero 1807). With

sacred ground at a premium, it suggests that Pueblo de Valero burials in the consecrated ground at the former mission mitigated overcrowding at San Fernando.

While the location of the cemetery during the Pueblo de Valero period is not specified, in his Last Will and Testament of 1805 Pedro de los Angeles specifically stated "I direct that my body be buried in the church of this mission with

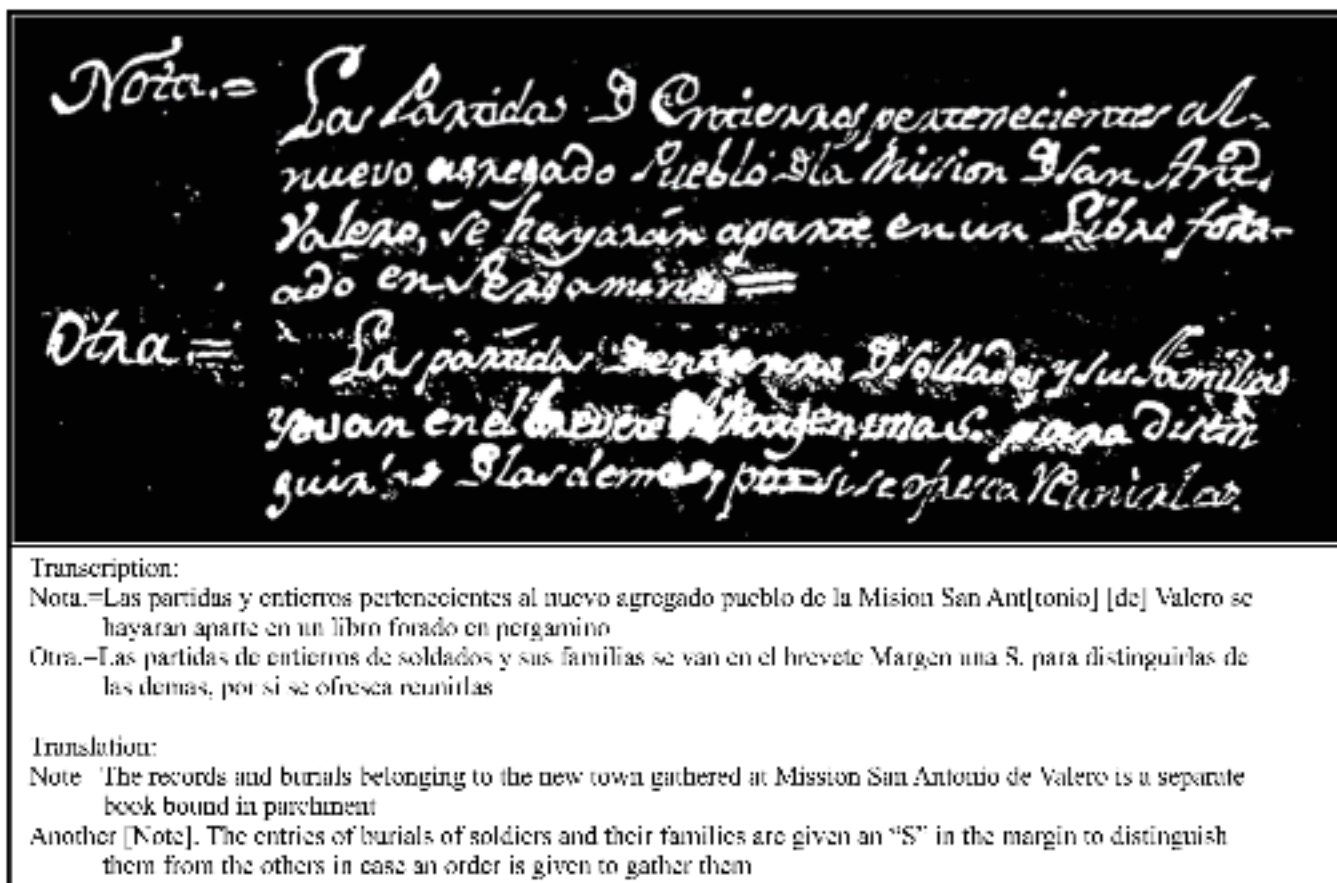


Figure 5-1. The 1802 San Fernando Burial Register, page 2, Notas (Notes) by Father Gavino Valdez.

whatever shroud and funeral ceremony may appear most fitting to my executors” (BCA Microfilm Roll 7, Wills & Estates, p.204). The Pedro de los Angeles will further demonstrates that burials were taking place at Valero and that at least some of them were being made inside the church. The space utilized as a church at this time was the former sacristy of the stone chapel so it appears that he might have been buried within that space.

There is a second will and testament from 1834 that petitioned for burial at Valero. María Manuela de la Peña (Juana Maria Antonia Josefa Manuela de la Peña) was a 68-year-old woman who stated in her will that “I declare that my funeral shall be in the San Antonio de Valero Church, if the civil authorities permit it...” (BCSA WE 92 de la Peña May 12, 1834:1 ). She subsequently died of dysentery on May 18, 1834, but according to the records she was buried in the 1808 Campo Santo rather than at Valero. The de la Peña will demonstrates two important considerations. First, it documents that as late as 1834, individuals who had long associations with the former mission and/or former Pueblo de Valero continued to want to be buried at that location. The second consideration is that the will indicates that by 1834 the custom of burial at Mission Valero apparently had ceased and that permission for such a request resided not with San

Fernando or with the Alamo de Parras Company, but with the civil authorities of the Villa. It is clear from the San Fernando burial records that after 1808 the majority, if not all, of the residents of the former mission and pueblo were being buried at the 1808 Campo Santo. This may account for the apparent fact that María Manuela’s request was not granted and that she was instead interred at the parish burial ground.

### Census Data for the Alamo de Parras Company

An idea of the size of the garrison and their dependents can be derived from the four extant census records we have for the community between 1803 and 1809, with an average population of 279 over that period (Table 5-3). Between the Pueblo de Valero and the San Carlos de Parras community, an average of 406 persons lived in and around the former Mission Valero site, with the majority (average 68%) from the Alamo de Parras community.

Review of the Alamo de Parras baptismal records indicates that at least one or more of the Native Americans remaining from the Mission period subsequently joined the military company. An 1805 baptismal record lists María Cesaria Ysabel Cuevas as the baptisand, her mother as Juana María Flores, her father as José Cuevas “...a soldier of this company”

(SCDP Baptismal record number 24, November 6, 1805). The marriage of the parents occurred at Mission de Valero in 1785 (SADV Marriage Record No. 382). Juan José Cuevas was the child of Anselmo Cuevas, an Ypandi (Lipan Apache) and Rosa María Reyes, described as a *mulata*. Both Anselmo and Juan José Cuevas, as well as Juan José’s brother José Joaquin Cuevas, are listed on the 1793 list of Indian wards of Mission Valero (López & Puente January 17, 1793). In addition to the Juan José Cuevas entry, there are other items within the Alamo de Parras baptismal records that suggest that several civilian members of the Pueblo de Valero, both Native American and non-Native American were baptized. Further research using the Alamo de Parras, Mission San Antonio de Valero, Pueblo de Valero and San Fernando church archival records will be necessary to more fully document the interchange between the military company and the civilian pueblo and the choice by former mission inhabitants to join the military company.

**Funerals and Burials of the Alamo de Parras Company**

Like the troops who garrisoned the Presidio San Antonio de Béxar across the river, those stationed at the Alamo were considered an independent polity. The Alamo de Parras Company had their own parish and services were performed by supply priests from San Fernando within the former mission church sacristy (Habig 1968:70-71; Leal, trans. 1979:34). In the case of the Alamo de Parras Company, they also maintained separate parochial records until 1825 (baptisms, marriages, and burials) and military administrative records until 1835 (garrison reports and census reports). *The Baptismals of the Children of the Military Company of San Carlos de Parras* survives in the Catholic Archdiocesan Archives and each of the baptismal entries in that record book is signed by the officiating priest from San Fernando. While only the baptismal records remain, marriages and funerals also took place within the San Carlos parish church of Santiago y San José. A series of communications in late 1818 between Governor Antonio María Martínez, Father José Darío Zambrano of San Fernando, and Chaplain José Antonio Valdez documents that Masses were celebrated at Valero under the administration of the priests of San

Fernando (BCA Roll 2:549, December 27, 1818, Martínez to Zambrano; BCA Roll 2:551, December 28, 1818, Zambrano to Martínez). Concerning funerals and burials, the period between April of 1803 when the Company arrived at Valero and until the opening of the new Campo Santo on November 1, 1808, all interments within the parish would most likely have taken place at the former mission on account of both the military and civilian cemeteries already being too full to accommodate more bodies.

While it appears that military burials (Alamo de Parras, Presidio de Béxar and Militia) after November of 1808 occurred at the new Campo Santo de San Fernando, there is at least one archival account of a military interment within the stone chapel at Valero (Church 3 at Valero site 3). Retired military officer and former Governor of Coahuila Antonio Elozúa was buried in the Alamo Chapel on November 17, 1833 (Béxar Archives, November 18, 1833, Report on the death of Elozúa, 159:0260-0261; Leal 1975:65, Burial Entry #1533, 17 November 1833; Benavides 1989:295; The New Handbook of Texas, Volume 2:844-845). The number and place of military burials for the Alamo de Parras Compañía at the site of Valero are currently unknown; however, the Campo Santo/cemetery denoted on the 1835 and 1840 Sanchez Navarro maps immediately west of the former mission chapel (Church 3 at Valero site 3) may be that associated with the Alamo de Parras Company – who would have been present and able to maintain such a cemetery during the period of their occupation from 1803-1830 and again from 1832 to 1835. Sanchez-Navarro could have seen that a cemetery was present at both the Siege of Béxar in November-December 1835 as well as the battle of the Alamo in February and March of 1836 and noted it as such on his map as a result.

**Potential Burials Associated with the Siege of Béxar–November to December 1835**

Bustamante’s insistence on saving the mission buildings for military quarters provided General Perfecto de Cos with a fortifiable position for the Siege of Béxar in November and December of 1835, and they then served as the locus for the siege and Battle of the Alamo in March of 1836

Table 5-3. Total Population, Combined Total Population, and Percentage of Population

<b>Populations and Percentages</b>	<b>1804</b>	<b>1806</b>	<b>1808</b>
San Carlos de Parras Total Population*	305	245	254
Pueblo de Valero Total Population	122	106	153
Total Population Parras + Pueblo	427	351	407
Percent of Total from Alamo de Parras	71%	70%	62%
Percent of Total from Pueblo de Valero	29%	30%	38%
*Average of population census values for Alamo de Parras between 1803/1805, 1805/1807 and 1807/1809 to match the Valero census periods of 1804, 1806 and 1808.			

(Barr 1990:16; Green 1952:29). General Cos had fortified both the Main and Military Plazas on the west bank of the San Antonio River, east of the San Pedro Creek, as well as the former mission in his preparations for the Siege of B exar (Barr 1990:13).

Following the December 4, 1835, capitulation of General C os, the Texian insurgents invested the Alamo fort and installed their wounded in the former Alamo de Parras hospital in the old mission convento. Surgeon Albert M. Levy compiled a list of the wounded from the siege dated December 5th to 10th, 1835, and listed 23 persons, two of whom were noted as having “mortal wounds” along with the further notation that “the 2 reported Mortal have since died – the rest are all doing well” (Levy 1835 –List). The two who died were Lieutenant John Cook and George Alexander (no rank noted). On the Mexican side of the battle, there is a single December 5, 1835, entry in the San Fernando burial records for Mexican Army Sargent Felipe Salazar, who served in the Morelos battalion, and “... died of wounds from the Battle of Mission Concepci n” (Leal 1976:69, translation of burial entry 1559, December 5, 1835). There is also an entry for a natural death for December 26, 1835, so civilian burials were also continuing to occur in the Catholic Campo Santo of San Fernando. Since both deceased Texians were likely Protestants, and neither are listed in the San Fernando Burial register, both men were likely interred in one of two locations, outside of the walls of the 1808 Campo Santo or on-site at the Alamo fort. In both cases the specific location of the graves is unknown.

### **The Public Burying Ground**

In 1835 the only officially sanctioned burial grounds were those available to the Roman Catholic dead at the former mission site, and for the Villa de San Antonio de B exar, within the walls of the 1808 Campo Santo. As mentioned in Chapter 3, non-Catholics were barred from interment in Catholic cemeteries, without exception (confer the denial by Father Rosati to permit Moses and Mary Austin burial in the Catholic cemetery, Rosati 1830). Further, it was not until the Republic period that any Christian denomination other than Catholic could operate anywhere within the borders of the Spanish or Mexican Texas as the Spanish monarchy was Catholic and Catholicism the state religion. Non-Catholics simply had no dedicated space for interment and what references we have for non-Catholic burial demonstrate their exclusion from catholic burial grounds, albeit often with their burials in adjacent non-consecrated ground (CCJMB April 8. 1848 A:135-136; GDN, 22 February 1880:4; Maverick 1921:30).

In San Antonio, archival documents clearly indicate that non-Catholics were being buried outside of the 1808 Campo Santo even prior to the deaths of Lt. Cook and Mr. Alexander in December of 1835 (Levy 1835). Knowledge of these poorly documented early burials derives from several sources. The first source is the corpus of documents that relate to the expansion of the 1808 Campo Santo that occurred in 1848 and as more fully discussed in Chapter 3 (CCJMB April 8. 1848 A:133, 135-136). That expansion pushed the limits of the San Fernando Campo Santo to include the entire four acres of the block that is now Santa Rosa Children’s Hospital. At the same time that the new “Catholic Cemetery” was created, the City also officially created a Public or City Cemetery of the same four-acre size adjacent to the south-what now constitutes Milam Park.

### **Burials Related to the Siege and Battle of the Alamo March 1836**

The San Fernando Burial Registry has two entries for combatants who died in the Battle of the Alamo or subsequently from wounds. Irineo Guerrero, from San Luis Potosi, Mexico, and Jos e Mar a Torres. Both were Mexican soldiers interred on March 6, 1836, with their cause of death listed as “from wounds in the battle of the Alamo” (Leal 1975:70, burial entries 1563a and 1564). The subject of burials directly associated with the iconic battle is also addressed in several other locations within the report, in particular the calvarium recovered from an apparent defensive trench remnant along the north wall (Ivey and Fox 1997); the numerous archival accounts discussed in Chapter 6; as well as the discussion on the funeral pyres in Chapter 7. These are not readdressed here, other than to state that the possibility of complete or partial interments associated with that event are entirely possible.

On a final note, the period 1836 to 1846 represents the decade between the destruction of the Alamo as a fort and the occupation of the buildings by the U. S. Army Quartermaster’s Corp in 1846-1847. During this period the former mission site was surrounded on the west, south and to the east with small houses and landholders. Many of these property owners are listed in the San Fernando records during this period, making it clear that they are utilizing that parish and the 1808 Campo Santo for burial. The possibility of an interment on the former third site of Mission Valero is possible, but there is no definitive archival evidence currently that documents any burials there during the period 1837-1846.



## **Chapter 6: Archival Review of Previously Reported Burials**

*Clinton M. M. McKenzie*

This section of the report addresses both primary and secondary archival accounts of encounters with human remains, or presumed encounters with human remains. The scope of the review is limited temporally, geographically, and topically. Temporally, the review focuses on reports of human remains that are assumed or presumed to be associated with the historical period 1724 to 1836. This corresponds to the use of the site as Mission San Antonio de Valero from 1724 to 1792; the Pueblo de Valero from 1793 to circa 1810; the Alamo de Parras Regiment from 1803 to 1830 and 1832-1836. The review also includes the potential for interments related to the Siege of B exar in November/December 1835 as well as the potential for human remains associated with the Battle of the Alamo in February and March of 1836. Geographically, the review is limited to the former third site of Mission Valero and areas immediately adjacent and conforms to the project boundaries shown previously in Figure 1-1. Topically, only reports from newspapers, journals, or archaeological reports of actual or presumed encounters are discussed. In some instances, there are both newspaper as well as archaeological reports related to the same encounter. In such cases, both are reported on as they are independent accounts. Further, the accounts reported here represent the first instance of each account, rather than a derivative account. For example, while both Texas and national newspapers often reprinted a story that first ran in a San Antonio paper, those accounts are derivative of the first report, and oftentimes printed verbatim. Human remains not considered in this section include the disposition of the cremated remains of the Alamo defenders or later cemeteries not associated with Alamo Plaza, such as those along Commerce Street (see Hinds, Chapter 7).

The review examines primary and secondary sources, chiefly newspapers and journals followed by a group of archaeological publications. Only published accounts that specifically report on human remains within the geographic boundaries of this study are examined. By primary accounts or sources, we specifically mean firsthand contemporaneous accounts of events, reporting by firsthand witnesses or in sources such as diaries, notes, journals, or maps. Secondary accounts are secondhand accounts of primary sources. Primary accounts are contemporaneous or eyewitness accounts of events, while secondary accounts are interpretations, analyses or conjectures based on primary and/or other secondary accounts. Examples of secondary accounts or sources would include non-contemporaneous print accounts referring to past events such as non-contemporaneous newspaper accounts, books, academic or journal articles, and reference books. Primary accounts have greater value than secondary sources or unattributed secondary accounts. Unattributed accounts

are sometimes referred to as “hearsay.” While hearsay has a specific definition as it relates to legal proceedings, for non-legal purposes it simply connotes information provided by one person to another absent supporting evidence.

In addition to the caveat of privileging primary accounts over secondary or hearsay accounts, another caveat applies to evaluating the veracity or accuracy of written reports. In the case of newspaper reporting, the written account is the interpretation or understanding of events as written by the journalist. This does not de facto mean that the report is suspect or intentionally incorrect. Rather, it means that newspaper and journal reports are subject to errors on any number of accounts. Some examples of such errors include incorrect information provided to the reporter; a misunderstanding by the reporter of the information conveyed; or some other confusion of time, persons and events. As a result, in evaluating newspaper and journal accounts, it is incumbent on the user to determine the accuracy and/or probability of the account to be true – or substantially true – based on other contemporary corroborating primary accounts. Often this is easily accomplished; however, in some instances there may be only a single primary or secondary source that has no other supporting accounts. These singular instances require the reader to use their best judgement as to the accuracy, reliability, and veracity of the reported information, or to recognize the differing interpretations possible from an account.

Fundamentally, the point made by this discussion (on primary and secondary sources and caveats related to assessing the accuracy and validity of such accounts) is that written accounts cannot be assumed accurate absent evaluation using other primary sources and informed judgement. Accounts are subject to incorrect information, misunderstood information, exaggeration, inflation, and in some cases complete fabrication. The review of archival documents in this section attempts to use additional archival records to validate or substantiate each article when and where possible. However, in many instances, the accounts have no corroborating support.

The organization of this review is chronological. For each archival account a unique number was assigned corresponding to that event. All these events are numbered in Tables 6-1 (newspaper and journal accounts) and continued in Table 6-2 (archaeological report accounts). The tables provide the date of the account, the source citation, article title, and reported location. Table 6-2 includes a column for association (if any) with accounts in Table 6-1. For each event or event group, there is a narrative discussion. In most cases there are multiple articles as well as archaeological report(s) related

Table 6-1. Reports of Human Remains

Rec	Year	Month	Day	Cite	Article Title
1	1847	-	-	A	A Narrative of Military Experiences in Several Capacities
2	1878	Apr	2	B	Some Quiet Old Citizens Turned Up at the Alamo
3	1880	Apr	23	D	State News (column)
4	1935	Aug	25	E	Bantam Officer Wants Tough Job
5	1883	Sep	17	F	David Crockett's Skeleton
6	1883	Nov	9	F	Remains Dug Up
7	1887	Dec	12	G	Who Were They?
8	1895	Nov	24	H	A Skull with a History
9	1907	Jan	30	G	"City News" (column) "Unearth Bones"
10	1908	Jun	24	F	May Be Alamo Heroes' Bones
11	1908	Jul	31	F	Bones of Skeleton Unearthed
12a	1912	Jan	24	F	Skeleton Unearthed Near Post office
12b	1912	Jan	25	C	Unearth Human Bones
13	1920	Feb	14	I	Human Bones, Believed to Be Those of Texas Heroes, Are Unearthed Near Alamo
14	1934	Jul	17	E	Bones Found Near Wall of Alamo Believed Remains of Defender Who Lost Life in Siege 98 Years Ago
15a	1935	Aug	6	E	Movers of Tree Find Aged Bones
15b	1935	Aug	8	F	Study Skull Finds at P.O.
15c	1935	Aug	8	E	Catholics May Rebury Bones
15d	1935	Aug	9	F	P. O. Excavation Taken Over by Church
15e	1935	Aug	9	E	Church To Rebury Post Office Bones
15f	1935	Aug	11	E	700 Interred at Post office Records Show
15g	1935	Aug	12	E	Post office Bones from Battle, He Still Contends
15h	1935	Aug	18	E	Post office Site Mexican Troops' Burial Ground
15i	1935	Aug	20	E	Excavator Denies Bones of Soldiers
15j	1935	Sep	1	E	Pioneer Says Bones Were Texan Heroes
16a	1937	Jan	5	G	Diggers Find Bones of 3 Martyrs in Alamo Chapel
16b	1937	Jan	6	E	Texas University Museum Curator Asked to Shed Light on Bones of Four Found in Alamo Chapel
17	1979	Mar	29	E	Skull Unearthed
18	1993	Feb	14	E	Secret Skull in Alamo Wall
19	1995	Feb	15	I	Alamo Chapel excavation uncovers buried remains
20a	2019	Oct	12	I	Finding of bones could halt archaeological work at Alamo
20b	2019	Oct	15	I	Activist urges Alamo work be slowed down
20c	2019	Dec	17	I	Bones could hinder Alamo makeover
20d	2020	Apr	26	I	Buried remains to be exhumed at Alamo

Alpha	Source-Citation	Alpha	Source-Citation
A	Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society	F	San Antonio Light
B	Galveston Daily News	G	San Antonio Daily Light
C	San Antonio Daily Express	H	Sunday Light
D	Brenham Weekly Express	I	San Antonio Express News
E	San Antonio Express		

to the same event(s). When articles related to the same event do not provide new information, they are simply cited in the narrative rather than individually described. In cases where there are multiple articles on the same event that contain new, additional, or contradictory information, they have been included using the same unique event number but with the addition of an alpha designation, e.g., 14a, 14b and 14c. A short summary closes the chapter.

## **Newspaper and Journal Accounts of Burials**

### **Report 1 – 1846 to 1847 - Earthen Ramp in Alamo Chapel**

The earliest archival report of human remains encountered at the Alamo date to 1846-1847. Edward Everett was a member of Company A of the First Illinois Volunteers, having enlisted upon the outbreak of the Mexican-American War. While serving as Sergeant of the patrol guard in San Antonio, Everett suffered a debilitating wound to his knee that prevented his deployment to Mexico (Ahlborn 1985). He was subsequently appointed the Assistant Quartermaster to Captain James Harvey Ralston during the initial occupation of the Alamo grounds by the U.S. Army late in 1846 and early 1847 (Young 1996:909). Everett was an accomplished artist and draftsman and produced numerous sketches and drawings of the Alamo as well as several plan maps of the Quartermaster's Depot (Ahlborn 1985). Everett published a memoir of his military service in 1905 and provided the following account of encountering human remains:

I can present nothing new regarding the history of the Alamo, but can only give the account of the condition in which we found it in 1846-47, and subsequent developments on clearing away the debris of the fallen walls and roofs... Such of the other buildings as remained, having the usual thick and roughly-built stone walls, and heavy plaster roofs. These we rebuilt and adapted to our purposes without remorse, but the church we respected as an historical relic — and as such its characteristics were not marred by us. We had the debris cleared away from the interior, in which process several skeletons and other relics of the siege were found (Everett 1905:215-216).

Everett does not provide a specific number of skeletons but speaks in the plural indicating that there were at least two found. William Corner specifically references the discovery of human remains during the U. S. Army clearing of the old church, adding "...deep down in the debris were found two or three skeletons that had evidently been hastily covered with

rubbish after the fall..." (Corner 1890:11). During the Alamo siege, the roofless chapel had a large earthen and debris ramp within it atop which cannons were placed (de la Peña 1975:45-46; Nelson 1998:46). Everett's discussion indicates that the human remains were encountered while clearing the debris — and this likely indicates that the remains were those of participants of the 1836 encounter. Neither Everett nor Corner remark on the disposition of the remains but it is reasonable to assume that they were reburied.

### **Report 2 – 1878 – Excavations by Honoré Grenet in the Convento/Sacristy**

Honoré Grenet purchased the former Mission Valero convento and leased the former church from the Catholic Church in 1877 (Béxar County Deed Records, Bishop Pellicer to Honoré Grenet, December 1, 1877, Volume 7, pages 373 to 375). Grenet, an immigrant from France, was a prosperous merchant who converted the former convento structures into a major mercantile store and warehouse operation. Grenet's renovations included major changes to the convento — the removal of the U.S. Army roof and the removal of all of the remaining walls east of the original façade facing west onto Alamo Plaza. His remodel also removed the northern third of the church sacristy, though he otherwise left the remaining architectural elements of the original church intact. Figure 6-1 shows the extent of Grenet's constructions by comparing the 1848 Edward Everett Plan of the U.S. Depot at the Alamo, San Antonio de Béxar (left panel) with Sheet 2 of the 1885 Sanborn Map and Publishing Company (SMPC) fire insurance map (right panel). The dashed yellow lines on the 1848 Everett Depot map indicate walls and/structures removed by Honoré Grenet in 1878. The remodeled structure was two stories in height, some 185 ft (56.4 m) north to south and 55 ft (16.8 m) east to west with wooden porch galleries fronting on the west, north, and south. Three wooden towers penetrated the roofline along the western side with a 14 ft (4.3 m) wide tower on each of the western corners and a 20 ft (6 m) wide tower in the middle. Immediately east of the main structure was an open court surrounded by wooden storage sheds accessed by two covered drives on the north and east.

In the process of making modifications to the former sacristy area, Grenet's contractors encountered human remains "...in digging the foundation...several skeletons were unearthed... these graves were in one of the small rooms of the building" (Galveston Daily News [GDN], April 2, 1878, page 12). Figure 6-2 is a further expanded view of Everett's 1848 Depot map with the small room immediately to the west of the sacristy outlined in red and since this is the only small room it is presumed that this was the location where the skeletons were encountered. The Galveston Daily News article also commented that the remains were encountered "...in a kind of subterranean vault, several feet below the surface"

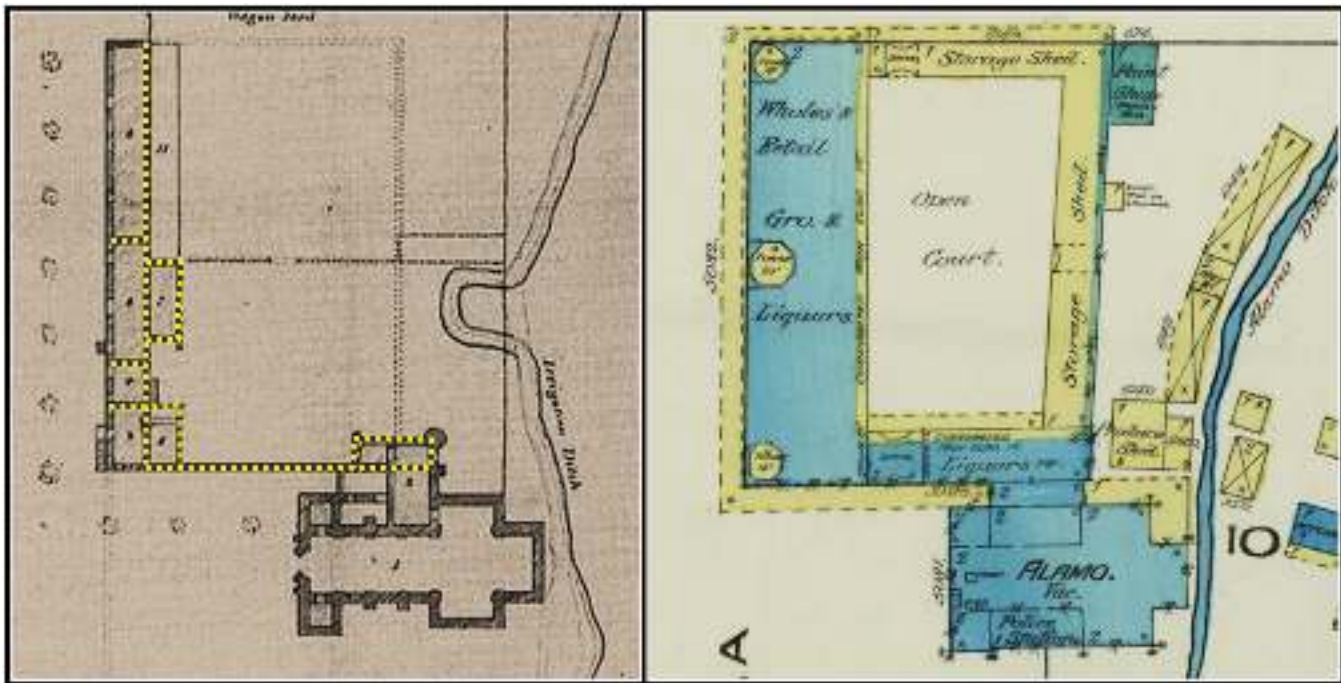


Figure 6-1. Comparison of the 1848 Everett Depot map and the 1885 Sanborn Map. Yellow dashed lines represent walls removed by Honoré Grenet during his remodeling of the convento/sacristy area in 1878.

as well as recording that the remains were well preserved such that one was thought to be "...of the Indian type..." This newspaper account is the only reporting to indicate the possible presence of a crypt or vault for burial at the Alamo complex and lacks any analog from other local missions or corroboration from subsequent excavations or encounters. The article further state that two or more of the skeletons "From the color of their hair, quite blond, it is inferred that... these were those of white men" (GDN April 2, 1878:12). No mention was made in the article as to the disposition of any of the remains. These remains were also mentioned by Corner as those found "...March 29, 1878, ...buried at an earlier and apparently more peaceful period, were unearthed in the church (Corner 1890:11).

The location of the remains in a small room adjoining the sacristy may indicate that one or more of the four individuals were Franciscan religious and/or laypersons such as Sacristans associated with divine liturgical service at Mission Valero. It was common practice during the period for Catholic clerics to be interred within the church and most often near the altar of the church (Nickels and Fox 1999:5). Burials within San Antonio mission sacristies have been noted in the archival record with Father President Pedro Ramirez de Arrelano interred in the sacristy of Mission San José in September of 1781 "...because the sanctuary of the new church was not quite ready" (Habig 1978:202). The sacristy at Valero occupies a space immediately adjacent to the chapel along the west wall of the north transept but it also connected directly to the southern row of rooms for

the convento itself. The small room may have served as a chancel for the Valero sacristy, for storage, as a sacristy itself, as an entrance to and from the convento to the sacristy – or some combination of these uses over a period.

### Report 3 – 1880 – Human Remains in Alamo Plaza

Report 3 is an account from the Brenham Weekly Banner (BWB) for April 23, 1880. Under the "State News" column heading was the statement that "A few days ago the skeleton of a man was plowed up in the Alamo garden at San Antonio. Inquiry elicited the fact that they were the remains of an Indian killed forty years ago near where the skeleton was found" (BWB, April 23, 1880, page 3). The precise location of the Alamo Garden in 1880 is not known. It is conjectured to correspond with the garden area south of the Alamo Chapel that is subsequently shown as a landscaped and garden area in late nineteenth century photographs and on post-1900 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. An image from E. Raba Photograph Collection from circa 1881 (Figure 6-3) shows a small portion of what appears to be a garden and or/landscape elements in the area immediately west of the intersection of East Crockett with Alamo Plaza. It is the same area that is shown in subsequent photography and post-1900 Sanborn maps as a formal landscaped garden area. The BWB account notes that only a single skeleton was encountered in 1880 and that it had been attributed as that of a Native American killed and buried at that location circa 1840. No further information, including disposition of the remains, was provided.

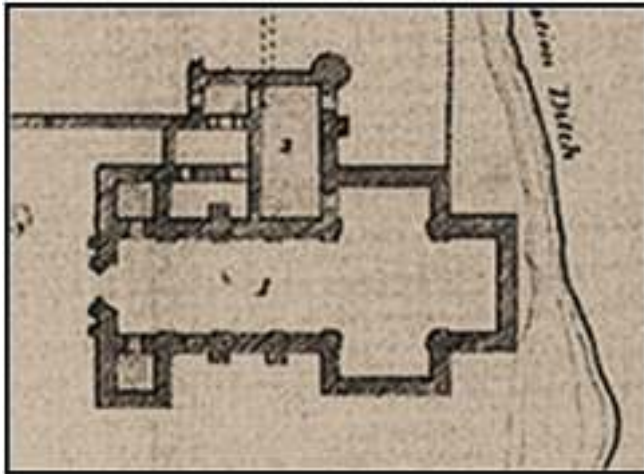


Figure 6-2. Expanded view of the 1848 Everett Depot map showing the extant walls of the Alamo Chapel. The red box identifies the presumed area in which the skeletons were found.

#### Report 4 – 1935 – Report of Remains excavated in 1881-1882

Report 4 is potentially related to 3, but it likely represents a separate incident otherwise unreported in contemporary accounts; a conflation of other accounts of human remains; or a fabrication. The account is drawn from a 1935 San Antonio Express (SAE) interview with John Sterling Frazar who was a local municipal police officer. While the article focused on Frazar's exploits as a thirty-two-year member of the force, the interviewer also asked Frazar about the matter of the

human remains found at the site of the Old Post Office (see articles 15a through 15i). The article reported:

Frazar was reminded of the time back in 1881 and 1882 when workmen engaged in putting in the first street paving on Alamo Plaza dug up a large number of human bones. These bones, he said, were brought to light immediately in front of the Alamo, and though he was a lad of but 10 years of age, he distinctly remembers the grown-ups declared the bones were those of some of the defenders of the Alamo and of the Mexican soldiers that attacked the little band of Texans.

Asked if he remembered a grave yard on the present site of the postoffice, Frazar said he did not...

Frazar said it was his recollection that the bones believed to have been...defenders...were buried in San Fernando Cemetery. The only cemetery he could recall being located in the vicinity of the Alamo in those days...was on Commerce Street east of what is now Joske's corner.

...many citizens took some home with them and placed them on mantles where they are kept as souvenirs. Several complete skeletons were wired together and placed in the offices of San Antonio doctors (SAE, 25 August 1935: 1A-2A).



Figure 6-3. View from the northwest facing southeast of the Stumberg/Steves and Bitter/Yoakum properties, c. 1881-1882. The crenelated parapet in the extreme lower left is one of the towers of Grenet's store and the building at the far right with the lettered sign on its north wall is on the south side of East Crockett Street which runs between it and the Bitter/Yoakum properties on the corner. Photograph courtesy of the San Antonio Conservation Society, Ernst W. Raba Collection.

The Frazar interview is the only archival document found to date that mentions what would have been considered a newsworthy event – the discovery of numerous skeletons, attributed as Alamo siege combatants, immediately in front of the Alamo Chapel building in 1881-1882. There are no other accounts of such an event in any contemporaneous local, regional, or national newspapers. There are no signs of paving or pavers in the circa 1881-1882 photograph (see Figure 6-3) that depicts the Stumberg/Steves and Bitter/Yoakum properties that faced west onto the east side of Alamo Plaza between the chapel on the north and East Crocket Street. A review of City Council Journal and Minute Books (CCJMB) documents that initial Alamo Plaza beautification efforts began with the acquisition and demolition of the old Market House in 1880-1881. This was followed by macadamizing a 60 ft (18.3 m) perimeter around the plaza in 1883, followed by the appropriation of funds to pave the plaza with mesquite block pavers in 1884 (CCJMB E: 401, January 16, 1883; CCJMB F: 133, July 21, 1884). Further, Corner's *San Antonio de Béxar* (1890) makes no mention of any skeletal remains found in 1881-1882 or in 1889 under such circumstances as reported by Frazar for the years 1881-1882. Corner discusses other skeletons encountered in the years 1847 and 1878 (Reports 1 and 2) so it is highly improbable that Corner would omit discussion of such a collection of remains as those described by Frazar.

Confounding the discussion on the accuracy of Frazar's account is the fact that in many other particulars he is correct. His statement that there was no cemetery visible at the Old Post Office site in 1881-1882 and that the only cemetery near the Alamo was the old public burial ground east of Joske's are accurate. Currently, Frazar's 1935 account of human remains is unverified. Subsequent research or the future discovery of corroborating archival documents of the 1881-1882 events reported by Frazar in 1935 may validate further portions of his account.

### **Report 5 – 1883 – Skeleton from “the Alamo”**

A September newspaper article titled “David Crockett's Skeleton” reported a statement from the Boerne Advance newspaper stating that “Dr. West...believes he has the skeleton of David Crockett, the Alamo hero. The bones were dug up from the Alamo by a laborer, who saved them for him” (San Antonio Light (SAL), 17 September 1883:4). No further information on the original location of the burial or ultimate disposition of the remains was given.

### **Report 6 – 1883 – Bones found at Houston and North Alamo**

Workmen excavating at the corner of Avenue D (now North Alamo Street) and Houston Street found “...a

quantity of bones, supposed to be those of a human being...remains of an old stirrup were also found” (SAL, 9 November 1883:1). While this account does not definitively attribute the bones as human it is probable considering the numerous subsequent encounters with human remains in this area. This 1883 article is the first archival report of potential human remains for the area of the Gibbs Building, North Alamo Street, the Old Post Office site and Avenue E. The article did not specify on which corner the remains were encountered and made no mention of the disposition of the remains.

### **Report 7 – 1887 – Excavations for the New Federal Building**

The growth of San Antonio in the 1870s-1880s resulted in the need for both a larger post office as well as a federal courthouse. The situation was untenable and commentary from the press stated “The long line of waiting people strung out from the one window from morning to night, is called the tail of the post office kite” (SAL March 25, 1956, page 12; Steinfeldt 1978:108-110). It was decided to erect a new Federal building to house both a new larger post office as well as space for the federal court. This was put into effect with the purchase of the land between Avenue D and Avenue E along the north side of Alamo Plaza (BCDR 50:115-117, January 15, 1887, Manuel and Pilar Sabriego to U.S. Government). The federal building and post office was a large stone Richardsonian Romanesque public building designed by noted architect J. Riley Gordon (SA Conservation.org August 14, 2021). The structure was comprised of three main floors, together with a tower, and opened in 1890 (Figure 6-4).

Several structures occupied the property prior to the 1887 sale (Figure 6-4, left panel). These included a wooden building fronting onto Avenue D that housed a stone cutting operation with a marble yard extending to the corner at Houston Street. There was a wooden structure that faced onto the plaza that housed a hay and grain store and a saloon. A single-story stone structure with wood additions fronted onto Avenue E. All these structures lacked basements. These pre-existing structures were cleared from the site to make way for the new federal building whose footprint stretched from Avenue D to Avenue E and created a new linear frontage along Houston Street/Alamo Plaza (Figure 6-5, right panel).

It was during the excavations for the sub-floor of the new building in December that human remains were encountered on the site. A short newspaper article entitled “Whose Were They?” noted “Several bones and part of a skeleton were plowed up from the federal courthouse lot yesterday. They are believed to be part of the bones of the Alamo defenders,



*Figure 6-4. West and south elevations of the Federal Building and Post Office on Alamo Plaza, San Antonio, Texas, ca. 1893, courtesy of the San Antonio Conservation Society, University of Texas at San Antonio, Special Collections Department, Digital Collections, General Photograph Collection Image Number 076-0525.*

but the scant depth from which they were unearthed would preclude this idea” (San Antonio Daily Light [SADL], 12 December 1887: 4). The shallow depth mentioned for these burials contrasts with later accounts. For example, Reports 12a and 12b from 1912 both refer to burials 5.5 ft (1.7 m) below the surface and Report 15a from 1935 provides a depth of 3.5 ft (1.07 m). The cause of the discrepancy in burial depths between reported incidents will be more thoroughly addressed in the summary of this chapter.

This article is the only account mentioning the finding of burials in 1887-1888. However, it is clear from later articles in 1935 (see the Report 15 series) that a potentially significant number of burials were encountered during excavations for the federal building and post office. For example, F. F. Weiss (Report 15g), recalled “...that I was attending St. Mary’s College at the time of the excavation for the present post office

and many of the students would watch the work...there were so many rusty old cannon, swords and other rusty weapons unearthed besides many skeletons” (SAE, 12 August 1935:14). Further archival searches of local and regional newspapers may provide additional insight into the estimated number, location, and treatment of human remains encountered in excavations for the 1887-1890 federal building and post office. The 1887 article made no mention of any specific location on the site, though the strongest likelihood would be from within the footprint of the building. Likewise, no information was provided on the disposition of the remains.

#### **Report 8 – 1895 – Human Skull Fragment from South Exterior of Transept**

Beginning in 1878, the San Antonio Police Department operated a police substation from a room built between the

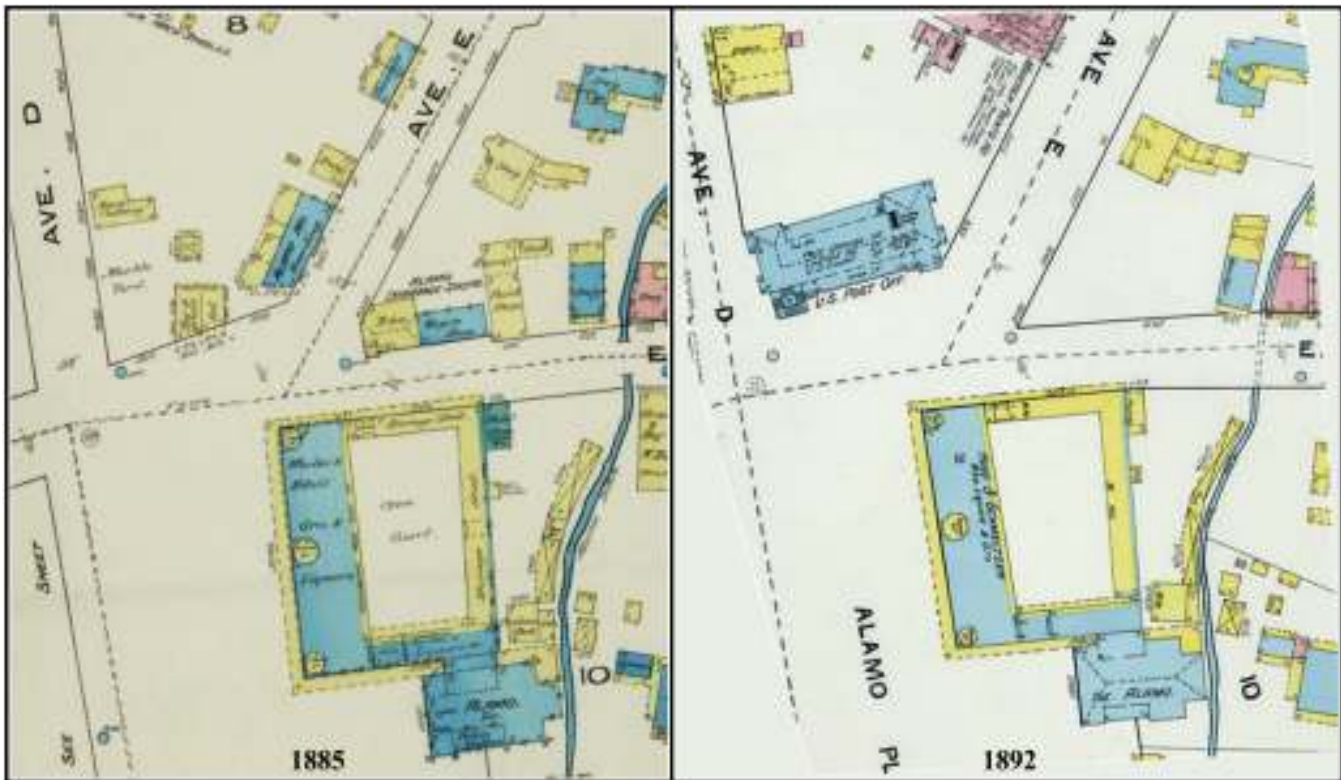


Figure 6-5. 1885 and 1892 Sanborn maps demonstrating the impact of the new Post Office and Federal Court building on the north end of Alamo Plaza.

projecting Alamo Chapel baptistry and south transept of the nave as shown in Figure 6-6 (City Council Journal and Minutes Book L, page 733, April 13, 1896). Three walls of the structure were formed by the extant walls of the mission church with only the south wall being new construction. This substation operated from 1878 to circa 1903.

In 1895, a prison work gang "...tearing up a floor in a little room adjoining the Alamo police station...unearthed a piece of a human skull in one corner...The old Alamo adjoins this room..." and that the prisoner "...immediately quit digging at that place, for fear, as he said he might strike the rest of the skeleton" (Sunday Light, 24 November 1895:4). From the brief description in the article it appears that the room in question was a portioned space within the police station itself. Sanborn maps rarely provide floor plans of individual buildings so it cannot be determined exactly where within the police station footprint the skull was encountered. The article indicates that the burial was likely left intact.

#### **Report 9 – 1907 – Skeletal Remains at Moore Building Addition**

The Moore Building was located at the northeast corner of Broadway and Houston Street. In early 1903, while making an excavation for the construction of an addition to

the east side of the Moore Building "...parts of a skeleton have been unearthed...The contractor and men at work there, however, say that the skeleton disclosed is that of a beast and not a human being, as the bones are too large" (SAL, 30 January 1907:3). The brief article did not state the precise depth, location, examination, or disposition for the skeleton. It is probable that this report refers to faunal bone (i.e., not human). However, considering the discoveries of human remains immediately east in 1908 and 1912 and the lack of a formal identification of the bones as human or animal, this report is cited in this manuscript out of an abundance of caution.

#### **Report 10 – 1908 – Skeletal Remains at Gibbs Building**

The Gibbs Building is directly west across what is now North Alamo Street from the current Post Office and Federal Building (see Figure 6-7). In the summer of 1908 human skeletal elements were encountered there during excavations for an artesian well. The article stated that the "...bones were parts of human ribs and skulls and there were only a few fragments of them" (SAL, 24 June 1908:9). The Gibbs Building was formerly the property of Samuel Maverick and his residence was located there. In 1852, at least 13 cannons likely associated with the Alamo Battle were discovered buried on the property (Hansen



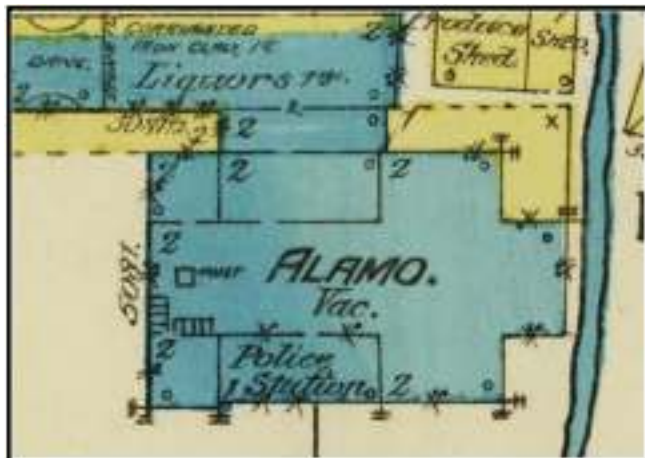


Figure 6-6. The Alamo Police Station depicted on the 1892 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

2013:635). By 1892 the property had been converted to commercial use and there were a series of single-story brick storefronts facing east on Avenue D. The depth at which the remains were discovered is not mentioned in the article and a precise number of individuals cannot be determined from the account except to say there were two or more burials represented. Likewise, the article made no mention of the disposition of the remains.

### Report 11 – 1908 – Human Skeleton found under Avenue E

A second report of human remains in 1908 was the discovery of human bones beneath Avenue E, directly east of the post office (SAL, 31 July 1908:12). The title of the article implies that a skeleton was encountered but the text of the article leaves it uncertain as to whether the bones were of a single individual or potentially represented more than one interment. There was no mention in the account of the depth or the disposition of the remains.

### Report 12a – 1912 – Skeleton found East of Postoffice

Reports 12a and 12b are both from January of 1912 and associated with excavations made near the east entrance to the Federal Building/Post office. Report 12a concerns workmen excavating near the eastern entrance to the post office on January 24 when they encountered a human skeleton at approximately 5.5 ft (1.68 m) below the ground surface. The article describes the excavation of the long bones and a fragmentary skull that "...had disintegrated, leaving only the jaw bones, which were still set with good teeth" (SAL, 24 January 1912:2). Unlike earlier accounts, this article

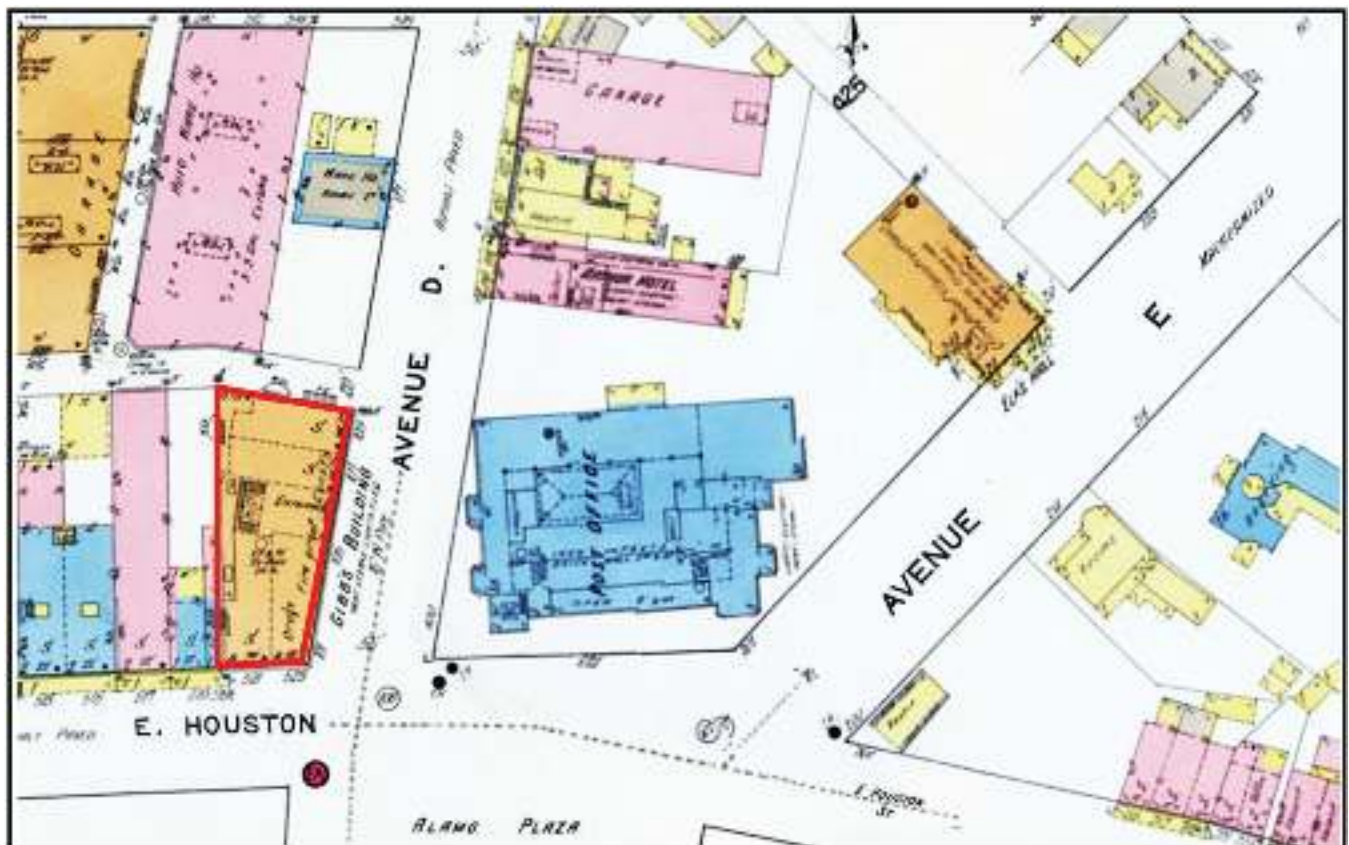


Figure 6-7. Sanborn Fire Insurance map montage of the north end of Alamo Plaza and Houston, Avenue D and Avenue E. Gibbs Building is outlined in red, directly west from the Post Office.

specifically mentioned that “Grover Ridgeway, engineer in charge of the federal building, called on Father Prat of San Fernando Cathedral, relative to having the bones re-entered (sic). Father Pratt will make arrangements to transfer the remains of this unknown person to San Fernando Cemetery” (SAL, 24 January 1912: 2).

### Report 12b – 1912 – Two Skeletons found on Postoffice site

Report 12b dates to the very next day, January 25, 1912, and described the discovery of two additional partial skeletons that were presumed to be “...that of an adult, while the other was evidently that of a woman or child...at the time of the erection of the Federal Building, many skeletons were excavated and the ground was dedicated at one time the burial ground of the Alamo Mission” (SAL, “Unearth Human Bones”, January 25, 1912, page 16). Unlike the previous days article that described the remains being handed over to the Catholic diocese for reinterment at San Fernando Cemetery, the two discovered the following day were noted to be returned to “...the spot where they were unearthed” (SAL, 25 January 1912:16).

### Report 13 – 1920 – Human Remains at Corner of E. Crockett and Alamo Plaza

In February 1920, four graves containing skeletal remains were exposed during the construction of an automotive garage sited on the northeast corner of East Crockett Street at Alamo Plaza (SAE, 14 February 1920:1-2; SAE, 15 February 1920: 46). The four graves were shallow and encountered

circa 18 (46 cm) inches below the ground surface, some 200 ft (61 m) south from the wall of the chapel. Figure 6-8 utilizes the November 1922 Sanborns map depicting the 1920 garage in relation to the Alamo Chapel, Alamo Plaza and E. Crockett Street (Sanborns 1922: V2:117). Only the skeletal remains of the first of the four graves were excavated – the other three were noted and their contents left in place. Skeletal elements from the first grave included a jawbone with teeth, upper arm bones, fragments of the pelvis, as well as various bones of the hand. The article stated that “Some of the bones were laid aside but most of them were thrown out with the earth and hauled away” (SAE, 14 February 1920:1-2). The article conjectured that the graves were associated with the Battle of the Alamo but also referenced the potential for the graves to be of Native Americans from Mission Valero.

### Report 14 – 1934 – Bones Found on South Side of Convento

In the summer of 1934, workmen excavating on the south side of the former convent, adjacent to the Alamo Chapel, encountered 20 fragments of presumed human bone at a depth of 3-4’ (SAE, 17 July 1934:16). The article made no mention of distinctive skeletal elements and mentioned only small bones that might represent a human hand. The article also stated “The fact that some are dark along the surfaces as if charred have led those who have seen them to believe that they had been burned. There has been no question they are bones of a human being by any who have seen them, although no authority has examined them” (SAE, 17 Jul 1934:16). There were no subsequent reports concerning the

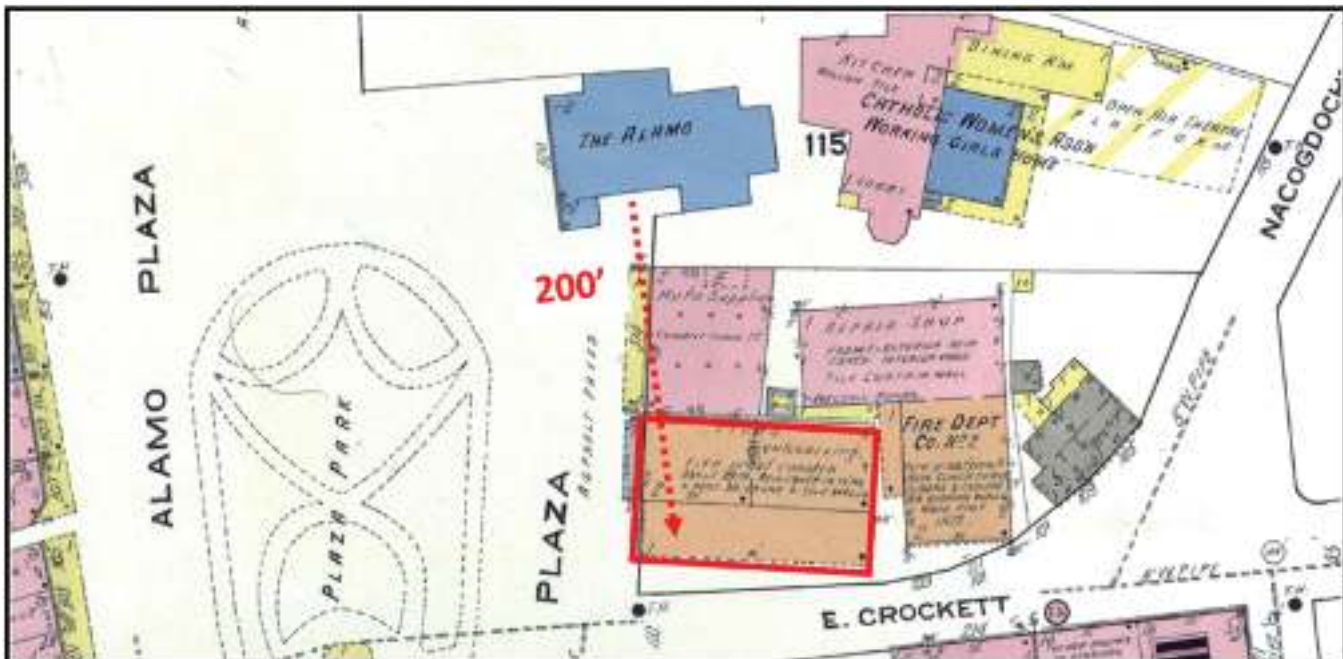


Figure 6-8. Site of the discovery of the four graves encountered in 1920. The location of the garage is outlined in red and the red dashed arrow indicates the 200' line from the south wall of the Alamo chapel.

positive identification of the bones as human and no mention was made concerning the disposition of the bones.

### **Reports 15a to 15i – Human Remains at the Old Post Office**

During the New Deal era, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration's Federal Public Works initiative created major public works programs across the United States to address endemic unemployment caused by the Great Depression (1929-1939). One of those projects was the demolition of the 1890 "old" post office and Federal Building and the construction of an even larger post office and Federal Courts building on the same site. Excavation and construction activities associated with that undertaking resulted in the discovery of numerous human burials in July and August of 1935. On account of there being nine distinct reports that provide unique information regarding the encountered burials, this group of reports includes this preliminary statement and concludes with a dedicated summary of Reports 15a to 15i. This summary provides a review of the information gleaned from the nine reports. The recaps of the other accounts (Reports 1 through 14

and Reports 16 and 17) together with the summary of Reports 15a through 15i, are collectively addressed in the final summary of this chapter.

### **Report 15a – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

This report is the first of a multitude of encounters with human remains associated with the demolition of the 1890 federal building and post office and/or with excavations for the new larger complex that still occupies the site in the present day. The first encounter apparently occurred in late July – though it was not reported on until early August. A human skeleton was discovered entangled in the roots of a Spanish Oak tree being removed for transplanting from the southeast corner of the site (SAE, 6 August 1935:4). There are several images which document the location of landscape trees along the front of the Old Post Office. The first of these, Figure 6-9, is a locally produced postcard by H. Budow looking west down Houston Street with the Old Post Office in tight register (Budow, circa 1910). This image clearly shows four small trees, two each in two distinct landscaping beds (identified with blue arrows).



*Figure 6-9. H. Budow circa 1910 postcard of "Houston Street, Looking west..." with blue arrows denoting four landscape trees planted in two planting beds on the south side of the post office. REDACTED IMAGE*

The first blue arrow to the far right indicates the tree described in the 1935 account.

A second image taken August 24, 1935, immediately prior to the commencement of the demolition also shows the same four trees seen on the circa 1910 postcard, in the same configuration of two trees to each planting bed (Figure 6-10). As in the 1910 postcard, the blue arrow furthest to the right denotes the Spanish Oak at the southeast corner of the Old Post Office site.

B. P. Roberts found the bones at a depth of 3.5 ft (1.07 m) and a Dr. G. R. Oden, a dentist, guessed that the age of the individual at the time of their death was circa 50 years old based on the condition of the teeth. The skeletal remains were reinterred along with the Spanish Oak at an address in Alamo Heights, Texas, as B. P. Roberts thought “He’s slept under that tree for a long time and that ought to remain his monument” (SAE, 6 August 1935:4). A second article connected with Report 15a followed in the paper the next day. The article mentioned the discovery of “...parts of a

skeleton... during the removal of another tree” (SAE, 7 August 1935:16). Unlike the previous article, the specific tree is not noted. This article also reported on the discovery of a small copper vessel that was associated with the burial beneath the Spanish Oak. The vessel was described as a shallow dish, 3 inches in diameter and that it was “... now serving as an ash tray for Postmaster Dan Quill” (SAE August 7, 1935:16). While no depth was given relative to the second burial reported, it is likely from a similar depth (3.5 ft or 1.07m) as the skeleton reported on August 6, 1935, since it was for the removal of the last tree on the site.

### Report 15b – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office

B. P. Roberts encountered additional human remains as he continued excavations at the site. Two articles appeared the day following Report 15a. The first of the two articles for August 8 noted that a total of 13 human skulls had already been recovered from excavations on the Avenue E side of the post office site and that both the Catholic Archdiocese and



Figure 6-10. Demolition of the Federal Building and Post Office, San Antonio, Texas, August 24, 1935, University of Texas at San Antonio Special Collections Department, Digital Collections, General Photograph Collection, Image Number 101-0142. REDACTED IMAGE

the Daughters of the Republic of Texas had become involved (SAE, 8 August 1935:11). No burial context or disposition information was provided in the article.

### **Report 15c – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

The second article was also in the San Antonio Express, noting the discovery of "...six more skulls, one of them practically intact...besides the bones, Roberts also unearthed a powder measure of about a half pint capacity and a small brass ring" (SAE, 8 August 1935: 12). The article also noted the involvement of both the Catholic Archdiocese and the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. The Archdiocese, according to Rev. M. S. Garriga, was trying to determine if the bones had come from a Catholic cemetery associated with Mission Valero and if so, that they be reinterred in consecrated ground. The article stated that B. P. Roberts was "...conducting the excavation work under the auspices of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas" (SAE, 8 August 1935:12). The article noted that the mission walls of Valero extended as far as the north wall of the Old Post Office and that if it were determined that the remains were from a Catholic cemetery they would be reinterred either at the Alamo or San Fernando Cemetery No. 2 (SAE, 8 August 1935:12). Like article 15b, no precise depth is given for the burials but given the context and the same day reporting as 15b, these remains are from the Avenue E side of the property.

### **Report 15d – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

The following day, August 9, 1935, a San Antonio Express article captioned "Church to Rebury Post Office Bones" noted that the Archdiocese was taking over the excavations and that following excavations the remains would be reinterred in San Fernando Cemetery. The Superintendent of San Fernando Cemetery, M. H. Flores, noted that:

...only the skulls and larger bones remain of each skeleton, the ravages of time and moisture and soil chemicals having absorbed the others. They are found at a depth of four to five feet and, in the opinion of Flores, the bodies were dumped into their resting place during an epidemic. There was a burial ground of about two acres, originally in connection with the Alamo. (SAE, 9 August 1935:16).

Report 15d is the first time that specific attributions were made concerning the origin and use of a cemetery directly associated with Mission San Antonio de Valero. The article noted that "The bodies were buried there early in the 18th

Century, the place having served as a cemetery for some 30 to 40 years up until about 1738 when the practice of making burial at San Fernando Cathedral was inaugurated" (SAE, 9 August 1935:16).

### **Report 15e – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

A similar article captioned "P.O. Excavation Taken Over By Church" ran in the San Antonio Light the same day as Report 15d. The Archdiocese and the DRT entered a contract with the Archdiocese taking charge of the excavations and asserting that the remains were from a Catholic cemetery associated with Valero and the DRT laying claim to all non-Catholic relics. The article mentioned a total of 17 skulls and four boxes of bones as well as additional artifacts, including "...beads from a rosary, a skull penetrated by an arrowhead...a large piece of pierced bone and numerous identical small pieces, evidently strung around the waist of an Indian" (SAL, 9 August 1935:17). Like Report 15d, this report echoes the attribution of the cemetery as "The Catholic church laid claim to the bones on the theory that the site...had once been a Catholic burial ground" and Mrs. Leita Small, Custodian of the Alamo for the DRT, verifying the same from an "old plan of the Alamo" (SAL, 9 August 1935:17).

### **Report 15f – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

This account was published in the San Antonio Express two days later, on August 11, 1935, under the caption "700 Interred at Postoffice Records Show." The article mentions that the burial count had risen to 28 and that the remains would be held by Zizik-Kearns Undertaking parlor until such time as they could be reinterred at the new San Fernando Cemetery with a general Mass (SAE, 11 August 1935:1A-2A). This article also expands on the archival justification that the cemetery is associated with Mission Valero. Superintendent M. H. Flores noted that:

...only the skulls and larger bones remain of each skeleton, the ravages of time and moisture and soil chemicals having absorbed the others. They are found at a depth of four to five feet and, in the opinion of Flores, the bodies were dumped into their resting place during an epidemic. There was a burial ground of about two acres, originally in connection with the Alamo.

Approximately 700 persons were buried there... but...there probably were a great many whose burial was not a matter of record" and that "It was established from the records that the two-acre

plat, including the southeast corner of the post office site, where the remains were found, was used as a burial place before the Alamo was built in 1732. There was a chapel where the Alamo now stands and it is thought that the burial plat northwest of the Alamo was used in the 1700's.

The first persons to be buried there, Flores found, was "the father of Governor Roque, but the date was illegible. One burial date which was distinct that of Capt. Nicholas Perez, Feb. 11, 1729. The records disclose that the cemetery was used as late as 1775. However, after 1738, when San Fernando was erected, most of the burials took place in the churchyard of the cathedral" (SAE 9 August 1935:16).

Report 15f represents a portion of the archival support documents that underpinned the Catholic Church's contentions regarding the possible Valero cemetery associated with the encountered burials. That there is/was a cemetery on the site is incontrovertible; however, the documents used in 1935 to justify that fact were largely incorrect. These inaccuracies, along with others related to the 15a to 15i report, will be handled on an individual and/or associated basis in the summary for the entire group of reports.

### **Report 15g – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

A San Antonio Express article of August 12, 1935 captioned "Postoffice Bones From Battle, He Still Contends" discussed the various contentions of M. H. Flores, F. F. Weiss and B. P. Roberts on the attribution of the remains found at the Old Post Office site. Flores, as noted in the article of the preceding day (SAE, "700 Interred at Postoffice Records Show," August 11, 1935, pages 1A-2A) held that the bodies were from a cemetery of Mission Valero based on "...the records that a two-acre plat...was used as a burial place before the Alamo was built in 1732" (SAE, August 12, 1935, page 14). Weiss posited that the remains were those of combatants who perished in the Siege and Battle of the Alamo in 1836, had been buried where they fell, and that "...in the vicinity of the north wall of the large enclosure of the mission ... history records that fierce fighting took place the day the Alamo was stormed" (SAE, 12 August 1935: 14). B. P. Roberts disclaimed the notion that it was either a formal cemetery of Valero or the remains of combatants, hewing to his contention that from "...the relative position of the skeletons indicated they had been thrown together in a heap and buried and that none of them were laid out as in a church burial" (SAE, 12 August 1935:14).

### **Report 15h – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

This article was published in the August 18, 1935, edition of the San Antonio Express and captioned "Postoffice Site Mexican Troop' Burial Ground." The article relied on information supplied by Mauro M. Machado who provided documentary materials from General Juan N. Almonte, who was one of the Mexican officers serving under Santa Anna in the assault on the Alamo fortress in 1836. General Almonte had produced a military manual in 1852 which included a partial account of his experience during the conflict. In an appendix and footnote from the 1852 manual, Almonte advised against sending conscripts or inexperienced troops against an entrenched enemy, such as was the case at the Alamo. He mentioned that:

The attack on the north and northwest walls was confided to troops who had never received the baptism of fire before and...after three parallel assaults...and as many retreats...it was decided to reinforce them with a few veteran troops...and officers trained in the art of war. These officers... leading the attack and climbing the...walls in person in order to set an example for these green troops to follow...most of these officers and a few men...were sacrificed.

During a lull in the fighting one night...calling a sergeant and a squad of lanceros...we dug graves and buried the officers and men, near the walls where they fell, without the enemy or our conscript troops being aware of our mission. [SAE, 18 August 1935:37].

As a result of Mr. Machado's investigations, he proposed that some of the burials were associated with this story told by General Almonte.

### **Report 15i – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

Following the accounts given by F. F. Weiss on August 12 and by Mauro M. Machado on August 18, 1935, B. P. Roberts was again interviewed for an August 20, 1935 article. The piece was captioned "Excavator Denies Bones of Soldiers" and in it Roberts again refuted the proposition that the burials were from either a formal cemetery or from Mexican war dead. He reiterated that:

...there were no signs that the bodies had been given a church burial. They were found in many positions, some face down and lying across each other...he was unable to find a button, nail, or

any signs of wood or cloth having been used in the burial...(Further, he stated) I found several children, some very small...skulls of infants... skulls (of) several females....

In addition to his refutation of Weiss and Machado, Roberts reaffirmed his belief that the remains were those of Catholic mission Native Americans. Roberts also provided additional details of the context of the burials, saying:

... those familiar with the history of the area said there was a wall that crossed near where the bones were found...and it came into the excavation from the east side, and has a depth of about three feet below the surface. He said some of the bodies were a foot below and underneath the wall, indicating that the bodies were placed there before the wall was built. (SAE, 20 August 1935: 16).

### **Report 15j – 1935 – Human Remains at Old Post Office**

A final article related to the 1935 discoveries was an interview with Charles A. Herff who moved to San Antonio in 1854. In a September 1, 1935 San Antonio Express article captioned “Pioneer Says Bones Were Texas Heroes,” Herff stated that he based his statements on discussions he had in Alamo Plaza in 1870 with Antonio Menchaca, Juan Losoya, Luis Castañon (who Herff identifies as “a Mr. Castanola”), and Peter Gallagher. All had firsthand knowledge of the events of March 1836. Herff claimed that:

...the bones belong to Texans...that after the Battle of the Alamo Mexican soldiers began cutting off the heads of the Texans but they were soon stopped by Mexican officers...It became imperative... to bury the dead as quickly as possible but to do this was slow...by reason of the rock bottom which is all around the Alamo. It was...decided to cremate the bodies...(but) the Mexican officers felt remorse for the soldiers having mutilated the dead bodies of the Texans and those were buried where the post office now stands...where there is a gravel formation which made the burials much easier. I can recall when the basement of the post office was excavated over 50 years ago, that 13 or 14 headless bodies were found at that time, which would confirm the statements made to me. [SAE, 1 September 1935:14]

### **Summary of Reports 15a through 15j**

The preceding 10 articles associated with the burials encountered in late July and throughout August of 1935

provide a confusing and frustrating wealth of both information and speculation. The purpose of this summary is an attempt to separate apparent fact from probable fiction based on other primary archival evidence. Every attempt has been made to verify specific accounts and allegations, and to note when such evidence is supportive, contrary, misinterpreted, or lacking. This summary begins with a consensus approach to the location, context, and particulars of the burials and on their disposition. The section that follows these consensus accounts critically examines the statements of various actors as represented in the newspaper accounts. It is important to note that the “story” of the 1935 excavations evolves from the simple to the complex as time and more burials and artifacts are encountered during the 30+ days that excavations were taking place. Because the number of burials increased over time, only the final estimates are discussed.

### **Consensus Accounts from Reports 15a through 15j–1935**

Despite the numerous differences between some of the accounts or expressed opinions, there are several areas of agreement that stand out. These include the general location of the burials, their context, artifacts associated with burials, and the disposition of the remains.

#### ***Location of the 1935 Burials***

The first accounts are in universal agreement that the initial burials were encountered in excavations in the immediate area of the southeast corner and along the Avenue E (east side) of the 1890 “Old” Post Office-federal building site (SAE, 6 August 1935:4; SAE, 7 August 1935:16; SAE 8 August 1935:11). Most articles written after August 8, 1935, variously refer to the burial location as “the Old Post Office site” and/or “the new federal building site” without giving any other geographic or site location particulars (SAE, 11 August 1935:1A and 9A; SAE, 18 August 1935:37; SAE, 12 August 1935:14). The last two articles, 15i and 15j, both return to the Old Post Office/old federal building as the location of all the burials: “B. P. Roberts who discovered a number of skeletons and human bones while excavating to remove a tree from the premises of the old federal building...” and “There is no rest for the numerous skeletons unearthed at the site of the Old Post Office!” (SAE, 20 August 1935:16; SAE, 1 September 1935:14). The location of the remains is an important consideration in evaluating ancillary evidence provided by artifacts and/or archival documentation. Further, since the location of the older structure directly fronted onto the plaza and the later structure somewhat set back from the plaza, their respective southeast corners and building footprints are distinctly different. Figure 6-11 is a layered map of three images, with the first being the outline of the walls of Mission Valero as drawn by François Giraud (in gray); the second represents the building outline of the 1890

post office/federal building (in blue); and the last is the 1938 Sanborn map showing the Old Post Office relative to the plaza. The dotted red line indicates the area of the southeast corner of the Old Post Office building relative to the 1937 building that replaced it and the outline of the walls of the Valero compound as drawn by Giraud.

### Context of the 1935 Burials

When the depth of the burials is discussed in the articles it appears that the majority were found buried at a minimum of 3.5 ft to 5 ft (1.07 m to 1.52 m) below the 1935 surface (“...at a depth of 3.5 feet...” [SAE, 6 August 1935:4]; “...at a depth of from four to five feet...” [SAE August 9, 1935:16]; “... (a) wall...three feet below the surface... some...bodies were a foot below and underneath the wall...” [SAE, 20 August 1935:16]). Absent from the context information is any discussion on soil color or composition, including mention of gravels or marl.

### Artifacts Associated with the 1935 Burials

The majority of the articles from 1935 mention artifacts recovered during the course of the excavations of the burials as well as documenting an agreement between the Archdiocese of San Antonio and the Daughters of the

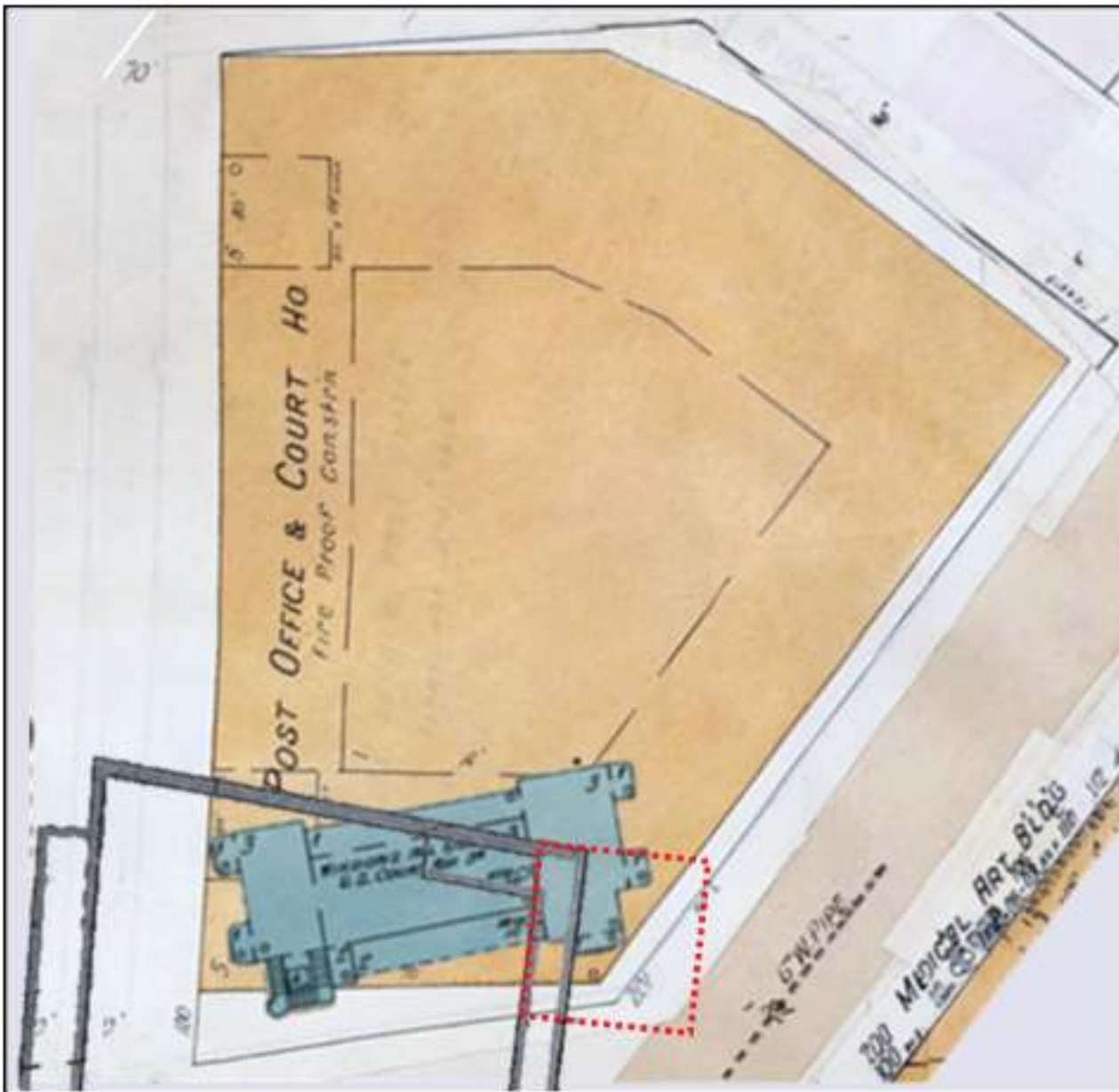


Figure 6-11. The 1851 François Giraud map of the Alamo and the 1896 post office/federal building footprint superimposed on Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1938: V2:121. The dotted red line indicates the area of the southeast corner of the Old Post Office.



Republic of Texas on disposition of those artifacts. The exact number of artifacts recovered is unknown. Table 6-2 only delineates those artifacts specifically mentioned in the August 1935 newspaper articles.

A contract between the Archdiocese of San Antonio and the Daughters of the Republic of Texas was mentioned in the SAL article captioned “P.O. Excavation Taken Over by Church” on August 9, 1935. The article included the following statement:

**ORDER GETS RELICS**

In the contract, she (Ms. Leita Small Custodian of the Alamo) said, any Catholic artifacts found, such as rosaries and crucifixes, will belong to the church while other articles will become the property of the Daughters of the Republic and the Alamo.

Of the 17 skulls unearthed, only one is perfect. Four boxes of bones will be turned over to the Catholic Church Friday. Roberts and Postmaster Dan Quill took to the digging with enthusiasm, Thursday afternoon unearthed the skull pierced with an arrowhead, a large number of beads undoubtedly part of a rosary, one large piece of pierced bone and numerous identical small pieces... [SAL, 9 August 1935:17].

It is currently known that the artifacts that became the property of the DRT were cataloged by Sam Woolford in 1935. Woolford’s investigations and description of the artifacts resulted in identifying that the large pierced bone and bone beads were actually Texas coastal modified marine shell artifacts of Indigenous manufacture (Woolford 1935). We lack any inventory or status for the artifacts returned to the Church. The current disposition of any of the artifacts is unknown in the present day. Regardless of lack of access to the artifacts or knowledge of their disposition, a limited

number of observations can be made from the descriptions provided. The first observation is that the artifacts as a group indicate a high probability that they date to the Spanish Colonial period, and specifically during the use period for Mission Valero, circa 1724 to 1793. Further, these historic artifacts appear associated with Native American mission inhabitants as they represent a mix of both Spanish as well as indigenous artifacts, e.g., European glass as well as likely indigenous manufactured artifacts like the pierced conch shell gorget and series of identical modified marine shell beads. The arrowhead that was recovered piercing the skull of one of the burials is also indicative of the Mission period as there were long term protracted conflicts with the Apache throughout most of the eighteenth century. The other European artifacts mentioned were the small copper bowl as well as a copper half-pint powder measure. Little additional attribution beyond the historic period can be made of these objects absent their inspection.

***Disposition of 1935 Burials***

The 1935 burials were all collected and housed with the Zizik-Kearnes Funeral parlors and then a Catholic Mass was held at San Fernando Cathedral followed by reinternment in San Fernando Cemetery Number 2 (SAE, 2 November 1935:16).

**Inaccuracies, inconsistencies, and incongruities of accounts for 1935**

There are several areas within the body of information contained in all the articles that required further analysis. These include a review of the articles in light of other primary documents to verify statements and inconsistencies between accounts. They also include examination of the various hypothesized attributions of the burials as a pre-Valero cemetery for Native American mission inhabitants (Flores account), a mass grave for Native Americans who died in an epidemic at Mission Valero (Robert’s account), Mexican soldiers buried by Col. Almonte (Machado

Table 6-2. Artifacts Recovered from August 1935 Burial Contexts and Mentioned in Newspaper Accounts

<b>Date</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Artifact(s)</b>
August 7, 1935	SAE page 11	Copper vessel 3 inch diameter
August 8, 1935	SAE page 12	Half-pint copper powder measure
August 8, 1935	SAE page 12	Small brass ring
August 9, 1935	SAE page 16	Arrow point – penetrating skull
August 9, 1935	SAE page 16	Several rosary beads
August 9, 1935	SAE page 16; Woolford 1935	Large pierced marine conch shell gorget
August 9, 1935	SAE page 16; Woolford 1935	Numerous identical small marine shell beads
August 20, 1935	SAE page 16	Small shell carvings
August 20, 1935	SAE page 16	Beads that were not rosaries

account), Alamo combatants buried where they fell (Weiss account) or Alamo defenders decapitated and buried there by remorseful Mexican officers (Herff account). This section reviews all these topics on a case-by-case basis, beginning with examination of the archival and historical underpinning of the Church's justification as presented by Flores. This is followed by examining each of the five accounts considering the archival evidence or subsequent investigation.

### ***The Various Statements of M. H. Flores***

M. H. Flores became involved with the controversy of the Old Post Office burials as he was the Superintendent of San Fernando Cemetery and an employee of the Archdiocese of San Antonio. During August 1935, articles reporting on the burials show Mr. Flores acting on behalf of the Archdiocese and interacting with both Leita Small of the DRT, B. P. Roberts who was involved in the excavations and Postmaster Dan Quill. It is over the course of the first two weeks that the Catholic Church begins to examine the evidence for a Catholic mission cemetery and to formulate a plan of action. By August 9, 1935, the Catholic Church "...laid claim to the bones on the theory that the site...had once been a Catholic burial ground" and that Mrs. Leita Small, Custodian of the Alamo, verified the same from an "old plan of the Alamo" (SAL, 9 August 1935:17). By August 11, 1935, M. H. Flores and the Archdiocese had moved beyond a "theory" and were operating on the basis that there was a Catholic Cemetery at the Old Post Office site and that both the "2-acre plat" and the Valero burial register proved this fact. However, a comprehensive review of those supporting documents, and considering previous statements, it is clear that M. H. Flores was incorrect about "...the two-acre plat..."; incorrect about the dates of the founding of Valero, incorrect for the period of use for the cemetery, and largely incorrect about the specific burials he associated with that cemetery.

### ***The Two Acre Plat and the Alamo Founded in 1732***

M. H. Flores' statement that the presence of a cemetery "...was established from the records that the two-acre plat, including the southeast corner of the post office site, where the remains were found, was used as a burial place before the Alamo was built in 1732" is incorrect on two accounts. The statement concerning a plat is, on its face incorrect as there were no "plats" in the colonial period (plat being a term associated with English law and land assembly). Since there was no such thing as a plat in the Spanish period, Mr. Flores must be relying on other *later* plats and or records to justify the presence of a cemetery (emphasis added). Report 15c from August 9, 1935, included the two following statements that are relevant to Flores' claims of August 11, 1935: "The Catholic church laid claim to the bones on the theory that

the site...had once been a Catholic burial ground" and Mrs. Leita Small, Custodian of the Alamo for the DRT, verifying the same from an "old plan of the Alamo" (SAL, 9 August 1935:17). The two key points are that the Catholic Church was operating on "the theory" and not on the "fact" that the bones represented a Catholic cemetery. The second point is that it was Mrs. Small who provided an "old plan" to justify that the area had been a cemetery. There never was a Catholic plat of a two-acre cemetery and the plat referenced by Mr. Flores is most likely the "old plan" provided by Mrs. Small. While we do not know which "old plan" Mrs. Small provided, it is likely that she utilized either the Green B. Jameson or François Giraud plans – neither of which show a cemetery in the area of contention. Regardless of which document was provided by Ms. Small as evidence of a plan or plat for a cemetery, examination by the writer of the records held by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library have not identified any map or copy of a map within their possession demonstrating a two-acre parcel set aside for a Campo Santo.

The conjoined statement that the site was "...used as a burial place before the Alamo was built in 1732" seems to refer to the Thrall's *History of Texas* that incorrectly stated that Mission Valero relocated to Military Plaza with the Presidio de Béxar in 1732 (Thrall 1885:97). Only the Presidio relocated to Military Plaza, but that was ten years earlier in 1722, and Mission Valero moved independently of the Presidio first in 1719 to La Villita and second in 1724 to its current site. Historian John H. Brown subsequently paraphrased Thrall's description of the relocation of the mission in 1732 but added that San Fernando was laid out "on the opposite side of the river" from the Presidio of San Antonio – another incorrect statement (Brown 1892: VI:25). The reality is that for researchers in 1935 the authoritative histories of Texas were rife with incorrect information for San Antonio in the colonial period and these errors were reproduced as a result. The situation for Mr. Flores was the same – some of his incorrect statements were made based on inaccurate information, previously published and considered factual.

### ***There was a previous chapel where the current chapel is located***

Flores' statement that "There was a chapel where the Alamo now stands and it is thought that the burial plat northwest of the Alamo was used in the 1700's" is correct only in the sense that there was an earlier chapel – in fact at least two – but neither of these chapels was on the site where "...the Alamo now stands".

Mr. Flores appears from his statements to have thought Valero started in 1732 and that the archival documents from Valero indicating the older dates from 1703 and 1729 were evidence of even earlier church structures on the site of the Alamo Chapel. These earlier documents are discussed below.

### ***The Burials of the Father of Governor Roque & Captain Perez***

Mr. Flores cited two burials from the Valero burial register as evidence that there had been an earlier occupation at the site and that this accounted for the burials discovered in the area of the southeast corner of the Old Post Office site. Mr. Flores specifically referred to the first burial in the register that was dated 1703 and was that of “the father of Governor Roque, but the date was illegible” and the second had a “... burial date which was distinct that of Capt. Nicholas Perez, Feb. 11, 1729” (SAE, 9 August 1935:16).

The 1703 entry is indeed for the father of Governor Roque, but it is clear that Mr. Flores had difficulty reading the old manuscript, for it gives the balance of the information:

On October 8, 1703, I buried Cristóbal, father of Governor Róque de los Santos, who had been baptized privately a few days prior by the padre ministro of this curacy, Fray Antonio San Buenaventura y Olivares. To attest to this, I sign as above, in the year of 1703” [Martínez-de Vara, translation of Valero burial record 1, October 8, 1703].

While Mr. Flores correctly translated what he could read of the record, his error was in not reading the preface immediately in advance of the burial 1 entry:

Burials of this Mission of San Antonio

From its Founding in the marshy wetlands of the Rio Grande with the name of San Francisco Solano. From this site it was moved to the place called San Ildefonso (having this dedication). From here it returned to the Rio Grande where it was named San José. Ultimately it was transplanted to the San Antonio River where it is with the name of San Antonio de Valero.

Burials of this Mission that was named San Francisco Solano, all of them, with the others, who from the beginning were buried, I Fray Diego Martin Garcia, the current Minister, transferred here the old books, because they are battered, and all entries are on loose sheets, and they are as follows. [Garcia 1718, Martínez-de Vara, translation of Preface, Valero Burial register]

There were no burials at Mission San Antonio de Valero in the year 1703 for the mission was not founded until May of 1718. Record entry number 1 that Mr. Flores translated was for the first burial of Mission San Francisco Solano across

the Rio Grande. This mission itself moved two additional times, taking two additional names, San Ildefonso and San José, before being moved a fourth time to San Antonio where it took on the name of San Antonio de Valero. Further, Mission Valero had two earlier sites in San Antonio, the first near to the headwaters area of San Pedro Creek and the second in the area of what is now called La Villita. Only the burials after 1724 possibly represent interments at the third and final site of Valero.

The second entry provided by Mr. Flores is correct as to the day, month and year but he mistranslated Flores for Perez, as the correct name is Captain Nicolas Flores, who was the Captain of the Presidio de Béxar. His burial information was given in entry number 244:

Captain Nicolás Flores, Spanish

On February 11, 1729, Captain Nicolás Flores was given an ecclesiastical burial in this Mission of San Antonio de Valero having received the Holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, although everything conditionally for his death was so sudden and for the record, I sign, on said day, month and year, *ut supra*.

Fray Salvador de Amaya (Martínez-de Vara, translation of Valero burial record 244/128, October 8, 1703).

Captain Nicolas Flores was buried at Mission San Antonio de Valero. The precise location is unknown.

### ***That the cemetery was used as late as 1775***

It is not clear why Superintendent Flores made this statement as there are no archival documents that support that contention. While only four individuals were recorded in the burial register for that year, there are no notations for that year or for the year before or after indicating cessation or initiation of burials at any given place at the mission. The Valero burial register is complete up to the year 1782. The records for the last decade of the mission before it was secularized are missing. A possible interpretation of Flores' comment would be to say that he considered 1775 a close date to 1782. Regardless, wherever the burials were occurring, they continued to occur from 1775 to 1793.

### ***After 1738 burials took place at San Fernando Churchyard***

Similar to the incorrect statement that Valero was founded in 1732, the contention that the parish church of San Fernando was founded and operating in 1738 is also false

and for two reasons. The first reason is that even if the San Fernando parish cemetery were operating in 1738, Native American converts from Valero would not have been buried there – they would continue to be buried at Valero. The second reason is that San Fernando Parish cemetery burials, both on the interior of the church and *ad sanctos* burials in the eastern yard or on the sides of the church, appear to have begun only after about 1756. A 1756 deposition by the parish priest Father Juan Cárdenas stated that a cemetery had not been prepared for the new church of San Fernando by that date (Benavides 2003:18; Cárdenas 1756: F. 5072, 5077).

### ***Examination of the Flores Account***

The examination of this account has largely been accomplished through the prior review of the statements made by Mr. Flores and scrutinizing the archival documents he presented as justification. It is important to return to the observation that while Flores' supporting arguments and materials did not directly support his attribution of the burials to an earlier pre-Valero cemetery, that alone has no bearing relative to the other factors that clearly indicate the presence of a burial yard or cemetery as the origin of the 1935 encounters. Mr. Flores was still right, even if for the wrong reasons. His arguments blend with those of B. P. Roberts, with Flores also supporting the proposition that some of the burials were "...bodies...dumped into their resting places during an epidemic" (SAE August 9, 1935:16) while others "...were buried there early in the 18th century, the place having served as a cemetery for some 30 to 40 years up until about 1738..." (SAE, 9 August 1935:16).

### ***Examination of the Robert's Account***

The Robert's account is perhaps the most archaeological in its observations and interpretations concerning the burials. The first article published, "Movers of Tree Find Aged Bones" provided a bit of background on Roberts, mentioning that he was a horticulturalist and that he had been involved with the excavation and reinterment of "...several dozen skeletons...exposed by the shifting sands on Padre Islands" (SAE August 6, 1935:4). B. P. Roberts held to the opinion that "...the bones are the bones of Indians who were killed and buried hurriedly, either by their own tribe or the earliest settlers...I certainly feel Mr. Flores is correct about this being a cemetery at one time. I know there are more bodies there and as excavations proceed they will be found buried, as they would be by the church" (SAE, 6 August 1935:4). In Robert's interviews and reporting throughout August of 1935, he consistently reports what he saw before justifying his interpretation. For example, Robert's doubted that the interments were church burials on account that "They were found in many positions, some face down, some lying across each other..." and that despite

making diligent search "...he was unable to find a button, nail, or any signs of wood or cloth having been used in the burial" (SAE, 20 August 1935:16). Roberts also made the important observation of the position of the bodies relative to an east-west wall alignment and that the wall post-dated the burials (SAE, 6 August 1935:4). Robert's account is unique amongst the five accounts in that he makes few if any arguments beyond what he observes from his excavations. His argument and that of Flores essentially merge, with both variously supporting each in arguing for a cemetery that holds a mass interment as well as individual interments that are from the Catholic Mission period and without connection to the Battle and Siege of the Alamo in 1836. Robert's took particular issue with the attributions by Weiss and Machado in his August 20, 1935 article "Excavator Denies Bones of Soldiers" (SAE, 20 August, 1935:16). Roberts would have undoubtedly also taken issue with Herff's attribution made September 1, 1935, though no reply to Herff's article was written.

### ***Examination of the Weiss Account***

The Weiss account is one of three accounts based on opinion absent knowledge of the direct observation of either excavations or the examination of human remains and artifacts. Weiss proposed that they were "...the skeletons of soldiers who fought in the battle of the Alamo and were buried where they fell" (SAE, 12 August 1935:14). He proposed this attribution based on his remembrances of the original excavation of the area for the construction of the 1890 Post Office and Federal Building, saying that "...at the time of the excavation...there were many old cannon, swords and rusty weapons unearthed besides many skeletons" and "...that a number of cannon found on the postoffice (sic) site were later mounted on the walls around the Alamo" (SAE, 12 August, 1935:14).

Other archival accounts specifically mention the discovery of cannons immediately west across the street on the Samuel Maverick house property between 1852 and 1908. These cannons represented some of the cannons that were rendered inoperable (by spiking the touch holes and knocking off the cascabel and trunnions) and thrown into trenches or ditches around the Alamo compound in late May of 1836 on order of General Filisola to General Andrade (Filisola (Goliad) to Andrade (Béxar). Other cannons were reported immediately south and west on the site of the Maverick Bank building. While no accounts of similar finds were discovered during this current review, it is quite possible that Weiss' account of cannons and other battle related artifacts on the site of the Old Post Office is correct, as well as the presence of human remains. The question is not an either-or proposition, as there could have been a cemetery deposit at 3.5 ft to 5 ft (1.07 m to 1.52 m) in depth and the later Alamo Battle period artifacts either situated above or located within trenches excavated through the earlier cemetery deposits. The ostensible discrepancy with the Weiss attribution is not the possibility

or impossibility of Alamo Battle period artifacts and remains; rather, it is that the remains and associated artifacts uncovered in 1935 clearly do not conform to the 1835-1836 period.

### ***Examination of the Machado Account***

The Machado account is unique in that it is a primary firsthand account of a series of events that occurred during the Battle of the Alamo narrated by a participant, Col. Juan N. Almonte, albeit some sixteen years after the events. Almonte was educated in the United States and was the Mexican officer who served as an aide and translator for Santa Anna during their shared captivity in Washington, D. C., after the defeat at San Jacinto on April 21, 1836. Following his return to Mexico he served in several positions before accepting a post from Emperor Maximilian. Following the defeat and dissolution of the Second Mexican Empire in 1867, Almonte fled to France where he died in exile in 1869. There is no reason to discount Almonte's 1852 narrative of events from the Alamo in 1836. However, like the Weiss account, one can accept the Almonte account as true and have it still be unrelated to the 1935 burials. Considering the depth at which most burials were found it seems unlikely that he and the other actors who buried the corpses of the fallen Mexican officers and conscript soldiers had time to dig a large pit some four ft (1.22 m) deep under cover of darkness. The Weiss attribution is likely incorrect since Almonte's account does not conform to the burials as described.

### ***Examination of the Herff Account***

The Herff account suggests that the remains of decapitated Texas soldiers were buried by remorseful Mexican officers. Herff cites four individuals as his authorities for this account: Antonio Menchaca, Juan Losoya, a "Mr. Castanola" who is likely Andres Castano, and Peter Gallagher, all of whom "... lived in the beginning of the last century...that after the Battle of the Alamo Mexican soldiers began cutting off the heads of the Texans (SAE, 1 September 1935). As previously noted, this description of decapitations is the only account of such an act. Regardless, of the four authorities listed, only Juan Losoya was present at the time of the Battle of the Alamo and its aftermath. Antonio Menchaca (1800-1879), on the advice of Bowie and Seguin, had already fled San Antonio to Gonzalez, Texas with his family and was not present for the events described (Menchaca 1937:23). Likewise, Peter Gallagher (1812-1878) immigrated to Texas in 1837 (having first lived in New Orleans from 1829 to 1836) settling in San Antonio. He could not therefore have been a firsthand observer of the alleged events in 1836. Luis Castañon (1820-1899) was present during the Siege of Béxar in November and December of 1935 and later served under Seguin and Salvador Flores during the Texas Revolution. After the revolution, Castañon became a Texas Ranger of some renown. Like Menchaca and Gallagher, he was not a firsthand observer

of the events of March 6 and 7, 1836, in San Antonio. Fully three of the four authorities cited by Dr. Herff were not present and therefore not firsthand observers.

Juan Losoya was the brother of Torribio Losoya and both were sons of Ventura Losoya and Concepción Charli. Juan, his mother and two sisters, were also present and among the few non-combatants to survive the February-March 1836 battle and siege. Juan Losoya would have been 13 years old in March of 1836. While it is possible that Herff and Losoya spoke in 1870 there is no other account from Losoya or any other contemporary who makes the decapitation claim. This leaves the question of what may have prompted Dr. Herff to make such a claim or for any of the four authorities to have supported such a claim. There is no clear reason for doing so and absent the discovery of new archival evidence or firsthand accounts this account is at best speculative.

A possible consideration for the "headless" skeletons may be the fact that encounters with human remains in the northern reaches of the plaza between 1890 and 1935 have nearly all been described as lacking intact skulls: "a piece of a human skull in one corner (SL, 4 November 1895:4); "...the bones were parts of human ribs and skulls..." (SAL, 24 June 1908:9); "...internment had taken place so long ago that the skull had disintegrated..." (SAL, 24 January 1912:2); "...of the 17 skulls unearthed, only one is perfect" (SAL, 9 August 1935:17). It may be the case that Dr. Herff and others observed the absence of intact human skulls as evidence of decapitation and that the attribution of the Old Post Office skeletons to the story presented by Dr. Herff was a means to explain such an occurrence.

### **Summary of Report 15a through 15i Discussion**

An article published in *The Southern Messenger* on October 31, 1935, aptly described some of the disparate and perhaps unexpected results of the burials encountered in July and August of that year:

Leaving aside all technical and academic disputes, moot questions and historical discussion as to whether some of the newly discovered remains are those of the heroes, defenders or founders of the Alamo, or wards of the mission, this much is certain, namely, the recent discovery aroused an intense interest in the old Franciscan missions in and about San Antonio, our most valued and highly treasured landmarks, these ancient bulwarks of Christian civilization, lasting monuments to unwavering faith and undaunted courage [*Southern Messenger*, October 1935].

Despite the various attributions and leavening of inaccuracies, the collection of articles from 1935 provide areas of consensus:

- 1) Location: off the southeast corner of the 1890 Old Post Office Building and along the eastern side of the site along Avenue E.
- 2) Context: burials were encountered between 3.5 ft (1.07 m) and to depths greater than 5 ft (1.52 m).
- 3) Artifacts: Included both European and Native American materials indicative of the Spanish Colonial Mission period.
- 4) Disposition: The first skeleton encountered appears to have been reburied at an address in Alamo Heights, Texas while the others were interred at San Fernando Cemetery Number 2 following a funeral Mass at San Fernando Cathedral on November 2, 1935.

Discrepancies in the 1935 narrative for archival documents supporting a Catholic cemetery:

- 1) There was never a two-acre plat documenting a cemetery; rather, M. H. Flores and others relied on “old plans” provided by Leita Small, DRT Custodian of the Alamo. These documents are likely the François Giraud Plat of the Alamo and one or another of the Battle period or immediate post-Battle period maps such as Green B. Jameson; Everett Edwards, etc., maps.
- 2) The Valero Burial registers were incorrectly translated (in part) and largely misinterpreted – that the first burial on site was in 1703 or that burials ceased in 1775.
- 3) The inferences to the use period of the cemetery had been predicated on incorrect prevailing historical authority – that Valero was founded in 1732 or that burials were moved to San Fernando in 1738.

The five attributions of the origin of the cemetery, on examination, strongly support the contentions of M. H. Flores and B. P. Roberts, that the burials represent an early cemetery associated with Mission Valero and potentially a mass grave associated with an epidemic event at Valero. The proximity of the location to Mission Valero, let alone one of the potential first church sites, coupled with the Spanish Colonial period artifacts reported, and the human osteological analysis of Glassman documenting that the population was Native American, leave little doubt that the remains are those of Mission period Native American inhabitants of Mission Valero. Of the remaining attributions, the Weiss and Machado attributions of Alamo Battle combatants hastily buried or of

Mexican officers and soldiers buried by Almonte, both fail to account for the differences in age and sex of the actual burial population. In addition, there is a lack of any artifactual materials to support such an attribution, and the accounts do not match the actual context of the burials encountered. The Herff account appears to not rely on actual firsthand accounts of the events of March 1836. Three of the four authorities he cited in support of his attribution were not present in San Antonio at the time nor had they made any representations of the purported decapitations either in 1836 or after 1870. It is possible that the lack of intact human skulls in excavations in the area led to the belief that decapitation accounted for their apparently headless condition.

### **Report 16a – 1937 – Skeletons Found in Alamo Chapel**

On December 31, 1936, workmen preparing for the installation of a flagstone floor on the interior of the Alamo Chapel, uncovered human remains, including portions of three skulls, a hip joint and several arm and leg bones, between the first and second arches (SAEN, 5 January 1937; Austin American Statesman, 6 January 1937). Leita Small participated in the excavation and suggested that the remains could be those of Alamo defenders “...based on the fact that not all the bodies of the fallen Texans were burned after the battle...and concluded some were later found to be buried beneath the debris in the chapel and buried on the spot...” (SAEN, 5 January 1937).

### **Report 16b – 1937 – Skeletons Found in Alamo Chapel**

The skeletons were described as those of three adults and one child, did not appear to be buried in coffins, and were very shallowly buried relative to the ground surface (SAE, 6 January 1937:7). The bones were subsequently reinterred on the same spot in a lead-lined concrete vault and a marker placed on the floor designating the spot (Small 1938:51-52).

### **Report 17 – 1979 – Human Skull Found near North Wall**

This account addresses human remains uncovered at the Alamo and is reported on in *Archaeological and Historical Investigations at the Alamo North Wall, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas* (Ivey and Fox 1997). That report is discussed in Chapter 2, and in a subsequent section. This current discussion focuses solely on the newspaper accounts.

In 1979, the upper portion of a human skull (the cranium which is the bulbous portion of the skull absent the maxilla and mandible and portions of the orbitals) was found some 33 to 38 inches (84 to 96.5 cm) below the ground surface

within a ditch feature "...embedded between stones and had been "miraculously preserved"" (SAE, 29 March 1979:1; Ivey and Fox 1997:19). UTSA-CAR archaeologist Anne Fox stated that the skull fragment was "...most likely a casualty during the fall of the Alamo who was covered with debris and remained there...History tells us that Santa Anna ordered the defenders to be burned on funeral pyres. I just think this one was overlooked in the cleaning process" (SAE, 29 March 1979:1). The cranium was recovered and transported to UTSA-CAR for osteological examination and continues to be curated.

**Report 18 – 1989 – Skull Found Within Wall of Monks Burial Chamber**

Although not reported on until 1993, a human skull was discovered by stonemason Baltazar Espinosa while making repairs to the interior wall of the Monks Burial Chamber near the doorway to the sacristy (B. Espinosa, personal communication August 12, 2021; SAEN, 14 February 1993). The skull was partially collapsed, lacked a mandible and no other skeletal elements or artifacts were associated with it in the wall (Baltazar Espinosa, personal communication August 12, 2021). Following consultation with the Texas Historical Commission, the skull was left in place and the wall resealed. No analyses were performed.

**Report 19 – 1995 – Human Remains Encountered in South Transept**

On February 14, 1995, CAR archaeologists concluding excavations in the south transept of the Alamo Chapel encountered "...a femur and an upper jawbone with some teeth intact..." (SAEN, 15 February 15 1995). These remains are the same as those reported on in the UTSA CAR report, *The Alamo Restoration and Conservation Project: Excavations at the South Transept* (Meissner 1996:57-61).

**Report 20a – 2019 – Human Remains Found in Alamo Chapel**

An October 12, 2019 article in the San Antonio Express News captioned "Finding of bones could halt archaeological work

at Alamo" mentioned the discovery of scattered human bones fragments "...in ground previously disturbed by a sewer utility installation and former construction" (Huddleston 2019a:A003). No specific location within the Alamo Chapel, depth of encounter, or disposition of the remains were presented in the article.

**Report 20b – 2019 – Human Remains Found in Alamo Chapel**

On October 15, 2019, a follow-up article in the Express News specifically mentioned that the human remains had been encountered in four locations within the Alamo Chapel and that treatment of the remains was subject to a previously executed human remains treatment protocol (Huddleston, 2019b:A001). The article also provided the dates, locations, depth and a list of bones encountered, and these are enumerated in Table 6-3.

**Report 20c – 2019 – Human Remains Found in Alamo Chapel**

Two months later a December 17, 2019, an SAEN article captioned "Bones could hinder Alamo makeover" noted that the disarticulated remains had given way to intact burials, with an infant and adult burial identified in the nave of the church and a partial skeleton of a young adult encountered in the "Monks Burial Room" (Huddleston2019c:1 and 12). The article also addressed the partial remains encountered in August and September and that these remains had been collected and were in storage in the Alamo vault, but that the new remains would remain in place for now (Huddleston 2019c:1).

**Report 20d – 2020 – Human Remains Found in Alamo Chapel**

The Express article noted that the issue of DNA testing continued into 2020 with the Texas Historical Commission voting 5-0 to allow the excavation and preservation work to continue with DNA testing as an option for the General Land Office (Huddleston 2020:A001). The discussion also noted that there was evidence of at least one coffin but with disagreement as to whether a coffin burial automatically implied a post-

Table 6-3. Human Remains Provenience as Reported by the San Antonio Express October 15, 2019

Date	Location	Depth	Elements of Human Bone
August 14, 2019	Church nave	not given	Tooth (adult)
August 15, 2019	Monks Room	"a few inches"	Talus (ankle)
September 23, 2019	Monks Room	"a few inches"	2 teeth, metacarpal bones (hand) and 10-15 fragments
September 24, 2019	Monks Room	"a few inches"	A rib, two finger bones, and part of a vertebra

colonial burial and whether the coffin burial was a re-burial or original inhumation (Huddleston 2020:A001).

### Archaeological Reports of Burials or Human Remains

In addition to the reports of burials and human remains from newspapers and journal accounts, there are five professional archaeological reports that include discussion of one or more encounters with human remains. These reports date from 1980 to 2018 and do not include the current work undertaken by RKI as that work is ongoing. Though an archaeological report is not yet complete, information associated with the THC issued Texas Antiquities Permit (TAP) is publicly available. Two TAPs were obtained by RKI for the 2019-2020 work, and we reviewed documents related to both for this discussion. Documents supporting the TAPs include the permit applications, associated notifications, and amendments. These TAP documents allow for brief *ad interim* commentary in this report on the human remains encountered in the 2019-2020 excavations. Further, while the TAPs are primary documents, they are not definitive as they represent the opinions of the professional archaeologists involved as of the date of permit application, modification request, or notification to THC of status or encounters with human remains. As such, TAP documentation is subject to revised interpretation based on subsequent excavation and/or analysis. The report produced by RKI and approved by the THC and the General Land Office (GLO) will constitute the definitive position concerning the context, attribution, and discussion of the archaeological work.

Table 6-4 compiles archaeological reports of burials or recovery of human remains. For many of the records, both newspaper and corresponding archaeological reports exist. Table 6-4 provides a list of the five published archaeological accounts, the 2019-2020 unpublished Raba Kistner archaeological work associated with the two TAPs, the general location, source, year, and brief description. Also included is a column noting association with newspaper or journal accounts discussed in the preceding section.

#### Report 21 – Tooth from West Wall, 1977-1978 Excavations (1980)

This account represents the first archaeologically-identified human remains recovered at the Alamo and is referenced in a 1980 presentation compiled and presented by James E. Ivey titled “Slide Show of West Wall Excavations” related to excavations on the site of the former Radio Shack (Ivey 1980). The presence of a human single tooth is not de facto evidence of a human burial, and no other remains were encountered or reported from these excavations. This tooth is housed in the CAR curation facilities, together with the balance of artifacts recovered from the 1977-1978 Radio Shack project.

#### Report 22 – Osteological Examination of 1935 Old Post Office Remains, 1989 (1994)

The reader should consider the unusual circumstances surrounding this particular report. The Glassman report is a primary account of the assessment of the remains from the 1935 Old Post Office excavations made in 1989-1990. It is not a primary document from 1935 nor does it represent the

Table 6-4. Archaeological Reports of Burials or Human Remains

Rec	Location(s)	Cite	Year	Description	Table 6.1
21	West Wall	K	1980	Human tooth (adult)	None
22	Old Post Office	L	1994	Multiple burials	Reports 20a - 20d
23	South Transept	M	1996	Disarticulated	Report 19
24	North Wall	N	1997	Cranium	Report 17
25	West Wall	O	2018	Deciduous tooth (child)	None
26	Nave (2), South Transept (1), Monks Burial Room (1)	P	2019	Four burials	Report 21
27	Nave (13), Monks Burial Room (1)	Q	2020	Fourteen burials	None
Citations					
K	Ivey, J. E., Slide Show of West Wall Excavations. Report on File at UTSA-CAR				
L	Glassman, D. M., Description and Interpretation of Skeletal Remains from Burial on Alamo Plaza				
M	Meissner, B. A., Alamo Restoration and Conservation Project: Excavations at the South transept				
N	Ivey, J.E. and A. A. Fox, Archaeological and Historical Investigations at the Alamo North Wall				
O	Anderson, N. J., et al., Archaeological Testing of Site 41BX6, The Alamo				
P	Texas Antiquities Permit # 8713				
Q	Texas Antiquities Permit # 9446				



condition or quantity of remains recovered in 1935. As was mentioned in *Disposition of the 1935 Remains* following the Report 15 accounts, these remains were reinterred in San Fernando Cemetery No. 2 in November of 1935 (“Bones of Texas Settlers Buried In Single Grave” November 3, 1935, page 1A). These remains were re-exhumed by the Catholic Church in 1957 and relocated to another location within the cemetery, some 100 yards (91.4 m) from the original 1935 location (Glassman 1994:1). It is an important consideration that by the time the remains were examined by Glassman they had been exhumed and reburied twice before (1935 and 1957) and it is unknown what condition or possible loss of remains or their integrity may have taken place between November of 1935 and 1989 when they were exhumed for the third time.

These burials were re-exhumed on April 11, 1989, from San Fernando and evaluated by Archaeologist David M. Glassman of Southwest Texas State University, who specialized in human osteology. A total of 5,529 fragments of human bone were tabulated with 3,888 of them either fragments of unidentifiable long bones or chips of bone that could not be assigned (Glassman 1994:3-6). As a result of the condition of the bones on examination in 1989, Glassman was able to confirm only a minimum number of individuals present of 7, far lower than the reported 37 burials reported in 1935. While Glassman’s report was limited as a result of the condition of the remains, several valuable observations were made. Glassman’s evaluation attributed most of the burial population to be Native American (Glassman 1994:7). Glassman also observed that the population represented by the remains was generally healthy and, if buried as a result of a single epidemic event, did not conform to expectations for cholera, as cholera disproportionately affects infants and children at higher rates than adults (Glassman 1994:9). Ultimately, Glassman noted that the cause of death for individuals from the 1935 burials group was otherwise indeterminate given the condition and co-mingling of the remains. Following the examination, the remains were returned to the Archdiocese and reinterred for the third time at San Fernando Number 2.

### **Report 23 – Human Remains in South Transept, 1995 Excavations (1996)**

These remains were encountered from 59 to 99 cm (2 to 3.25 ft) below the current flagstone surface and are reported in “The Alamo Restoration and Conservation Project: Excavations at the South Transept” (Meissner 1996:37; 57-61). The burial(s) encountered presented as areas of soft sediments in the floor of the finished excavations, some of which collapsed exposing identifiable human remains (a portion of a human maxilla and long bone) in two different locations. These remains were left in place and the cavities backfilled. The exact number of burials represented was not determined nor whether the remains were articulated (Meissner 1997:58-59). All loose soil from the

excavations was screened and several small, disarticulated, isolated human bones were recovered and then reburied with those that remained in situ when the chapel interior excavations were backfilled (Meissner 1997:58-59). Members of the Tap-Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation were permitted to attend and to conduct a ceremonial reburial of the remains.

### **Report 24 – Cranium from North Wall, 1979 Excavations (1997)**

This account represents the second instance of an archaeological encounter with human remains in the project area. The remains consisted of a human cranium encountered in excavations in 1979 but not reported on until 1997 (Ivey and Fox 1997). That report is discussed in Chapter 2 of the current document. The remains appeared to be those of a probable male of Hispanic, non-Hispanic Anglo, or Mestizo biological affinity with an estimated age of 17 to 23 years (Glassman and Steele 1997:63; McKenzie et al. 2020:9). The cranium exhibited a gash consistent with perimortem or postmortem sharp trauma. Dr. David M. Glassman concluded that the gash may have been the result of a knife or saber wound above the left eye. Dr. D. Gentry Steele, after microscopic examination of the trauma, suggested the damage was inflicted postmortem. There is no current consensus on the cause of death or attribution of the remains. Archaeologist James E. Ivey, who was one of the principals of the 1979 excavations and lead author on the 1997 excavation report, believes that the remains are likely associated with the Battle of the Alamo. This is based on the damaged condition of the skull and its provenience within a defensive trench, the alignment of which matches a trench shown on both the Labastida and Berlandier maps (Ivey and Fox 1997:35-38; Labastida 1836; Berlandier 1836).

### **Report 25 – Deciduous Premolar from West Wall 2016 Excavations (2017)**

Test excavations along the west wall of the Mission compound in the summer of 2016 recovered a deciduous premolar. The tooth was analyzed in the field lab and subsequently reburied with the collaboration and consent of the Tap Pilam and tribal monitors (Anderson et al. 2018). The tooth cannot be specifically attributed to a burial with certainty as the loss of “baby” teeth are routine occurrences. The tooth is the second found in this area, the first being that reported on from the 1977-78 Radio shack excavations (Ivey 1980).

### **Report 26 – Eighteen Burials in the Alamo Chapel, 2019-2020 Excavations**

In January 2019, TAP #8713 was obtained by RKI for excavations associated with preservation work on the

Alamo Church and Long Barrack. During the work, four intentional human burials designated Burials 1, 2, 3 and 4, were encountered between October and December of 2019 at depths ranging from 49 cm to 119.5 cm (19.25 inches to 36.50 inches) below the datum (THC 2019). These burials were all encountered in separate units within the extant stone chapel (Valero site #3 Church #3). Burials 1 and 2 were encountered in the nave of the chapel; Burial 3 in the Monks Burial Room, and Burial 4 in the south transept (THC 2019). These burials correspond with those reported in the *San Antonio Express News* and discussed in Reports 21a through 21d. The burials were not exhumed at that time but were approved for exhumation under the subsequent permit AP#9446, which addressed their exhumation as well as protocols governing notification and exhumation for potential additional encounters with human remains (THC 2019, 2020).

Fourteen additional burials were encountered within the footprint of the Alamo Chapel between June 1, 2020, and December 7, 2020 (THC 2020). Eleven of the new burials were encountered within expanded excavations along the south wall of the Nave as it runs east from the baptistery. These 11 new burials were found following the excavation associated with Burial 1. The 11 new burials were numbered 6 and 9-18 and ranged in encounter depth from 22 cm to 110 cm (8.66 inches to 43.3 inches) below the unit datum (THC 2020). Reporting on the 11 additional burials included observations about the lack of funerary objects in association with the encountered remains.

Finding 12 burials in a space of 60.35 sq. ft (5.6 sq. m) is concomitant with expectations for a Spanish Colonial Mission subfloor. The noted absence of coffins, except for Burial 12, the variable depth of the interments, and the interruption of earlier burials by later burials, are analogous to church subfloor excavations at local missions as well as San Fernando Cathedral (see Chapter 3 for discussion). The density of burials is also similar to the descriptions of the 1935 burials found at the north end of the plaza and support the hypothesis that Valero site #3 Church #1 was located in that area.

Unique aspects of the burial assemblage include notations that Burial 10 appeared to represent a secondary burial, which, while rare, is also consistent with the Spanish Colonial practice of providing ecclesiastical burial to remains of individuals who either perished through misadventure or were killed in wilderness interactions with Native Americans. There are numerous entries in the Valero burial register that attest to this practice (see Table 6-5)

Secondary burials were also given to the bones of both religious and lay persons by transfer from closed missions. There is a single entry with such a notation in Valero Burial 646, “María Magdalena, adult of the Xarame nation, on October 26, 1749, her bones were buried in this Church on July 17, 1750...She was buried in the Church of San Ildefonso del Rio de San Xavier, where she died” (Martínez de Vara 2022:229-230).

A second unique aspect was the remains of a coffin identified in potential association with Burial 12, consisting of “Two to three heavily deteriorated wood planks...at the bottom center of the eastern portion of the Burial 12 grave shaft...” and a second “...80cm long alignment of deteriorating wood plank fragments and three, corroded, ferrous nails...along the northern boundary of Burial 14 [adjacent to Burial 12] (THC 2021). Burial 12 was beneath Burial 9, but in superposition to Burial 14. Further analysis of the recovered coffin nails or other associated artifacts may allow for attribution of the burial to the Colonial or Post-colonial period.

Two of the 14 additional burials were found in another expanded unit. These burials included the previously encountered Burial 2 and two additional interments, Burials 7 and 8 (THC 2020). Burials 2 and 7 were both exhumed, while Burial 8 was left *in situ*. Burials 7 and 8 flanked Burial 2, with 7 to the north of 2 and 8 to the south. All three burials were encountered below 80 cm from the datum, with Burial 2 slightly higher. Like the other burial assemblage, no funerary objects were reported.

Burial 2 included the presence of a six-sided “toe pincher” coffin. Six-sided (hexagonal) coffins are a result of changes in

Table 6.5. Valero Burials Associated with Native American Violence

Burial #	Date	Statement	Citation
155	May 15, 1722	“...ecclesiastical burial was given to the bones of Ysidro...who was killed by the Apache Indians on the Texas Road...”	1
469	March 26, 1743	“...gave an ecclesiastical burial to the bones of...Santiago Aldana who was killed by the Apaches on the Brazos River...”	1
737,738, 739	October 24, 1754	“...Coco Indians having killed three adult Indians ... Asencio...Diego... (and) Carlos...the bones were buried”	1
1	Leal 1978, burial entries 155, 469, 737, 738, and 739		
2	Martínez de Vara 2020:47, 160-161, and 268-269		

English Law allowing coffin burial beginning in 1704 and the standardization of the hexagonal coffin for English funerals – and by extension to funerals in the English colonies, including North America (<http://www.coffinworks.org/from-coffins-to-caskets-an-american-history/> accessed October 8, 2021). Six-sided coffins are an English derived cultural practice and persisted in the United States until the end of the Civil War, when four-sided coffins/caskets became the norm. The presence of a hexagonal toe-pincher coffin suggests that the burial is likely both post-Spanish Colonial and post-Mexican period, dating to circa 1836 or later.

## **Summary of Archival and Archaeological Reports of Burials – 1846 – 2020**

The examination of the archival and archaeological reports of burials provides an opportunity to more accurately plot past burial and/or cemetery locations as potentially predictive of additional associated burials and as a means of determining the cultural and/or temporal association of those burials. These plots also serve to indicate the potential for disarticulated remains and additional burials that remain in these areas. Following the location of remains discussion, the summary examines the question of attribution of these clusters and individual or disarticulated remains.

### **Locations of Clusters of Burials – 1846 – 2020**

There are two distinct clusters of human burials. The two areas consist of a.) Burials in association with the stone chapel (the third church at the third site of Valero); and b.) Burials in the northern reaches of Alamo Plaza and those associated with street improvements and with construction of both the 1890 and 1937 Post Offices and Federal Buildings (see Figure 6-12). Discussion of individual burials and/or single encounters with disarticulated human remains associated with buildings or immediately adjacent to building on the Alamo grounds are discussed at the end of the section of clusters of burials; all other reports outside of that footprint will be discussed at the conclusion of that section.

### **Cluster A – Burials within or adjacent to Alamo Building and Grounds**

At least 32 reported burials have been encountered within or adjacent to the Alamo Chapel between 1846 and 2020, including the 18 burials recently encountered between 2019 and 2020 (Table 6-6). That human burials have been encountered within the church is concomitant with Spanish Colonial cultural practices and Catholic mortuary customs of the eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth century. Most of the burials reported within the nave appear to be from contexts that suggest association with the Mission or Pueblo de Valero

period of use. The two coffin burials also offer opportunities to document rare coffin burials from the Colonial-Mexican period, or to explore the potential that the burials postdate the Siege of B exar or the Battle of the Alamo.

The so-called Monks Burial Room was likely used as a sacristy for the Valero site #3 Church #4 when the sacristy of the Valero site #3 Church #3 was repurposed for use as the fourth church. The presence of burials beneath a church subfloor is expected. Burials in sacristies is also compatible with colonial practice. Human burials in these contexts are known from archival records and archaeological reports from Mission San Jos e y San Miguel de Aguayo (Nickles and Fox 1999). The immured skull (Report #18) is, practically speaking, not a burial as it is an isolated skeletal element. As the skull was not examined by an osteologist and no analyses took place, nothing more can be commented on aside from the peculiarity of such a find.

The burials that were encountered during the Grenet renovations and constructions in 1878 were discovered in the small room that formed the corner of the south convento block. This small room may have also been repurposed and utilized as a chancel or sacristy considering the placement of the room immediately adjacent to the Church #3 sacristy which was itself repurposed as Church #4 after the collapse of Church #3. Like the Monks Burial Room, there is every reason to expect burials in such a space. No burials have been reported from beneath the floor of the third church sacristy as no excavations have been made or reported on in that location.

The burials from the exterior of the south transept and between the south transept and baptistery may represent *ad sanctos* or *ad hoc* burials. The earlier 1895 burial, Report 8, was not fully excavated and the burial reported from 2020 has not been fully reported on. If the account of burials by Frazar as being immediately in front of the Valero stone chapel in 1881-1882 is accurate (Report #4), then those burials would likely be associated with a *Campo Santo* in that location.

### ***Disarticulated Human Remains within Cluster A***

The numerous archival and archaeological reports of disarticulated human remains from the Alamo grounds and within colonial structures presents a number of problems. From an attribution standpoint, and based on the historical record, it is likely that most disarticulated human remains are associated with Colonial period burials. The practice of repeated use of the subfloors of churches for burials necessitated the disturbance and/or relocation of previously buried human remains. Later disturbances from the installation of utilities and drains all impacted the subfloor of these structures and likely caused further disturbance.

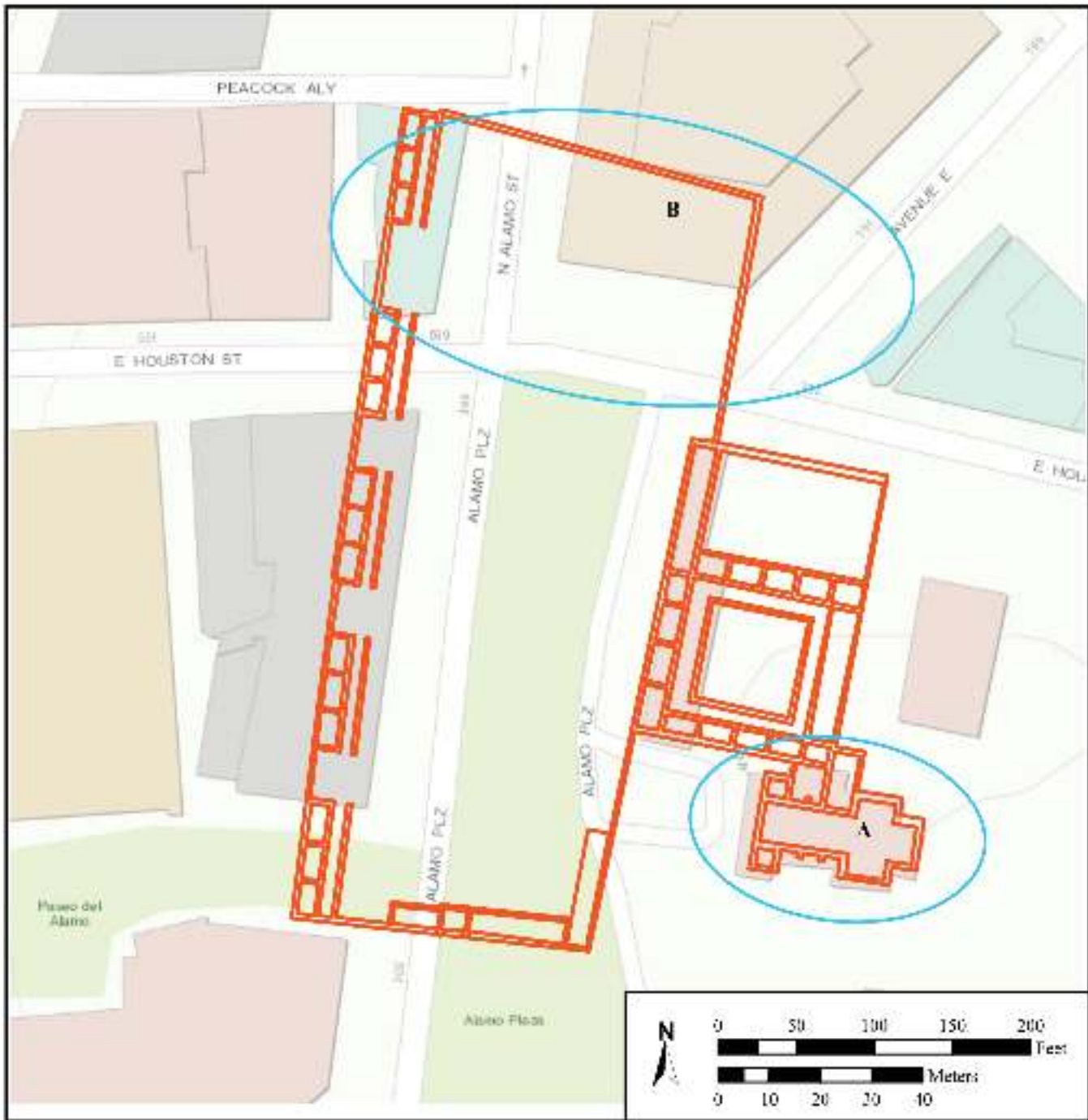


Figure 6-12. The two clusters of burials identified through the archival and archaeological literature review. Cluster A corresponds with the stone chapel and Cluster B with the Federal Building-Post Office area.

The problems associated with these disarticulated remains are the difficulty in making temporal attribution of any given osteological element. The issue of temporality is specific to individual elements or collections of elements, and attribution will depend on issues such as context, condition, and association with specific features and/or artifacts.

Another consideration involves questions of ethnocentrism and defining what constitutes a burial. This problem is, at its heart,

a question of choosing to strictly define what constitutes a grave by privileging the modern western custom of unitary dedicated plot burials and associated monuments. This custom differs markedly from the earlier Spanish Colonial practices that prevailed at Valero and all the analogous sites discussed in Chapter 3. Burial practices, mores, and taboos surrounding treatment of the dead are culturally particular and while disarticulation and the comingling of remains may be inconsistent with modern practices and sensibility, it is

Table 6-6. Human Remains Reported Within or Adjacent to the Alamo Chapel 1846-2020.

#	Year	Location	Count
1	1847	Within the ramp and debris inside the Alamo Chapel	2+
2	1878	Within the southeast corner room of the south block of the convento	4
3	1895	Within the gap between the baptistery and south transept	1
4	1934	Southside of convento near the intersection with the Alamo Chapel	1
5	1937	Interior of Alamo Chapel between second and third arches	4
6	1989	East wall of Monks Burial Room	1
7	1995	Interior of south transept of Alamo Chapel	1
8	2019-20	Monks Burial Room, Nave, South Transept	18
	Total		32+

otherwise consistent with Spanish Colonial practice. To many the comingled remains of several individuals with interments interrupting and dispersing skeletal elements of prior burials is at odds with our notions of the sanctity of individual graves. However, for a Colonial period individual, the campo santo or the subfloor of a church would represent a communal burial location for all the Catholic faithful, regardless of condition of the burial as intact or disarticulated. What constitutes a grave and cemetery is culturally defined. Modern cultural or legalistic definitions of these terms that do not account for this innate aspect run the risk of privileging one cultural group, religious association, and/or perspective over another.

### **Cluster B – Burials in the northern reaches of Alamo Plaza**

The second cluster is composed of reported burials in the northern reaches of Alamo Plaza in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in particular the remains encountered at the Post Office/Federal Building site. Figure 6-13 plots the approximate location of burials described in the earlier mentioned articles. In examining the articles, and considering the archival evidence, these skeletons may be associated with the Valero site #3 Church #1 and/or Campo Santo #1 at the third site of Valero and potentially the ad hoc burial of Alamo Battle dead.

Considering the reports from the Maverick family and the cannons recovered from the Gibbs Building, skeletons at the Gibbs and in Avenue D, as well as the recollections of Weiss and Herff, these burials may represent a different population than the earlier and more deeply interred mission burials found to the east.

### ***Disarticulated Human Remains in Cluster B***

Reports concerning the 1935 burials make it clear that a significant portion appeared disarticulated. The descriptions in large measure conform to archaeological expectations of

either a church subfloor or an intensively used campo santo, with some burials intact and others disturbed.

### **Ditches and Entrenchments**

While it is not definite that any of the human remains mentioned in the numerous late nineteenth century and multiple early to mid-twentieth century archival accounts came from Battle of the Alamo entrenchments, that possibility cannot be ruled out. As is thoroughly discussed in Chapter 7, there are too many primary accounts that mention disposal of both Mexican and Texian dead in both entrenchments and ditches not to consider them as potential explanatory candidates for the accounts of human remains and militaria mentioned in many of the articles (see the Weiss, Herff and Machado accounts). The discovery of Alamo Battle cannons on the Maverick property in what was undoubtedly the branch return of the Acequia de Valero (Hansen 2013:635) is further confirmation of this potential. The skull excavated in 1979 from an entrenchment along the north wall with potential perimortem trauma is another indicator of this possibility (Ivey and Fox 1997:38-40).

There are several primary archival maps of the entrenchments, and some archaeological investigations, that allow us to project their approximate location and extent. The most referred to maps of the battle are the Labastida (1836), José Juan Sanchez-Navarro (1836 and 1840), Jean Louis Berlandier (1836) and Green B. Jameson (1836) maps. All five of these maps agree in that they show that the Alamo was fortified – first in 1835 by General Martin Perfecto de Cos, with additional fortifications made by the Texians prior to the commencement of the siege and battle of the Alamo. Two of the five, the Labastida and Berlandier maps, depict a series of fortifications around the perimeter as well as on the interior of the Alamo compound. The cranium encountered in 1979 was found within an east-west entrenchment remnant (Ivey and Fox 1997:38-40) and both the Labastida and Berlandier maps show “interior ditches” in the area of the north wall where the cranium was recovered (Figures 6-14 and 6-15).

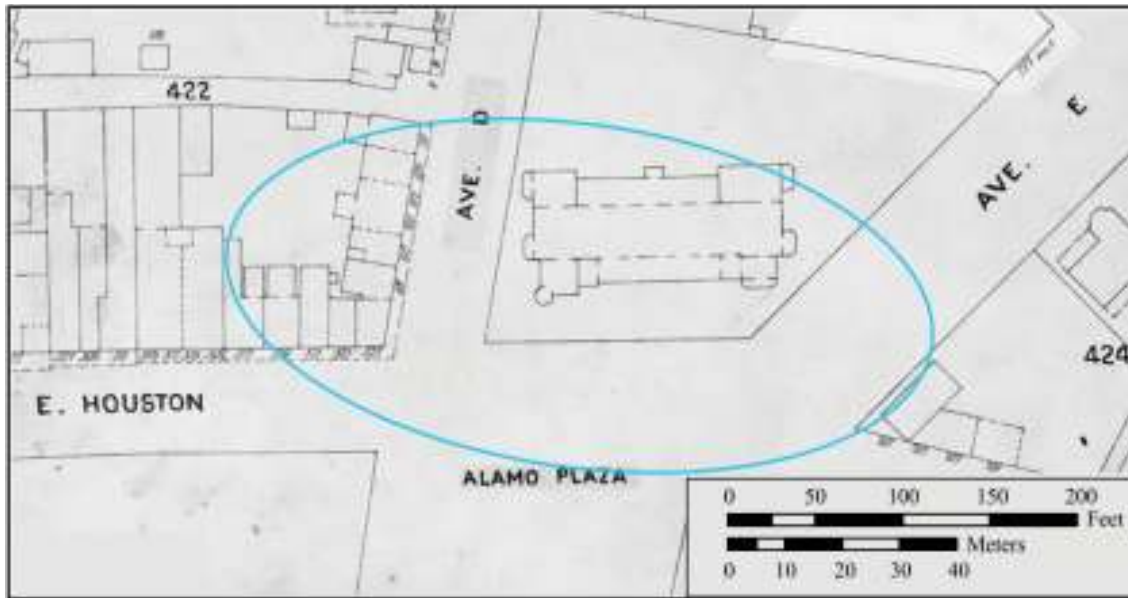


Figure 6-13. Cluster B burials in the northern reaches of Alamo Plaza projected on the 1907 Sanborn skeleton map sheet 104S. REDACTED IMAGE

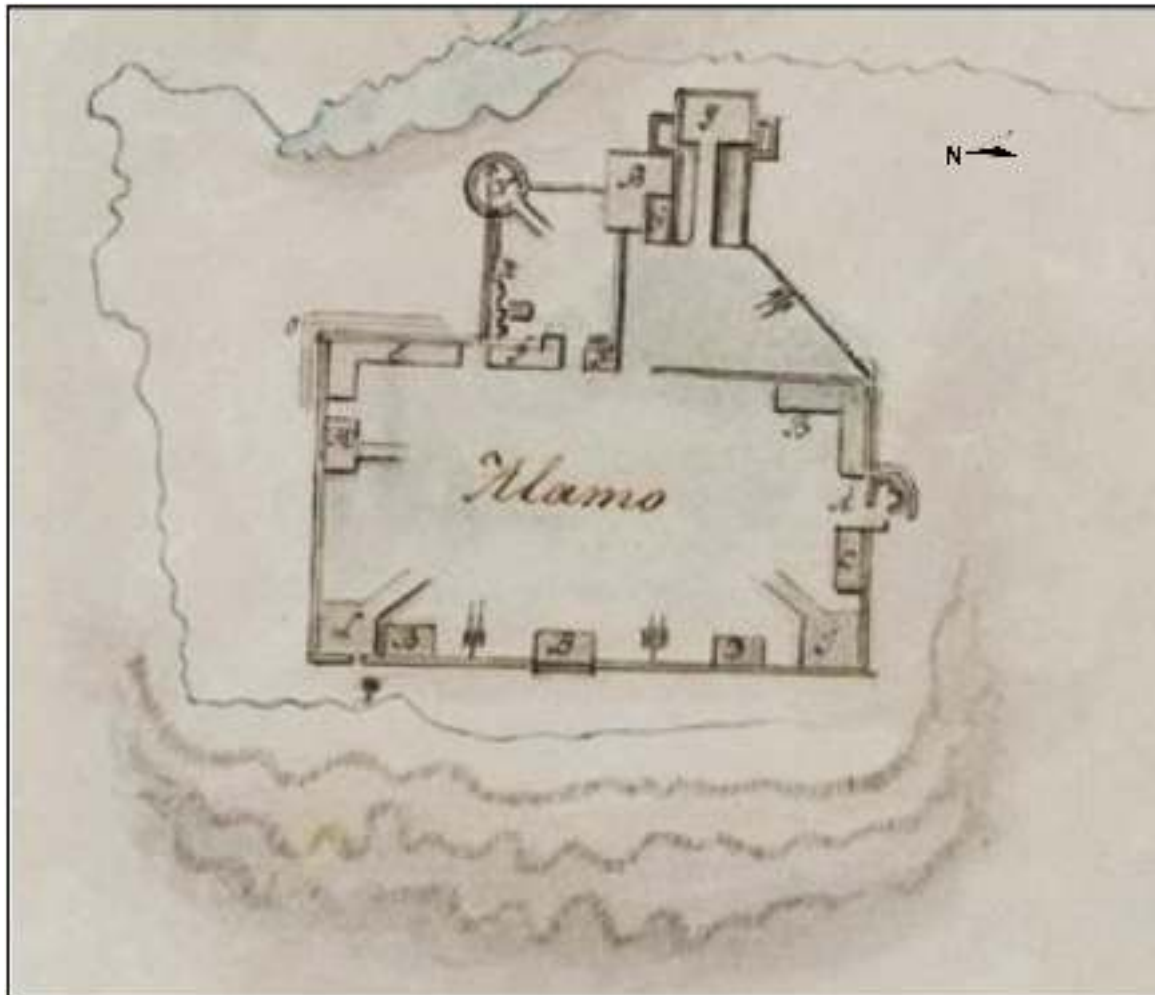


Figure 6-14. Jean Louis Berlandier Map of the Alamo in 1836. Red ellipse denotes location of an interior entrenchment that corresponds with the location of the human cranium recovered in 1979. REDACTED IMAGE

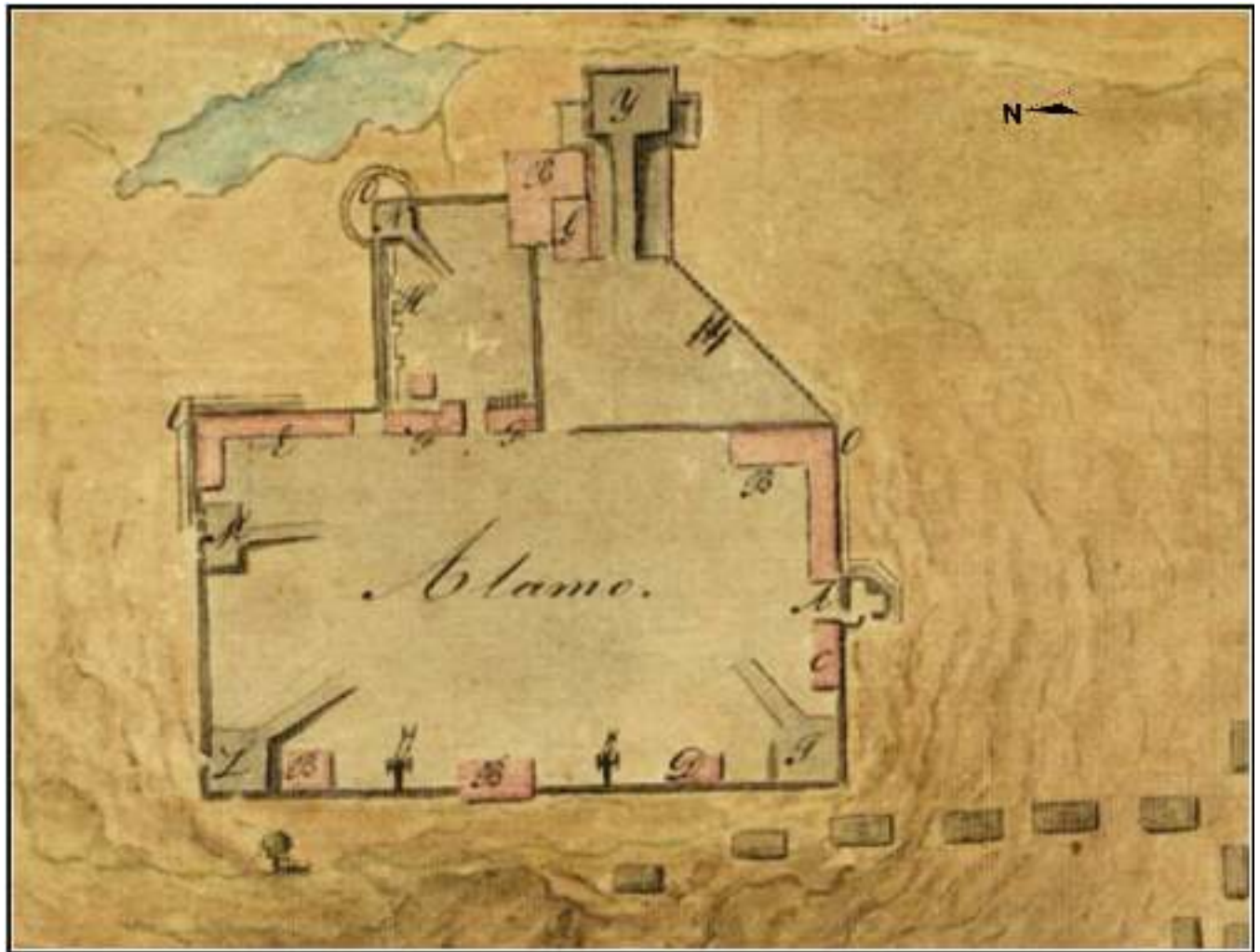


Figure 6-15. Ygancio de Labastida, detail of the 1836 Map of the Alamo. Red ellipse denotes location of an interior entrenchment that corresponds with the location of the human cranium recovered in 1979. REDACTED IMAGE

José Juan Sánchez-Navarro was a soldier in the Mexican Army with service during the Texas Revolution under the command of General Martín Perfecto de Cós. He was present both at the Siege of B exar in November-December 1835 and at the siege and Battle of the Alamo in early 1836 (Figure 6-16). The Sanchez-Navarro map also contains a detailed legend and key that describes the various depictions (see Nelson 1998:50-51 for a detailed transcription of the map and legend). Of note for purposes of the current discussion are the letters D (stockade), J (circular trenches with ditches) and K (lunette ditch at main gate).

Considering the period narratives and the contemporary maps, these locations have the potential for interments of both men and material associated with the Battle of the Alamo (Filosola to Andrade, May 18, 1836). Archaeological investigations have identified and excavated portions of both the stockade trench (D) and lunette trench (K) and no human remains were found in the portions excavated, though some militaria items (musket

balls, grape shot, shrapnel, and a Morelos Battalion shako plate) were found within the trench fill. The lack of human remains in those excavations do not discount the possibility of remains in unexcavated portions of those features or in entrenchments on or near Alamo Plaza. Points designated on the Sanchez-Navarro map with “C” are noted as the “Ruined church with cemetery” and the “Q” location is noted as the “Site at which 250 of the colonists were burnt” (Sanchez-Navarro 1840).

The Sanchez-Navarro map is by no means perfect. There are some obvious flaws such as the placement of the western fa ade of the stone chapel in line with the west wall of the convento. The map also fails to depict the acequia branches. Yet the Sanchez-Navarro map is a contemporary archival document drawn by a participant in both the Siege of B exar and the assault on the Alamo. The map clearly notes the presence of a cemetery or Campo Santo in advance of the stone third church at Valero site 3 as well as a location for a funeral pyre.

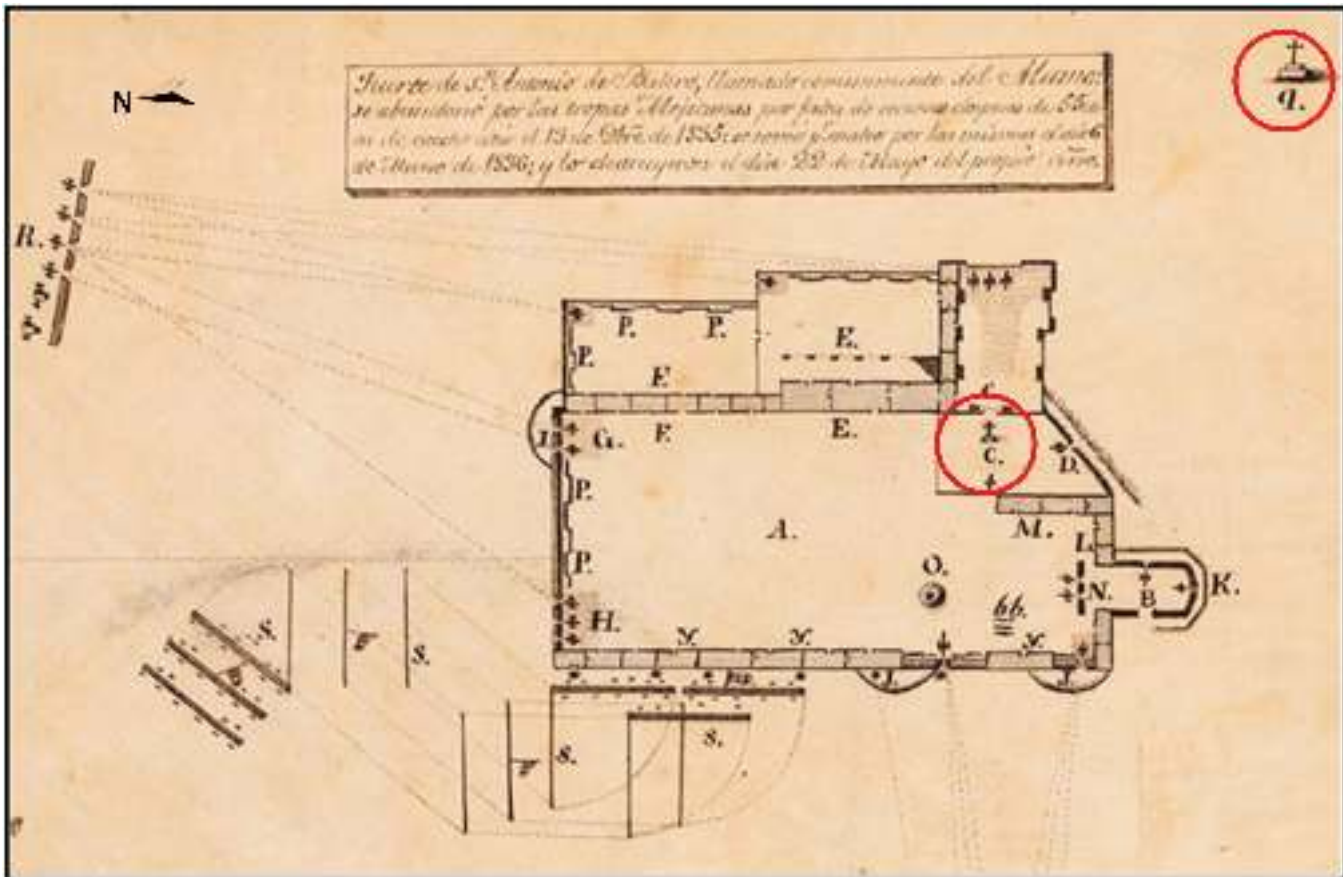


Figure 6-16. The 1840 Sanchez-Navarro Map of the Fuerte de San Antonio de Valero in 1836.

There are errors of omissions in all the period maps. For example, the Sanchez-Navarro map omits the acequia alignments, while the Labastida, Berlandier, and Jameson maps show the acequia alignments. The Jameson map (Figure 6-17) is more detailed than the Berlandier map. These irrigation ditches are also mentioned

as locations of disposal and it is certain that the cannons found on the Maverick property are those described as being rendered inoperable and deposited there in May of 1836, immediately prior to the departure of the remaining Mexican forces back to Mexico (Filosola to Andrade, May 18, 1836).



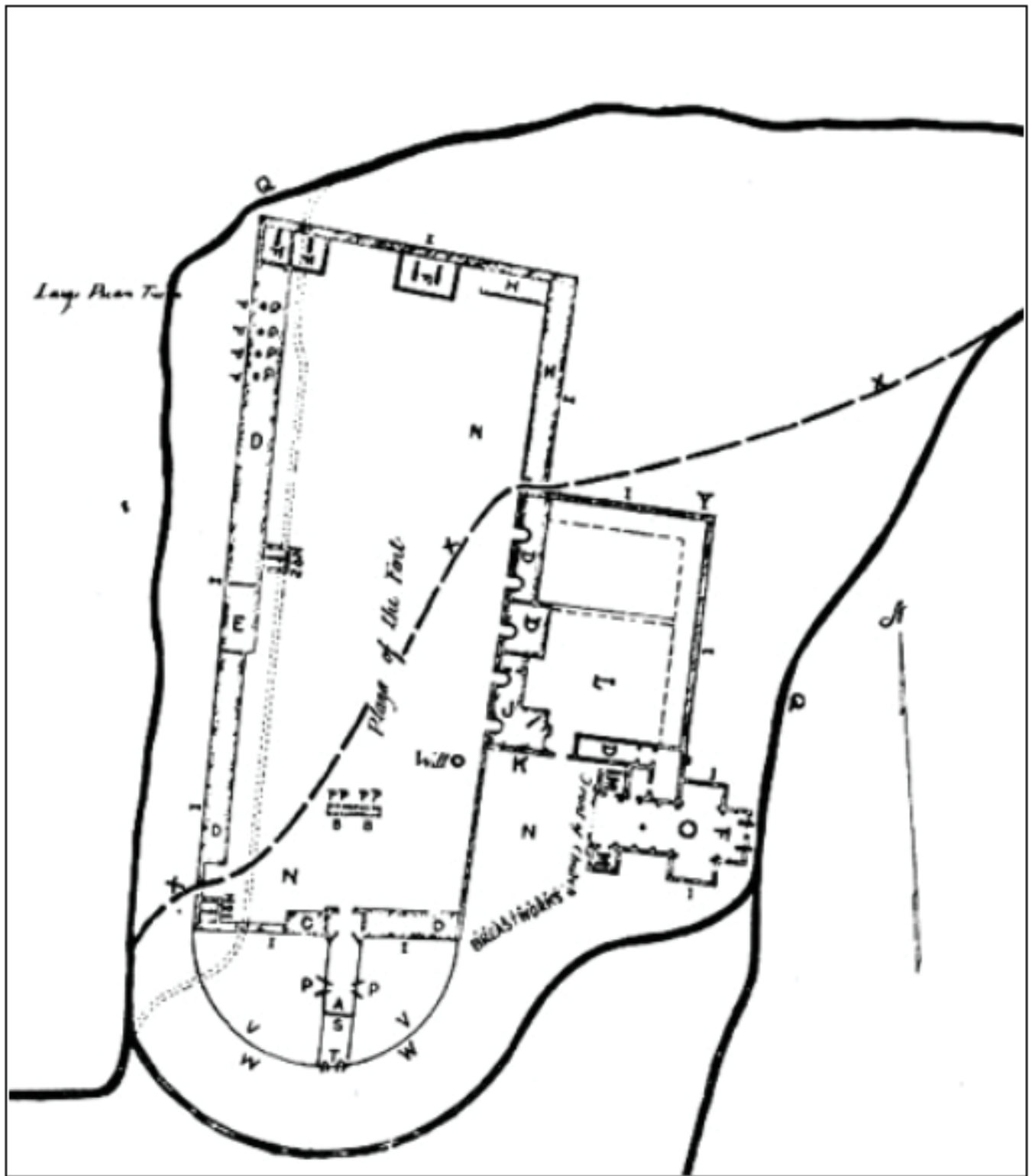


Figure 6-17. Close-up of Green B. Jameson's Plan of the Alamo – "Q" marks the acequia alignments.

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## Chapter 7: The Mystery of the Alamo Funeral Pyres: 185 Years of Searching for that Hallowed Ground

Kay Hinds

### Introduction

The final treatment of the bodies of the defenders of the Battle of the Alamo is one of the many unanswered questions about the famed siege of the Alamo in 1836. The number of funeral pyres and their locations and/or the location(s) of the buried remains from the funeral pyres from that fateful day of March 6, 1836, has been debated for over 185 years. The following narrative attempts to present firsthand accounts of witnesses and participants and later accounts so that the reader may be able to read and interpret the various accounts and to determine for themselves what happened to the defenders and where they were put to lie. This chapter attempts to primarily provide accounts that pertain to the funeral pyre(s) and/or the burial site(s) of the remains from the funeral pyre(s).

This compendium of funeral pyre(s) accounts relies heavily on authors who have done extensive research into the firsthand accounts of the battle. These include Timothy M. Matovina, Bill Groneman, Thomas Ricks Lindley, Frank de la Teja, Todd Hansen, Amelia Williams, and Charles Merritt Barnes. This chapter also relies on published diaries and journals such as that of Enrique de la Peña published by Carmen Perry in 1975, newspaper accounts, some of which were written in the early nineteenth century, with the majority being written in the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century by men such as Charles Merritt Barnes and colleagues, and accounts published in the *San Antonio Light*, the *San Antonio Express*, and the *San Antonio Daily Express*, among a number of other newspaper accounts as listed in the narrative. Primary source documents are listed in the references along with the later authors who have published the various accounts in their extensive works on the Battle of the Alamo and its participants. I have endeavored to obtain and review the largest number of primary accounts possible in their original publication source. However, in some cases, when time prohibited, I relied on excellent published sources of authors who have extensively studied the Battle of the Alamo.

This compendium is prefaced by several caveats. As other authors have stated, many of the accounts are suspect in nature. Their authenticity has been called into question by others who were contemporaneous with the person(s) telling the story, by later accounts, and by authors who have written about the accounts. Also, frequently, it becomes difficult to distinguish between a reporter's words and thoughts from those as actually told to the author/reporter by the interviewee/source. It is obvious that some of the accounts have certainly

been embellished by the authors. This report includes the accounts as written and published, and distinguishes, when possible, the words of the interviewee from that of the interviewer, reporter, recorder, or author.

Accounts are presented in chronological order except when it was necessary to consolidate the accounts of each person in one discussion so that the reader can "see" the words in one location as recorded and told by each witness and survivor. As can be seen when reading the accounts of various witnesses/survivors, their accounts have changed through time. In some cases, these survivor stories span over 50 years after the battle and for some, by the time their story was told, witnesses were in their eighties, nineties, and some over one hundred years old. Further, in some cases, diaries or journals were written well before their publication date, and it seemed reasonable to present some of those accounts in the order they were written. At times, the memoirs or remembrances are presented in date of publication so that the reader can determine for themselves whether or not later knowledge was perhaps added to original documents.

It is beyond the scope of this compendium to analyze the various reports for authenticity, for veracity, and for reliability. Rather, an attempt is made to simply present the various accounts as found in both primary sources as well as secondary sources, when necessary. Further, the author has chosen to include direct quotes from the various published sources so that the reader is able to read and digest each account for themselves. This is to help avoid any bias on the part of the author. Additionally, many of the accounts are much lengthier and detailed in regard to the battle, but for purposes of this work, only those comments that pertain to the deaths (if necessary) and disposal of the bodies in a funeral pyre or pyres or bones collected from such has been included. When found, accounts of the burials/disposal of the Mexican soldiers have also been included.

As the reader will clearly see, the story of the Alamo as told by eyewitnesses, alleged eyewitnesses, reporters who conducted interviews with the survivors, historians, as well as other accounts vary widely and seldom resemble one another, or in some cases, quite clearly seem to be based on an earlier account and appropriated by an interviewee and/or author for their own story. Based on the number of conflicting reports, it becomes difficult to say with any certainty where the funeral pyre(s) were located. This narrative presents the reports as told by those cited, and the authors will leave it to the reader to come to their own conclusions.

Primary archival research on lot ownership of lands mentioned in the witness accounts as having been the location of the funeral pyres are included along with information from three archaeological investigations that may possibly shed light on the locations of the funeral pyres. The three main sources for this effort include the work led by the late Wayne Cox for CAR-UTSA for the Rivercenter Mall project (Cox and Renner 1999), that by Herb Uecker for the Alamo Wells Project (Uecker 2001), Thomas H. Guderjan for the Alamo Wells project (Guderjan 2004), and José Zapata for the Mother of the Americas Faith Formation Center, St. Joseph's Church (2018). The author also includes observations made during the exhumation of the body of Samuel Walker in the Odd Fellows Cemetery in 1995. This chapter also includes information on the placing of plaques to commemorate the locations of the funeral pyres. Those plaques may be seen today along Commerce Street.

Some of the eyewitnesses were interviewed multiple times, thereby any number of narratives may exist for each. For the purpose of this research, only the interviews that mentioned the burial and/or burning of the bodies of the defenders, and the bodies of the Mexican soldiers, are included. Accounts are published in chronological order by the date of the interview for each interviewee. The reader may refer to those published books by the authors listed above or the newspapers accounts referenced to read the entire accounts. Some later newspaper articles also can be found that discuss finds of the possible burials of the Alamo defenders (see Chapter 6). Only those newspaper accounts that discuss charred or burned bones or mentioned "eyewitness" accounts are included.

The following are the accounts as recorded and written. While it may seem tedious to use extensive quotes by the person providing the accounts, the reader should be able to determine for themselves any conclusions. While many of the accounts of the Battle of the Alamo have been published previously by other authors, this compendium represents a comprehensive, intensive, and concise review of the information specific to the disposal of the bodies of both the Alamo defenders as well as the Mexican soldiers. Other Alamo reports were scrutinized but failed to provide information on what happened to the Alamo dead. Other accounts likely exist that, due to the time frame required for this research, may have been overlooked.

## **Mexican, Tejano and Texian Accounts of the Disposal of the Dead**

Fifty-three sources are presented below. Since many of the informants were interviewed multiple times, there are 71 individual accounts presented. These include eyewitness accounts of those present during and in the battle, eyewitness accounts of those present in San Antonio de Béxar during the

battle and immediately thereafter (but not a battle participant), accounts by those who fled San Antonio de Béxar to the countryside prior to the battle, but reentered town when the battle was over, newspapers that reported the events, military reports, correspondence from various individuals, historians, travelers through Texas, newspaper reporters, San Antonio citizens, and book authors.

### **Account 1 - Antonio López de Santa Anna, March 6, 1836**

On March 6, 1836, at 8:00 a.m. Santa Anna reported from the battlefield to General D. José María Tornel. He wrote:

Victory accompanies the army, and at this moment, which is eight in the morning, the most complete and glorious [victory] has been accomplished, that will perpetuate its memory.... It was, at last the fortress in our power, with its artillery, park, etc. and buried [*sepultados*] within [*entre*] its pits [*fosos*] and entrenchments [*atrincheramientos*], were over six hundred bodies, all foreigners, and in the surroundings a growing number that has not been examined yet, that hoping to escape the infantry bayonets fell under the cavalry sabers which I had purposely situated on a site. I can assure that very few have been able to notify their mates of this event. Within the bodies, the first and second enemy leaders have been found. Bowie and Travis, titled as Coronels (sic); and Crockett with the same rank and all other leaders and officers, that had received charges through the convention. On our side there have been seventy casualties and three hundred injured, including between one and two leaders and twenty-three officers [Antonio López de Santa Anna Béxar Headquarters, March 6, 1836. "El Nacional Suplemento al Numero 79. Noticia Oficial de Texas Antonio López de Santa Anna to Tornel." Portal to Texas History. Translation by Adriana Ziga, July 16, 2021].

Bill Groneman (Groneman 2017) also includes the following version of the Santa Anna report in his book *Eyewitness to the Alamo*. This translation reads as follows:

Victory belongs to the army, which at this very moment, 8 o'clock A.M. achieved a complete and glorious triumph that will render its memory imperishable. The Fortress is now in our power, with its artillery, stores, & c. More than 600 corpses of foreigners were buried in the ditches and entrenchments, and a great many who had escaped the bayonet of the infantry, fell in the vicinity

under the sabres of the cavalry. I can assure Your Excellency that few are those who bore to their associates the tidings of their disaster. Among the corpses are those of Bowie and Travis, who styled themselves Colonels, and also that of Crockett, and several leading men who had entered the Fortress with dispatches from their Convention. We lost 70 men killed and 300 wounded, among who are 25 officers. [Groneman 2017:17-18].

### **Account 2 - General Sam Houston, March 11 (a), March 13 (b), 1836**

Some of the earliest accounts of the battle and the burning of the bodies are from Andres Barcena and Anselmo Bergara as reported to General Sam Houston on March 8, 1836. Barcena and Bergara were members of Juan Seguin's company and were the first to get word to General Houston in Gonzales of the fall of the Alamo (Matovina 1995:17-18; Hansen 2003:512; Williams 1934:172). Houston first held both as spies (Houston 1836a; Houston 1836b; Hansen 2003:516). Houston's papers can also be found in Amelia Williams and Eugene Barker (1938). Both Barcena and Bergara arrived at the Gonzales camp prior to Susannah Dickinson. Bergara and Barcena's own accounts do not mention a funeral pyre or burning of the bodies, but it is from their information that Houston based his dispatches/letters.

General Houston wrote to Col. James W. Fannin, Commander at Goliad on March 11, 1836 (A.J. Houston Collection, TSLA; Arkansas Gazette, 11 March 1836), and a second version from Yoakum 1855:471-72; Hansen 2003:512-513):

The bodies of the Americans were burned after the massacre an [sic] alternate layers of Wood and bodies laid and set on fire... This information, according to Houston's letter came from "a Mexican Supposed to be friendly—which however has been Contradicted in some parts by another who arrived with him—it is therefore only given to you as rumor though I fear a melancholy portion of it will be found true. Anselma [sic] Bergara [Anselmo Bergara] states that he left the Alamo on Sunday 6th. Inst... whether the above particulars are all true may be questionable [Hansen 2003:512-513].

Further, Houston wrote a dispatch from Gonzales, dated March 13, 1836, to Henry Raguet (Facsimile copy in the Madge W. Hearne collection, Texas State Library Archives (TSLA); Hansen 2003:517-518). Houston wrote: "Several Mexic[ans] in the fort were also murdered, and all killed in the fort were burned: The Mexicans killed in the assault were buried [sic]—This is the report of the matter in substance" (Hansen 2003:518).

### **Account 3 - Telegraph and Texas Register, San Felipe de Austin, March 24, 1836**

No author is given for this early account of the battle of the Alamo, but Hansen states that it is probably the most influential single account because it was the first in print, its use of authoritative sources and its wide dissemination (Hansen 2003:551-555, 565; Telegraph and Texas Register, 24 March 1836:142-143). The sources given for the information were John W. Smith and a Mr. Navon (possibly Gerald Navon, a possible courier), Susanna Dickinson, Joe, and Ben (Santa Anna's servant), Judge Ponton of Gonzales, and possibly Barcena and Bergara. The article stated: "Our dead were denied the right of Christian burial: being stripped and thrown in a pile, and burned. Would that we could gather up their ashes and place them in urns!" (Hansen 2003:552; Telegraph and Texas Register, 24 March 1836: 142-143).

### **Account 4 - Commercial Bulletin, New Orleans, March 28, 1836**

On March 28, 1836, the *Commercial Bulletin* reported on the fall of the Alamo. The account was also published in the *Mississippi Free Trader* and *Natchez Gazette* (April 8). According to the newspaper account, the documents about the fall of the Alamo were provided to them by a "gentleman just arrived from Texas... [who] met the express bearing the news we give...". According to the article: "The bodies of the slain were thrown into a heap in the center of the Alamo and burned" (New Orleans Commercial Bulletin, 28 March 1836a; in Hansen 2003:559).

### **Account 5 - Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, April 12, 1836**

Hansen reports that this article obviously originated from the same interview as that of the *Commercial Bulletin* (28 March 1836a) above as the language in the account is similar: "The bodies of the slain were thrown into a heap in the center of the Alamo, and burned. On Gen. Bowie's body being brought out, Gen. Cos said that he was too brave a man to be burned like a dog, then added, *pew no es casa eschade*---never mind, throw him in" (Hansen 2003:560).

### **Account 6 - Lt. Colonel José Enrique de la Peña, (1836) 1955; 1975**

One of the earliest accounts of the treatment of the remains is contained in the diary of Lt. Colonel José Enrique de la Peña, an eyewitness with the victorious Mexican Army. De la Peña's diary is included here since he reportedly wrote it on or about 1836-1838, but it was not published until later. There are two publications that are reported to be the personal diary

account written by de la Peña: the first published in book form in 1955 in Mexico by Jesus Sanchez Garza (de la Peña in Sanchez Garza 1955); and the translation published by Carmen Perry in 1975 (de la Peña in Perry 1975; Groneman 2017:219). Groneman has published a translation of the account in the Sanchez Garza 1955 book (Groneman 2017:207-220). The details in both accounts are similar, but there are subtle differences in the translations so both will be presented here. De la Peña wrote:

He [Santa Anna, author's brackets] was able to see for himself the orphaned state of the battalions and that small enclosure sown with corpses, of scattered limbs, scattered with bullets, of weapons and destroyed uniforms. Some of these were already burning together with the corpses and gave off a filthy odor; which nauseated the stomach. These corpses with their faces blackened and bloody, disfigured by a desperate death, their clothes and hair burning at the same time presented a horrible and truly hellish appearance. What trophies those of the field of battle! Very soon some were left naked by the fire and others by a degrading rapacity and especially ours. Those of the enemy were distinguished by their whiteness, by their robust and bulky forms. What a sad spectacle that of the dead and dying....! With what horrors passed in review to encounter the remains of friends...!

According to the papers of theirs found and the later notices, one hundred eight two men were the force which had been inside the Alamo; and according to that counted on our part, it is two hundred fifty-three. It is unquestionable that the total did not exceed either of those two numbers, and even the sum of those is lower than the number which was mentioned by the general in chief in his message, where it is assured that in the excavations and entrenchments along there had remained buried more than six hundred corpses. What objective was gained by this deceit? Some have believed that it was to give more importance to this act and others to excuse our own loss and to make it less regrettable?

Death united friends and enemies in the same place. A funeral pyre converted into ashes, in a few hours, those men who a short time before had such spirit, who in a blind fury wasted their lives and had met their ends in the fight. The greater part of ours were buried by their companions,

and the enemy, who seems to have some respect for the dead, attributed the great pyre that took them up to the result of our hatred. I desiring to count them for myself, arrived at the moment the flames began to redden and to consume them". (de la Peña in Sanchez Garza, 1955; Groneman 2017:216, 218).

Carmen Perry's translation is below.

He [Santa Anna] could see for himself the desolation among his battalions and that devastated area littered with corpses, with scattered limbs and bullets, with weapons and torn uniforms. Some of these were burning together with the corpses, which produced an unbearable and nauseating odor. The bodies, with their blackened and bloody faces disfigured by a desperate death, their hair and uniforms burning at once, presented a dreadful and truly hellish sight. What trophies—those of the battlefield! Quite soon some of the bodies were left naked by fire, others by disgraceful rapacity, especially among our men. The enemy could be identified by their whiteness, by their robust and bulky shapes. What a sad spectacle, that of the dead and dying. [de la Peña in Perry, 1975:52].

According to documents found among these men and to subsequent information, the force within the Alamo consisted of 182 men; but according to the number counted by us it was 253. Doubtless the total did not exceed either of these two, and in any case the number is less than that referred to be the commander in chief in his communique which contends that in the excavations and the trenches alone more than 600 bodies had been buried. What was the object of this misrepresentation? Some believe that it was done to give greater importance to the episode, others, that it was done to excuse our losses and to make it less painful [de la Peña in Perry 1975:54].

Death united in one place both friends and enemies; within a few hours a funeral pyre rendered into ashes those men who moments before had been so brave that in a blind fury they had unselfishly offered their lives and had met their ends in combat. The greater part of our dead were buried by their comrades, but the enemy, who seems to have some respect for the dead, attributed the great pyre of their dead to our hatred. I, for one, wishing to count the bodies for

myself, arrived at the moment the flames were reddening, ready to consume them [de la Peña in Perry 1975: 54-55].

#### **Account 7 - Susanna Dickinson, 1836 (a), 1875 (or prior to 1874) (b), 1876 (c)**

On March 24, 1836, Susanna Dickinson, the wife of Almaron Dickinson and who survived the battle gave an interview to the *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Telegraph and Texas Register, 24 March 1836; Groneman 2017:19-22). She stated: “Our dead were denied the right of Christian burial; being stripped and thrown into a pile, and burned. Would that we could gather up their ashes and place them in urns” (Telegraph and Texas Register, 24 March 1836; Groneman 2017:20). Later, in 1875 (Hansen says before 1874), Dickinson, now Mrs. Hannig gave an interview to James M. Morphis in which she stated: “In the evening the Mexicans brought wood from the neighboring forest and burned the bodies of all the Texans, but their own dead they buried in the city cemetery across the San Pedro” (Morphis 1875: 45-48; Groneman 2017:90; Hansen 2003:47). Additionally, in 1876, it is reported second hand that she related that “she expressed a wish to visit the scene of carnage, but was informed by the people of the house that it would not be permitted as the enemy was then burning the dead bodies and in conformation thereof, she was shown a smoke in the direction of the Alamo” (Groneman 2017:94; Hannig 1876; Hansen 2003:48).

#### **Account 8 - Unidentified Mexican Soldier, 1836**

An account by an unidentified Mexican soldier, who some believe may have been José Juan Sanchez-Navarro, was published in the *El Mosquito Mexicano* on April 5, 1836. The unidentified soldier reported the following:

Miserable ones! They no longer exist; they all died, all and up to now I have seen burned (to avoid putrefaction) 257 bodies not counting the previous ones of the thirteen days, or those being caught, who attempted to escape. The chief they called Travis died like a brave man with his gun in his hand, in back of a cannon; but the wicked and boastful Santiago Bowie, died like a woman, almost hidden under a mattress. On our side we suffered heavy losses both of officers and troops, and about 200 wounded, a regrettable loss but small if none considers the strong position of the enemy and its kind” [El Mosquito Mexicano, April 5 1836; Groneman 2017:22-23; Hansen 2003:486].

#### **Account 9 - Joe, William Barrett Travis’s Enslaved Servant, 1836 (a), 1836 (b), 1836 (c) and 1909 (d)**

Joe, the enslaved servant of William Barrett Travis was interviewed a number of times, but the first account, written by an unidentified correspondent, was published in the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin* on April 11, 1836. He stated:

When driven from the walls by overwhelming numbers, they retired to the barracks, and fought hand to hand and man to man until the last man was slain—no, there was a man yet left; a little man named Warner had secreted himself among the dead bodies, and was found when the battle was over; and the dead men being removed without the walls of the fort. He asked for quarters; the soldiers took him to Santa Anna, who ordered him to be shot. The order was executed, and the body was taken out and burnt with the heroes who deserve as bright a remembrance as those who died on the pass of Thermopylae” [Groneman 2017:24-25; Hansen 2003:70; New Orleans Commercial Bulletin 1836b; also printed in the *Portland Advertiser*, May 3, 1836].

On April 12, 1836, George C. Childress reported another interview with Joe in the *Memphis Enquirer*. In this interview, Joe stated “The body of Col. Travis and his little yet great band were burnt by order of Santa Anna...” (Childress 1836; Groneman 2017:25; Hansen 2003:71-72). Another narrative, attributed to William Fairfax Gray who had been associated with the *Fredericksburg Arena* and sent to the *Frankfort Commonwealth* newspaper was published on May 25, 1836. In it, Joe related that “the slain were collected in a pile and burnt” (Frankfort Commonwealth, 25 May 1836; Childress 1836; Groneman 2017:27-29; Groneman 2017:178-180). An almost identical statement by Joe was published in William Fairfax Gray’s diary (written in multiple volumes), published by his son in 1909 and republished in 1997. Gray was serving as a land agent in Texas when the revolution broke out. He attended the March 1836 Convention at Washington-on-the-Brazos at which independence was declared and a constitution written. In his published diary, Gray wrote in his entry for March 20, 1836, that Joe reported: “The American dead were collected in a pile and burnt” (Gray 1909 in Groneman 2017:180).

#### **Account 10 - Mary Austin Holley, 1836**

In her book entitled *Texas*, first published in 1836, Holley, who obtained her information from her brother, Stephen F. Austin, wrote that: “the bodies of the slain were thrown into a heap in the center of the Alamo and burned” (Holley 1836, 1990:354).

### **Account 11 - E. M. Pease, Letter, January 8, 1837**

First published in 1964, E. M. Pease's account of the battle included information about the pyre. Pease's letter of January 8, 1837, provides this comment: "They fought like brave men long & well, They piled that ground with foes they had slain but overpowered by numbers, they sunk with weariness and loss of blood....Travis had said, if they took the fort it should be a defeat to them & it truly was, from the first attack to the fatal morning of the 6th they had not less than 1000 killed, the bodies of our men were burned the same day." (Hansen 2003:611; Hart and Kemp 1964:85-86).

### **Account 12 - Francisco Antonio Ruiz, 1860**

The *alcalde* (mayor) of the conquered villa, Francisco Antonio Ruiz, was assigned the distasteful task of disposing of the bodies by General Santa Anna. He confirmed that they were burned but mentions only one "pyre" and fails to pinpoint a location. In his statement recorded some 24 years after the battle, he related the following:

When the Mexican army had succeeded in entering the walls, I, with Political Chief (*jefe politico*) Don Ramon Musquiz, and other members of the Corporation accompanied the Curate, Don Refugio de la Garza who, by Santa Anna's orders, had assembled during the night at a temporary fortification erected in Potrero Street, with the object of attending the wounded, etc. As soon as the storming commenced, we crossed the bridge on Commerce Street with this object in view and about one hundred yards from the same a party of Mexican dragoons fired upon us and compelled us to fall back on the river and place we occupied before. Half an hour had elapsed when Santa Anna sent one of his aids-de-camp with an order for us to come before him. He directed me to call on some of the neighbors to come up with carts to carry the dead to the cemetery, and also to accompany him, as he was desirous to have Colonels Travis, Bowie, and Crockett shown to him.

Santa Anna, after the Mexicans were taken out, ordered wood to be brought to burn the bodies of the Texians. He sent a company of dragoons with me to bring wood and dry branches from the neighboring forest. About three o'clock in the afternoon they commenced laying the wood and dry branches, upon which a file of dead bodies was placed; more wood was then piled on them and another file brought and in this manner

they were all arranged in layers. Kindling wood was distributed through the pile and about five o'clock in the evening it was lighted.

The dead Mexicans of Santa Anna were taken to the graveyard but, not having sufficient room for them, I ordered some of them to be thrown in the river, which was done on the same day. The men burnt numbered 182. I was an eyewitness, for as *alcalde* [mayor] of San Antonio I was with some of the neighbors collecting the dead bodies and placing them on the funeral pyre (Groneman 2017:79-81; Hansen 2003:500-503; Matovina 1995:43-44; Ruiz 1860:80-81).

On April 16, 1861, Ruiz provided a deposition to support Toribio Losoya's family land grant petition. In that deposition Ruiz stated:

That after the fall of the Alamo[,] General Santa Anna sent for affiant [Ruiz], Don Ramon Musquiz and others to identify the bodies of Travis, Bowie and Crockett which was done; that affiant was commanded by General Santa Anna to procure carts and men and proceed to make a funeral pile of the Texans, which order he carried out with much difficulty as there were but few male citizens remaining in the town... (Hansen 2003:503; Matovina 1995:37; Ruiz 1860).

### **Account 13 - Dr. James H. Barnard Present in San Antonio de Béxar, 1836, 1898**

Dr. James H. Barnard, who was spared at the massacre at Goliad and transported to San Antonio to treat the injured Mexican soldiers from the battle, recorded in his journal that on May 25, 1836: "We went to visit the ashes of those defenders of our country, a hundred rods [550 yards] from the fort or church to where they were burnt. The bodies had been reduced to cinders. Occasionally, a bone of a leg or arm was seen almost entirely" (de Zavala 1917: 38-39; Hansen 2003:612-615; Wooten 1898:630-631, 632-634).

### **Account 14 - Captain Juan Seguin, Courier at the Alamo and Sent out prior to Battle in 1836, Sent back in 1837 (a, b), 1889 (c)**

Some months after Barnard visited the site of the pyre, Lt. Col. Juan N. Seguin arrived to take possession of San Antonio for the newly organized Republic of Texas. Seguin and his men occupied San Antonio beginning in November 1836. Before leaving the city, Seguin led an interment ceremony for



the Alamo defenders. In his report to General Albert Sidney Johnston of March 13, 1837, he states:

In conformity with the orders from General Felix Huston dated some time back, I caused the honors of war to be paid to the remains of the heroes of Alamo on the 25th of February last [1837—this is almost a year after the defenders were burned in the funeral pyre]. The ashes were found in three heaps. I caused a coffin to be prepared neatly covered with black, the ashes from the two smallest heaps were placed therein and with a view to attached additional solemnity to the occasion were carried to the parish church in Béxar whence it moved with the procession at four o'clock on the afternoon of the day above mentioned. The procession passed through the principal street of the city, crossed the river and passing through the principal avenue arrived at the spot whence part of the ashes had been collected, the procession halted, the coffin was placed upon the spot and three volleys of musquetry were discharged over it by one of the companies, proceeding onwards to the second spot from whence the ashes were taken where the same honors were done and thence to the principal spot and placed of interment [sic], the coffin was then placed upon the large heap of ashes when I addressed a few words to the battalion and assemblage present in honor of the occasion in the Castilian language as I do not possess the English. Major [Thomas] Western then addressed the concourse in the latter tongue, the coffin and all the ashes were then interred and three volleys of musquetry were fired over the grave by the whole battalion with an accuracy that would do honor to the best disciplined troops. We then marched back to the quarter in the city with music and colors flying. Half hour guns were not fired because I had no powder for the purpose, but every honor was done within the reach of my scanty means. I hope as whole my efforts may meet your approbation [Juan N. Seguin Letter to General Albert Sidney Johnston March 13, 1837, Johnston Papers, Howard Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans (Seguin 1837a); de la Teja 1991:161-162; Matovina 1995:19-20].

An account of the 1837 action which was published in the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, March 28, 1837, states:

In conformity with an order from the general commanding the army at headquarters, Col. Seguin, with his command stationed at Béxar, paid the honors of war to the remains of the heroes of

the Alamo; the ashes were found in three places, the two smallest heaps were carefully collected, placed in a coffin neatly covered with black, and having the names of Travis, Bowie and Crockett engraved on the inside of the lid, and carried to Béxar, and placed in the parish church, where the Texian flag, a rifle and sword were laid upon it for the purpose of being accompanied by the procession, which was formed at 3 o'clock on the 25th of February; the honors to be paid were announced in orders of the evening previous, and by the tolling knell from day-break to the hour of interment; at 4 o'clock the procession moved from the church in Béxar in the following order:

Field officers; staff officers; civil authorities; clergy; military not attached to the corps, and others; pall bearers; coffin; pall bearers; mourners and relatives; music; battalion; citizens.

The procession then passed through the principal street of the city; crossed the river; passed through the principal avenue on the other side; and halted at the place where the first ashes had been gathered. The coffin was then placed upon the spot, whence part of the ashes in the coffin had been taken, where the same honors were paid; the procession then proceeded to the principal spot and place of interment, where the graves had been prepared; the coffin had been placed upon the principal heap of ashes, when Col. Seguin delivered a short address in Spanish, followed by Major Western in English, and the ashes were buried [Telegraph and Texas Register, March 28 1837; Dunham, Looscan and Barker 1901:66, 69-70, accessed through <https://www.jstory.org/stable/27784900>].

Further, Seguin's speech (given in Spanish) at the Alamo defender's interment held on February 25th, 1837, was translated and published on April 4, 1837, in the Columbia (later Houston) *Telegraph and Texas Register*:

Companions in Arms! These remains which we have the honor of carrying on our shoulders are those of the valiant heroes who died in the Alamo. Yes, my friends, they preferred to die a thousand times rather than submit themselves to the tyrant's yoke. What a brilliant example! Deserving of being noted in the pages of history. The spirit of liberty appears to be looking out from its elevated throne with its pleasing mien and pointing to us saying 'There are your brothers, Travis, Bowie, and Crockett, and others

whose valor places them in the rank of my heroes.' Yes soldiers and fellow citizens, these are the worthy beings who, by the twists of fate, during the present campaign delivered their bodies to the ferocity of their enemies; who, barbarously treated as beasts, were bound by their feet and dragged to this spot, where they were reduced to ashes. The venerable remains of our worthy companions as witnesses, I invite you to declare to the entire world 'Texas shall be free and independent or we shall perish in glorious combat [de la Teja 2002:156; Matovina 1995:10; Seguin 1837b].

Seguin had to flee from his native San Antonio in 1842 and did not return to San Antonio until after the Mexican War. He wrote his memoirs in 1858, where he described that he was ordered to leave the Alamo and to reach Colonel Fannin in Goliad, asking him to come to the Alamo with his troops. Several other publications have documented that history, but it is mentioned in order to put in perspective Seguin's later correspondence regarding his actions to bury the dead defenders.

Seguin wrote on March 28, 1889, in response to General Hamilton Bee (please note that this was 52 years after Seguin's first accounts of his actions):

Dear Sir, In reply to your inquiries on behalf of the Alamo monument association, I authorize you to state that the dead of the Alamo were burned by order of General Santa Anna, and when I took command of that city after the battle of San Jacinto, I collected together the charred and small fractions of the bodies that were scattered around, placed them in an urn, and deposited it in a grave which I had dug inside the cathedral of San Fernando on the Main plaza of San Antonio in front of the altar, close to the railing, and near the steps—where they now are [Barker 1901:66-70; Seguin 1889:3].

A slightly different version of the above is found in Groneman (2017:116) and de la Teja (2002:193):

The remains of those who died in the Alamo were burned by order of General Santa Anna, and the few fragments I ordered deposited in an urn. I ordered a sepulcher opened in San Antonio's cathedral next to the altar; that is, in front of the two railings but very near the steps (Juan Seguin to Hamilton P. Bee, Laredo de Tamaulipas March 28, 1889, TSA).

Another version of above account appeared in the Texas Historical Association Quarterly of 1901 with author comments:

I [Seguin] collected the fragments, and placed them in an urn, and buried it in the Cathedral of San Fernando immediately in front of the altar---that is, in front of the railing and near the steps. This statement has gained a good deal of publicity through its incorporation by Hon. Seth Shepard in his monograph, 'The Siege and Fall of the Alamo' (in a Comprehensive History of Texas, I, 637-48), and has received general credence, notwithstanding the vehement denials of the San Fernando clergy. It appears, however, that Seguin's memory played him false; for, in the Telegraph and Texas Register of March 28, 1837, there is a detailed description of the funeral, to which, of course, his simple statement, made after a lapse of exactly fifty-two years, must give first place [Dunham, Looscan and Barker 1901:69-70].

#### **Account 15 - Jon Winfield Scott Dancy, March 29, 1837**

Dancy visited San Antonio a little over a month after Seguin had collected the defender's ashes and buried them (Lindley 2003:330-331). In Dancy's diary, he recollected that: "Mr. Smith walked with us to the Alamo...He also pointed out the spot where they [the defender's bodies] were burned. A few fragments of bones mixed with the ashes are all that remains. Crockett sleeps with the heroes of the Alamo" (Lindley 2003:330-331).

#### **Account 16 - Chester Newell, 1838**

Chester Newell was an Episcopal clergyman who moved to Texas in 1837. He operated a school in Velasco, then spent time gathering material for a history of Texas, after which he returned to New York (Handbook of Texas, online). Reverend Newell, in his book, *History of the Revolution in Texas* wrote in 1838: "The bodies of the Texans were denied the right of burial: stripped, thrown in a pile, and burned! Thus was bigotry added to cruelty. But revenge had already been taken: fifteen hundred Mexicans lay weltering in their blood!" (Hansen 2003:687-688; Newell 1838:89-91).

#### **Account 17 - Ben, Santa Anna's Servant, 1840**

An account by a man known only possibly as Ben, who was the servant of Santa Anna, who was reported to have accompanied Susanna Dickinson after the fall of the Alamo,

and later served as a cook for General Houston after the Battle of San Jacinto, was published by Col. Edward Stiff in his book *The Texas Emigrant*. Stiff stated: "The statements of this servant were generally relied on by those who knew him, and he contradicted in the most positive terms the oft repeated rumor that the dead bodies of the Americans were burnt...He stated that these three bodies [Bowie, Crockett, and Travis] were interred in the same grave separate from all the rest..." (Groneman 2017:61-63; Stiff 1840:313-15).

#### **Account 18 - William Kennedy Narrative, 1841**

Kennedy's book *Texas: The Rise, Progress and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* is considered one of the best works on early Texas. Kennedy later served as the British consul in Galveston and did a great deal to encourage European emigration. In 1841, Kennedy wrote: "The rudest form of a sepulture was denied the dead. Their bodies were stripped, thrown into a heap, and burnt, after being subjected to brutal indignities, in the perpetration of which General Santa Anna has been charged with being a leading instrument" (Hansen 2003:688-689; Kennedy 1841:180-181,186-188).

#### **Account 19 - William Bollaert, 1843**

In 1843, William Bollaert, an Englishman in Texas attempting to gain a foothold in the lucrative land business, reported that he was conducted to the grave site, "under some peach trees a short distance from the Alamo" (Bollaert 1956: 222; Fox and Renner 1999:97).

#### **Account 20 - William McClintock, 1846**

A visit to a "peach orchard" was also noted by William McClintock in 1846 (McClintock 1930:145-146; Fox and Renner 1999: 97). McClintock did not give any locational information. In neither case is a direction or distance cited. This reference to the location of the pyres in a peach orchard may have arisen from a report, now generally discredited, by Doctor John Sutherland that the pyres had first been located by a Company of Rangers, under the command of Captain Byrd Lockhart.

#### **Account 21 - Henderson Yoakum, 1855**

Henderson Yoakum, a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, was a lawyer from Tennessee who came to Texas in 1845, residing in Huntsville, Texas. He befriended Sam Houston and served in the Mexican-American War under Captain James Gillespie during the Battle of Monterrey. Sam Houston was a close friend and client, and reportedly supplied Yoakum with much of the

material for his book (Henderson Yoakum, Handbook of Texas online). In 1855 he completed his two volume *History of Texas from Its First Settlement in 1685 to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846*. Regarding the Alamo defenders, Yoakum wrote: "The bodies of the Texans, after being stripped and subjected to brutal indignities, were thrown into heaps and burnt! The most of them were Americans, many of them colonists, who emigrated to Texas under the assurance of the colonization laws that their rights and liberties should be protected" (Hansen 2003:693; Yoakum 1855:2:82).

Several depositions for petitions for land grants or pensions were filed by various persons after the battle. Matovina (1995) has published a number of these and they are included here since they are some of the earliest accounts of the bodies being burned.

#### **Account 22 - Damasio de los Reyes, 1856**

On September 4, 1856, Damasio de los Reyes filed a deposition to support a land grant petition for Andres Nava's heirs (Matovina 1995:32). He stated that he knew Andres Nava and that Nava served under Travis at the Alamo and was one of the defenders killed. He stated that:

...shortly after the battle deponent with Agustin Barrera and others went into the Alamo and saw the dead body of said Nava. Deponent says that he, with others, were ordered by the authorities to go into the Alamo and gather up the dead bodies and burn them. The dead body of Nava was burned with the Americans [Matovina 1995:32].

#### **Account 23 - Francisco Esparza, 1859**

The deposition of Francisco Esparza on August 26, 1859, confirms that General Martin Perfecto de Cos allowed him to bury the body of his brother, Gregorio Esparza. He stated:

After the fall of the Alamo I applied and obtained permission from General Cos to take the body of my brother (Gregorio Esparza) and bury it. I proceeded to the Alamo and found the dead body of my brother in one of the rooms of the Alamo, he had received a ball in his breast and a stab from a sword in his side. I, in company with two of my brothers, took his body and we proceeded and interred it [in] the burying ground (*campo santo*) on the west side of the San Pedro Creek, where it still lies [Groneman 2017:76; Matovina 1995:33-34].

#### **Account 24 - Candelario Villanueva, 1859**

Candelario Villanueva's deposition on August 26, 1859, stated that he was a member of Juan Seguin's Company in 1835 and 1836 (Hansen 2003:92-93; Matovina 1995:35). Villanueva said that he knew Gregorio Esparza, who was also a member of Seguin's company, and that he knew that Esparza had gone into the Alamo. According to Villanueva, at the time that Santa Anna entered the town, Colonel Seguin sent him back to lock up his house and that in that time, the Mexican soldiers got between him and the Alamo and he had to stay in town until after the battle. He stated:

After the fall, I went there [to the Alamo] and among the dead bodies of those lying inside of the rooms I recognized the body of Gregorio Esparza; I also saw the dead bodies of Antonio Fuentes, Toribio Losoya, Guadalupe Rodriguez, and other Mexicans who had fallen in the defense of the Alamo, as also the bodies of Colonel Travis, Bowie, Crockett, and other Americans that I had previously known. I saw Francisco Esparza and his brothers take the body of Gregorio Esparza and carry it off towards the campo santo [cemetery] for internment; the "bodies of the Americans were laid in a pile and burnt [Hansen 2003:92-93; Matovina 1995:35-36].

#### **Account 25 - Reuben M. Potter, 1860 (original not found, but published in 1878)**

In 1860, Reuben M. Potter, a captain with the Quartermaster Corps of the Alamo stated: "...the place of burial was in what was then a peach orchard outside the town and a few hundred yards from the Alamo. It is now a large enclosed lot in the midst of the Alamo suburb, but fortunately not been built upon. The rude landmarks which once designated the place have long since disappeared, and it would require diligent search to find the exact locality. It is hoped that search will not be delayed til [sic]?? it is too late" (Fox and Renner 1999:98; Potter 1878:16).

Unfortunately, Potter was unable to complete his search, for in 1861, he became a prisoner of the Confederates who had captured the city and he was marched to the coast and deported to the North after being paroled. In 1878, he stated that the site "is densely built over, and its identity irrecoverable lost. This is too sad for comment" (Fox and Renner 1999:98; Potter 1878:21).

#### **Account 26 - John Sutherland, Soon after 1860**

Dr. John Sutherland stated that he enlisted in the service of the army of the Provisional Government of Texas and proceeded to San Antonio in company with Capt. William

Patten and ten others. He stated they reached San Antonio about the 18th of January 1836, and left San Antonio around the 23rd of February. Sutherland claimed that he was sent out by Travis to reconnoiter the enemy and was thrown from his horse, rendering him unfit for service, but was subsequently sent by Travis to Gonzales to obtain recruits. His account, he stated, was written from his own knowledge and from statements of others who witnessed the siege and fall of the Alamo. According to Sutherland, he was only spared the fate of the Alamo defenders because he was crippled by his horse falling on him (Dr. John S. Ford n.d. "The Alamo" in the John S. Ford Papers, 18-55, Center for American History; in Hansen 2003:138-159). There has been a tremendous amount of discussion about the Sutherland diaries and the reader is referred to the authors herein listed for a more in-depth discussion. Sutherland stated:

The action being over, and the unholy appetite of the enemy having been satisfied in the remains of the victims, Santa Anna ordered the slain of his ranks hauled to the graveyard, which was done, but there not being sufficient room to bury them all, some were thrown into the river.

After the Mexicans had been separated from the heaps of slain, wood was procured, and the bodies of the Texians collected for burning. They were then made into a heap, alternate layers of each being placed together, and kindling distributed throughout the whole. The pile being completed, about five o'clock in the evening, it was lighted. Thus was reared the altar upon which the heroic sons of freedom were [words erased] consecrated [sic] to their country. As the flames crackled and increased, the smoke of the sacrifice ascended on high, invoking the wrath of the Almighty upon the oppressors, and while the rising incense floated around the throne of Heaven, the retributive arm of offended justice was lifting the sword of vengeance which fell upon them at San Jacinto.

The pile being consumed, such of the bones of the Texians, as remained, lay for nearly a year upon the ground, while the ashes floated upon the breeze that found the sacred spot. There was no friend to collect and preserve these relics of the brave. They were scattered about on the grounds unnoticed by an ungrateful populace who knew not how to appreciate their value. On the twenty-fifth day of February, 1837, they were collected by Col. Juan N. Seguin and command, and placed in a rude but substantial coffin, and interred with military honors, in what was then a peach

orchard near the scene of the last struggle. The place is now an enclosed lot. Nothing remains to designate the exact spot where they lay, though there are persons yet living who might find it. A small, but elegant monument, made from the stone [words "of the stones" erased] of the Alamo, is preserved at the State Capitol. Stands as a monument of their death [Hansen 2003:155-157; Sutherland 1911].

### Account 27 - Manuel Loranca, 1878

This account is attributed to Manuel Loranca, a second sergeant of the Mexican army who was with General Ramirez y Sesma during the battle. The account is taken from a narrative written for the Corpus Christi *Free Press* and published in the *San Antonio Express*. Loranca stated that:

Sixty two Texans who sallied from the east side of the fort, were received by the Lancers and all killed. Only one of these made resistance; a very active man, armed with a double barrel gun and a single-barrel pistol, with which he killed a corporal of the Lancers named Eugenio. These were all killed by the lance, except one, who ensconced himself under a bush and it was necessary to shoot him.

There in front of the fosse were gathered the bodies of all those who died by the lance, and those killed in the fort, making a total of two-hundred and eighty-three persons, including a Mexican found among them, who, it appears, had come from La Bahia (Goliad) with dispatches; and there they were ordered to be burned, there being no room in the campo santo or burying ground, it being all taken up with the bodies of upwards of four hundred Mexicans, who were killed in the assault [Groneman 2017:96; Hansen 2003:475-477; San Antonio Express, 23 June 1878].

### Account 28 - Apolinario (Polin) Saldigna, 1882

Apolinario Saldigna was a young Mexican soldier and fifer. An account by him of the battle is attributed to an article by William P. Zuber in the *Houston Daily Post*, March 1, 1882. Saldigna reportedly stated:

As soon as the Dictator and his suite had retired, the squad began to take up the dead Texans, and to bring them together, and to lay them in a pile, but before thus depositing them, the Mexicans

rifled the pockets, and in many cases stripped the bodies of all clothing.

The two officers took a stand about the center of the arena. The first corpse was brought and laid as the captain directed. This formed a nucleus for a pile. The bodies were brought successively each by four men, and dropped near the captain's feet. In imitation of his general, the captain viewed the body of each dead Texan for a few moments, and thrust his sword through it, after which the mutilated corpse was cast upon the heap at another motion of the captain's sword.

Here he tells a gruesome story of the Mexican soldiers cutting off the tongue of Bowie and throwing it upon the pile of dead men. "Then in obedience to motion of the captain's sword, the four soldiers who held him [Bowie], lifted the writhing body of the mutilated, bleeding, tortured invalid from his cot, and pitched him alive upon the funeral pyre." He continues:

At that moment a match was touched to the bodies. The combustible fluid instantly sent up a flame to an amazing height. The sudden generation of a great heat drove all the soldiers back to the wall. The officers, pale as corpses, stood gazing at the immense columns of fire, and trembled from head to foot as if they would break asunder at every joint.

Not being able to fully comprehend the great combustibility of the camphene, Polin also believed that the sudden elevation of that great pillar of fire was an indication of God's hot displeasure toward those torturing murderers... On a subsequent day Polin visited the fort again. It was then cleansed and it seemed to be a comfortable place. In the main area he saw the one relic of the great victory---a pile of charred fragments of human bones [Groneman 2017:102-106; Sowell 1884:146-49; Zuber 1882].

Hansen (2003:490-493) has a somewhat varying account of Saldigna. It is included here because it has some additional information:

As soon as the Dictator and his suite retired, the squad began to take up the Texans and to bring them together, and lay them in a pile. I had learned from other prisoners that the Mexicans, at the same time, performed the additional work of rifling the pockets of the slain Texans.

The two officers took a stand, about the center of the main area. The first corpse was brought and laid as the captain directed. This formed a nucleus for a pile. The bodies were brought successively, each by four men, and dropped near the captain's feet. In imitation of the general, the captain viewed the body of each dead Texan for a few moments, and thrust his sword through him, to throw him upon the pile, which pantomime was instantly obeyed.

When all the Texans had been thrown on the pile, four soldiers walked around it, each carrying a can of camphene, which he spurted the liquid upon the pile. This process was continued until all the bodies were thoroughly wetted; then a match was thrown upon the pile, and the combustible fluid instantly sent up a flame to an immense height.

While the fluid was being thrown upon the pile, four soldiers brought a cot, on which lay a sick man, and set it down by the captain; and one of them remarked, 'Here, captain, is a man who is not dead'. 'Why is he not dead?' asked the captain, 'We found him in a room by himself,' said the soldier. 'He seems to be very sick, and I suppose he was not able to fight, and was placed there by his companion, to be in a safe place, and out of the way.' The captain gave the sick man a searching look, and said, 'I think I have seen [sic] this man before' The lieutenant replied, 'I think I have too,' and stooping down, he examined his features closely. Then, raising himself up, he addressed the captain: 'He is none other than the infamous Bowie'. The captain then also stooped, gazed intently upon the sick man's face, assumed an erect position, and confirmed the conviction of the lieutenant...

Then he caused the four of his minions to hold the sick man, while a fifth with a sharp knife, split his mouth, on each side, to the ramus of the jaw, then took hold of his tongue, cut it off, and threw it upon the pile of dead men, the, in obedience to motion of the captain's sword, the four soldiers who held him, lifted the writhing body of the mutilated, bleeding, tortured invalid from his cot, and pitch him alive upon the funeral pyre.

At that moment a match was thrown upon the funeral pile. The combustible fluid instantly sent up a flame to an amazing height. The sudden generation of a great heat drove all the soldiers

back to the wall. The officers, pale as corpses, stood gazing at the immense columns of fire, and trembled from head to foot, as if they would break asunder at every joint....

Not being able to fully comprehend the great combustibility of the camphene, Polin also believe that the sudden elevation of that great pillar of fire was an indication of God's hot displeasure toward those torturing murderers....

On another subsequent day, Polin visited the fort again. It was then cleansed, and it seemed to be a comfortable place. But in a conspicuous place, in the main area, he saw the one relic of the great victory-a pile of charred fragments of human bones [Hansen 2003:490-493; Sowell 1884:145-49].

#### **Account 29 - Francisco Becerra, 1882**

Francisco Becerra is described as a first sergeant under the division of General Ramirez y Sesma. His account first appeared as part of the John S. Ford papers and was given as a talk at the Austin Public Library in 1875, but did not appear in print until April 1882, in the *Texas Mute Ranger*. Becerra stated that after the battle:

Gen. Santa Anna directed Col. Mora to send out his cavalry to bring in wood. He ordered that they should make prisoners of all the inhabitants they might meet, and force them to pack wood to the Alamo. In this manner a large quantity of wood was collected. A large pile was raised. It consisted of layers of wood and layers of corpses of Texians. It was set on fire. The bodies of those brave men, who fell fighting that morning, as men have seldom fought, were reduced to ashes before the sun set. It was a melancholy spectacle.

There was an order to gather our own dead and wounded. It was a fearful sight. Our lifeless soldiers covered the grounds surrounding the Alamo. They were heaped inside of the fortress. Blood and brains covered the earth, and the floors, and had spattered the walls. The ghostly faces of our comrades met our gaze, and we removed them with despondent hearts....During the evening we buried our dead. These were sad duties which each company performed for its fallen members. How many never again responded at roll call! It was a day of bitter strife, of sadness, and sorrow. A triumph which bore bitter fruits [Groneman

2017:110; Hansen 2003:458; Texas Mute Ranger 1882:168-172].

### **Account 30 - John J. Linn 1883**

John J. Linn, who settled in Victoria in 1829, was an alcalde of Victoria and a prominent merchant. He also served as a member of the Convention of 1836, and in the House of the Second and Third congresses of the Republic of Texas. Linn helped to train Texan forces in Gonzales after October 1835. Linn recorded his memoirs in his book *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas* in 1883 (ghostwritten by the historian Victor Marion Rose). He was personally acquainted with some of the men who fell at the Battle of the Alamo. Linn's account is significant due to the fact, that at least to date, of those sources identified for this report, his is the first mention of multiple funeral pyres (not just ash piles as detailed by Seguin) being constructed. Linn stated:

The Mexicans made three piles of the bodies of the slaughtered garrison a few hours after the action and burned them. On the 25th of Feb., a year afterwards, Colonel Seguin collected the remaining bones, and, placing them in a coffin, had them interred with due solemnity and with military honors [Linn 1883:139].

### **Account 31 - Felix Nunez, 1889**

Nunez claimed to have been conscripted into the Mexican army when he was 32 years old. His recollections of the battle were recorded by George W. Noel who then provided it to an unidentified writer for the *San Antonio Daily Express*. At the time of his interview, he was an elderly man, but reportedly had a very good memory and was honest and truthful. His account of the disposal of the dead is as follows:

General Santa Anna immediately ordered every one of the Americans to be dragged out and burnt. The infantry was ordered to tie on the ropes, and the cavalry to do the dragging. When the infantry commenced to tie the ropes to the dead bodies they could not tell our soldiers from the Americans, from the fact that their uniforms and clothes were so stained with blood and smoke and their faces so besmeared with gore and blackened that one could not distinguish the one from the other. This fact was reported to Santa Anna and he appeared at the front and gave instructions to have every face wiped off and for the men to be particular not to mistake any of our men for Americans and burn them, but to give them decent sepulture. He stood for a moment

gazing on the horrid and ghastly spectacle before him, but soon retired and was seen no more.

When the Americans were all dragged out and counted there were 180 including officers and men. Upon the other hand this four day's siege and capture of the Alamo cost the Mexican nation at least a thousand men, including killed and wounded, a large majority of this number being killed. Our officers, after the battle was over, were of the opinion that if the Americans had not made holes in the roof themselves, the Alamo could not have been taken by assault. It would either have had to have been starved out or demolished by heavy artillery.

After we had finished our task of burning the Americans a few of us went back to the Alamo to see if we could pick up any valuables, but we could not find anything scarcely, except their arms and a few cooking utensils and some clothing. I found Colonel Travis' coat, which was hanging on a peg driven to the wall just behind the cannon and from where his dead body had just been dragged away. In the pockets I found some papers that resembled paper money or bonds of some kind. His cannon was standing just as he had left it with its mouth pointing west and not towards the Alamo plaza. We did not use Colonel Travis' cannon, nor even our own, because cannons were almost useless on the day that we made the final assault [Groneman 2017:116-122; Hansen 2003:478-484; Noel 1889].

### **Account 32 - William Cannon, 1893**

William Cannon was the reported brother of Susanna Dickinson. Cannon's account was not known until Thomas Ricks Lindley first published it in a 1994 article in the *Alamo Journal* (Groneman 2017:230-234). It is in the form of a letter Cannon wrote to Governor J.S. Hogg in an attempt to obtain compensation for his service and family losses. Cannon wrote:

Mrs. Candelaria and I got out of the walls and went to Dr. Levario's house where the Menger Hotel now stands. He lived in a story and a half doby [sic] house. I was put upstairs. There was a window in my room covered with domestic, or some kind of cloth, from which I could see over the wall not knocked down, and see what was going on outside. I saw some of the Mexican soldiers caring for their wounded, while others were bringing in wood on their backs from the

hill where the cemetery now is Southeast of the Alamo. I saw them start the fire, and could see them pile the dead, and I supposed some of the wounded, on this fire and they were burned.

Those are the particulars as far as I remember them at this time, not having any records to refresh my memory. Four or five years ago the Mexicans that were buried between the Alamo and the place where the Menger hotel now stands were taken up. It seems that Mrs. Candelaria did not tell of the burning of the dead nor the place where the Mexicans were buried until I came back to Texas six years ago with Chief Jeronimo, when I told him of it in San Antonio, and she confirmed my account [Groneman 2017:230-234; William James Cannon, Austin to J.S. Hogg, Austin June 9, 1893 in Lindley 1994: 4-7].

### **Account 33 - Andrea Castanon de Villanueva (Madame Candelaria), 1899, 1890 (b)**

Madame Candelaria has long been a subject of review by Alamo historians. She was the wife of Candelario Villanueva. Some accept her story of being in the Alamo during the battle and fall and others believe that she was not present prior to the battle, during the battle or after the Alamo. The reader is referred to the sources cited at the end of this report to read more about Madame Candelaria if they are interested. Nevertheless, her statements regarding the funeral pyre are herein included: "Then by the order of Santa Anna, the bodies of all the dead Texans were piled in a heap with brush and wood and burned. That was the end of the heroes of that great struggle" (Castanon 1899:10). William Corner stated in March 17, 1888, he conducted an interview with Madame Candelaria. He wrote: "I next asked her what was done with the bodies of the Texans? She said all were cremated" (Corner 1890:117-119; Hansen 2003:295).

### **Account 34 - A. J. Sowell, 1900**

Andrew Jackson Sowell was a well-known Texas Ranger and author. He wrote several books on his exploits as a Texas Ranger and also recorded the histories and stories of many other early Texans and settlers. In his 1900 book *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters of Southwest Texas* (Sowell 1900), he recorded:

It is a pity that Captain Seguin should have had any trouble with the Texans. He commanded a small company of Mexicans at San Jacinto, fighting against Santa Anna, and it was he and his men who collected the bones of the men killed and partly burned at the Alamo. They buried

these remains about 75 yards from the northeast corner of the Alamo [Sowell 1900:14].

### **Account 35 - Enrique Esparza 1901(a), 1907 (b), 1910 (c), 1911 (d), 1936 (e)**

In 1901, Adina de Zavala interviewed Enrique Esparza who was not then recognized as a survivor of the Alamo. This interview was published in the *San Antonio Light* on November 10, 1901. Esparza was the son of Gregorio Esparza, one of the defenders in the Alamo, and about whom much has been written. He was a young child of eight when he entered the Alamo with his mother Ana (Anita) Esparza and his three younger brothers and a sister. After de Zavala's interview with Esparza, he was interviewed a number of other times by various reporters and historians. But, in this his first interview, he stated: "The body of Esparza's father, who was butchered with other Texans, was obtained by his brother who was in the Mexican army and buried in the San Fernando Campo Santo [cemetery] and thus he has the distinction of being the only Texan who escaped the funeral pyre" (De Zavala 1901); ; Groneman 2017:147-150; Hansen 2003:94-96; Houston Chronicle, 1901; Matovina 1995:66).

On May 12, and May 19, 1907 Enrique Esparza was interviewed by Charles Merritt Barnes for the *San Antonio Daily Express* (Barnes 1907a:14; Barnes 1907b:47-48). In that account, he does not specifically mention anything about the dead bodies/funeral pyre(s). On May 19, 1907, Esparza continued his interview with Barnes. He related how his father was allowed to be buried:

My mother was next called before the dictator. When she appeared before him my baby sister pressed closely to her bosom, I with my brother followed her into his presence. My brother was clinging to her skirt, but I stood to one side and behind her. I watched every move and listened to every word spoken. Santa Anna asked her name. She gave it. He then asked. 'Where is your husband?' She answered, sobbing: 'He's dead at the Alamo.' Santa Anna next asked where the other members of the family were. She replied a brother of my father's she was informed, was in his (Santa Anna's) army. This was true. My father had a brother whose name was Francisco Esparza, who joined the forces of Santa Anna. It was this brother who appeared before Santa Anna later and asked permission to search among the slain for my father's corpse. The permission was given. My uncle found my father's body and had it buried in the Campo Santo where Milam Square is now... It is probable that my father was the only one who fought on the side



of the Constitutionals, and against the forces of the dictator, whose body was buried without having first been burned [Barnes 1907b:47-48; Groneman 2017:170; Hansen 2003:109-110].

An additional account quotes Esparza:

When the slaughter was done, Santa Anna was confronted with the problem of disposing of the dead. Utter annihilation was the fate he gave the defenders of the Alamo. He directed the Alcalde, Ruiz, to have built two immense wooden pyres. These were located on what was then known as the Alameda, or Cottonwood grave roadway. It is now a wide portion of East Commerce Street. The northeast end of one of these pyres extended into the eastern portion of the front yard of what is now the Ludlow House. The other pyre was in what is now the yard of Dr. Ferdinand Herff Sr.'s Post, or Springfield House (later the location where the Halff House was located). I have had both pyres' positions positively located by those who saw the corpses of the slain placed there [Barnes 1910:36-37].

Esparza's account from March 26, 1911, is found in Barnes' article "Builders Spades Turn Up Soil Baked by Alamo Funeral Pyres" in the *San Antonio Express*:

After this [after Santa Anna had let the family go] we went to look for the body of my father and my brother, but when we got to the Alamo again all of the bodies had been removed and taken to the Alameda. They were put in two piles, one on each side of the Alameda, and burned. All of the dead killed in the siege who were defenders of the Alamo were burned, both Mexicans and Americans, and my father and brother were among them, but we could not find them in either pile, for the soldiers would not let us get close enough to examine or claim them.

They set fire to them and burned them. My mother placed her mantilla before her face and ran screaming from the scene, dragging me by the hand with her. After the bodies were burned we went back several times to the two places until all of the fragments had been removed and the ashes had been scattered in every direction [Barnes 1911a:26; Groneman 2017:183-184; Hansen 2003:111; Matovina 1995:103].

In an August 27, 1911 article appearing in the *San Antonio Express* authored by Charles Merritt Barnes, Barnes stated:

"He [Esparza] also saw the incineration of the bodies of those slain during the defense of the Alamo and say they were burned on the Alameda" (Barnes 1911b:9; Groneman 2017:184-185).

The final account of Esparza was published in 1936 by Howard R. Driggs and Sarah S. King in their book *Rise of the Lone Star*. According to Groneman and Hansen (Groneman 2017:202; Hansen 2003:112), King was a long-time principal of the Bowie School in San Antonio. It seems that King had Esparza visit the school to tell his story to the students. At the time, he was supposed to be 80 years old or so, so the account would have been from ca. 1908-1917. According to Groneman, the Esparza family was acquainted with the King family, so there is credence to the story. Hansen published an extended version of the narrative (Hansen 2003:112-119).

Esparza recounted the following:

We stayed in San Antonio with my uncle. He had taken no part in the war. He was too old. Uncle found my father's body among the slain and buried it. It took three days for the soldiers of Santa Anna to gather up their dead and bury them. In after years I was told that six hundred of them had been killed by the one hundred and eighty-two Texans who died fighting at the Alamo." When asked if he had seen the bodies being burned, he stated: "No, but I heard that they did burn the bodies. Later, when Santa Anna had been defeated I learned that Captain Seguin had come to San Antonio and gathered up the ashes of these brave men and given them honorable burial near the spot where they had died fighting for freedom. Alcalde Ruiz helped to burn and bury many of the bodies [Driggs and King 1936:213-231; Groneman 2017: 201-202; Hansen 2003:118-119].

### **Account 36 - Pablo Diaz 1906 (a), 1909 (b), 1911 (c)**

Another account of the battle was related by Pablo Diaz, who was a young man of ca. 19 during the Alamo battle, to Charles Merritt Barnes. Barnes published his account in the *San Antonio Express* on July 1, 1906. At the time of the interview, Diaz was about 90 years old. Barnes prefaced his interview with Diaz by saying:

To have seen the ashes of those who were slain in the Alamo is an experience that but few men now living can claim. There is one man living in San Antonio who makes this claim. He does so with all the appearances and indications of his contention being correct. He seems not only

to know the place where the heroes' corpses were burned, but gives a vivid description of the occurrence and his experience and positively points out and locates the spot, as well as the one where the few charred bones that were left were interred [Barnes 1906:11; Matovina 1995:73].

Diaz himself states:

Next I saw an immense pillar of flame shoot up for a short distance to the south and east of the Alamo and the dense smoke from it rose high into the clouds. I saw it burn for two days and nights and then flame and smoke subsided and smoldered. I left my retreat and came forth cautiously, coming along Garden Street to town. I noticed that the air was tainted with the terrible odor from many corpses, and I saw thousands of vultures flying above me. As I reached the ford of the river my gaze encountered a terrible sight. The stream was congested with the corpses that had been thrown into it. The alcalde, [Francisco Antonio Ruiz] had vainly endeavored to bury the bodies of the soldiers of Santa Anna who had been slain by the defenders of the Alamo. He had exhausted all of his resources and still was unable to cope with the task. There were too many of them...Hurriedly I turned aside and up La Villita and to South Alamo. I could not help seeing the corpses which congested the river all around the bend from Garden to way above Commerce Street and as far as Crockett Street is now.

They stayed there for many days until finally the alcalde got a force sufficient to dislodge them and float them down the river. But while this was a most gruesome sight, the one I saw later filled me with more horror. I went on the Alameda. It was then broad and spacious, irregularly shaped place, flanked on both side with huge cottonwood trees, from which it gets its name. I turned into the Alameda at the present intersection of Commerce and Alamo Streets. Looking eastward I saw a large crowd gathered. Intuitively I went to the place.

It was just beyond where the Ludlow now stands. The crowd was gathered around the smoldering embers and ashes of the fire that I had seen from the mission. It was here that the alcalde had ordered the bodies of Bowie, of Crockett, Travis and all of their dauntless comrades who had been slain in the Alamo's unequal combat to be brought and burned. I did not need to make inquiry. The

story was told by the silent witnesses before me. Fragments of flesh, bones and charred wood and ashes revealed it in all of its terrible truth. Grease that had exuded from the bodies saturated the earth for several feet beyond the ashes and smoldering mesquite fagots. The odor was more sickening than that from the corpses in the river. I turned my head aside and left the place in shame [Barnes 1906:11; Groneman 2017:159-161; Hansen: 2003:530; Matovina 1995:72-74].

At this point in the story, Barnes told how he took Diaz with him to point out the spot to him where the Alamo defenders had been burned. Barnes and Diaz were accompanied by Antonio Perez. According to Barnes, Diaz took Barnes to the "Post House." Barnes claimed that another person had also told him that this was where the bodies had been burned. Barnes then wrote that Diaz replied:

The pyre was a very long one, as it had to consume nearly two hundred corpses, and it may be that some of the bodies may not have been burned in the main one, but have been burned on the opposite of the Alameda, but if they were I did not see the ashes. I am not prepared to say there were no bodies burned nay where but at the spot I shall indicate, and it is not unlikely that they were burned here. It is probable that all of the bodies were not carried away from the Alamo at the same time or the Constitutionals all separated from the Federals at the same time, so the story that some of the bodies were burned on the south side of the Alameda and where stands the Post House, belonging to Dr. Herff Sr. and now called the Springfield House, may be true. But the main funeral pyre was about two hundred yards east of where St Joséph's Church now stands and just beyond this big red brick house (meaning the Ludlow) and then for fifty to sixty yards north [Barnes 1906; Groneman 2017: 160-161; Hansen: 2003:530-531; Matovina 1995:72-74].

Pablo Diaz was again interviewed for the *San Antonio Light* at the age of 92. The newspaper account reported that Diaz stated: "how the Mexicans dragged branches of trees and limbs of trees through the streets and made a funeral pyre in the plaza off to the side of the Alamo. First a layer of wood and then a layer of corpses of the gallant Texans and then another layer of wood and then other corpses until the pyre was completed...When asked if he saw the flames which leaped to heaven consume their human sacrifice on the altar of liberty his voice trembled and tears gathers in his dim old eyes and he replied, 'Si si. No era bueno, no era bueno' (Yes, yes. It was not good; it was not good) (Diaz 1909; Groneman 2017:177-178; Matovina 1995:97-98).

A third account of Diaz's was written by Barnes and published in the San Antonio Express on March 26, 1911:

My parents fled with me. I was a child then. I had a brother older than I who espoused the cause of Santa Anna and fought in his army. After the Alamo had fallen we returned to town from the Calaveras, where we had gone. On our approach we saw a huge pillar of flames and smoke shooting up to a considerable height to the south and east of the Alamo. The dense smoke from this fire went up into the clouds and I watched it while the fire burned for two days and two nights. Then it subsided and smoldered. During this time we had been hiding in the southern part of the city and left our retreat, coming back to town by way of Garden Street.

I noticed that the air was tainted with a terrible odor from many corpses and that thousands of vultures were circling in the sky above us. They were hovering over the city and especially along and above the river's course. As I reached the ford of the San Antonio River at the old Lewis Mill site I encountered a terrible sight. The stream was congested with corpses that had been thrown into it.

[Francisco Antonio] Ruiz, the alcalde [mayor] at that time, had vainly striven to bury the dead soldiers of Santa Anna's command who had been slain in the struggle during the siege. After exhausting every effort and all of his resources, he was unable to give burial to but a very limited number, these principally being officers. Being unable to bury them in the earth he was compelled to dispose of them otherwise. He had them cast into the swiftly flowing stream. But they were so numerous that they choked up the stream, finding the lodgement [sic] along the banks of the short curves and bends of that stream.

They obstructed the stream for some time until Ruiz was able to get a sufficient force to push the bodies away from the banks as they lodged against them and floated them down the stream for a considerable distance below, where they remained until devoured by the vultures and wolves.

I stopped and looked at the sickening sight, which made me shudder, and I became ill. I was told afterward that the sight and stench had even nauseated Santa Anna himself so that he had complained and reprimanded Ruiz for not getting rid of the dead. Involuntarily I put my hands before my eyes and turned away. But I could not, even then, help seeing

the corpses, right along the settlement of La Villita, for they lined the river's course and bank all the way from Crockett Street to more than a mile below.

But while the bodies of the Mexican soldiers in the river was a revolting spectacle the one that met my vision later was even more gruesome. It filled me with the greatest horror. I had passed along La Villita to South Alamo Street and thence north to the Alameda. This was a broad and spacious place used as a promenade and also as a highway of ingress to and egress from the city on the east side of the river. It has since become a part of East Commerce Street. On each side of the Alameda was a row of large cottonwood trees. From them the place took its name of Alameda. It commenced at about where St. Joseph's Church now stand, this having been the western extremity about half a block from South Alamo Street.

It was Santa Anna himself who had given orders to Ruiz to have the bodies of all who perished while defending the Alamo incinerated. By intuition I went straight to the place. I did not need a guide. The whole story was told by the spectacle I saw. The witnesses were silent but eloquent ones. There were the charred skulls, fragments of arms, hands, feet, and other members of the bodies of the dead defenders. In carts the slain, among whom were Travis, Crockett, Bowie, [James Butler] Bonham and [Green B.] Jameson as well as all of the others, had been removed from the Alamo mission, where they fell, to the Alameda, where they were burned on two different pyres. These were about 250 yards apart and one was on each side the south side was the largest. The later was probably about twenty feet longer than the former. Both were about the same width—about eight or ten feet. Both pyres were about ten feet high when the flames were first kindled and the consuming of the corpses commenced.

In alternate layers the corpses and wood were placed. Grease of different kinds, principally tallow, was melted and poured over the two pyres. They were then ignited and burned until they burned out, leaving but a few fragments of different members. They emitted an odor even more sickening than did the corpses of those who had been thrown into the river and to me were much more nauseating [Barnes 1911:26; Groneman 2017: 181-183].

Susannah Dickinson (Hannig 1876) claimed that she knew Pablo Diez [Diaz] well, and that he told her that after the cannonading ceased, he came to town from the country where

he had been during the battle and “he was impressed and forced to go out and cut brush to be used to burn the bodies of the Alamo heroes” (Hansen 2003:61). Interestingly, Diaz never says this in any of his accounts, so perhaps Dickinson’s (Hannig 1876) recollections were wrong, or Diaz had some reason for not telling that he had helped to secure the wood.

### Account 37 - Antonio Perez 1906

Antonio Perez accompanied Pablo Diaz and Charles Merritt Barnes on their tour of the funeral pyre locations. Barnes wrote that the spot pointed out to him by Diaz was confirmed by Antonio Perez, who reported that as a small boy he used to play on the Alameda and he was frequently shown the same spot as the place where the bodies of the Alamo defenders were burned. Barnes (1906:11) wrote that:

Perez goes further than Diaz and says that for many years there was a small mound there under which he was told the charred bones that the fire did not consume were buried by some humane persons, who had to do so secretly, and that he is familiar with the spot as the burial place of Bowie and Crockett. Perez states that about thirty years ago these bones were exhumed and placed in the Old City Cemetery, the first one located on the Powder House Hill, but that he does not know the part of that cemetery they were placed in...It is a great shame to be forced to admit that neither the State nor the United States have ever erected a monument. It is to be hoped that a suitable and imposing one may be placed on the Alameda to mark the place where the bodies of those heroes were burned and I hope you will remember the spot and endeavor to get someone to so mark it [Barnes 1906;11; Hansen 2003:531-532; Matovina 1995:77].

### Account 38 - María de Jesus Delgado Buquor 1907

Barnes also interviewed María de Jesus Delgado Buquor in 1907 when she was about 80 years. Buquor had moved with her family to San Antonio de Béxar in 1830 and was about ten years old at the time of the battle. Her family knew Travis and Crockett well, and according to her story, both men were at her family home the day of Santa Anna’s arrival to town. She stated that “she did not see any of the Texas dead after the last final attack but she plainly remembers seeing the smoke arising from the burning of the bodies of the Texans when their remains were destroyed in this way, a sacrificial fire on the altar of Texas liberty” (Barnes,1907b; Groneman 2017:176; Matovina 1995:89-91).

### Account 39 - Juan Diaz 1907a, 1911b, 1935

Juan Diaz was also interviewed on September 1, 1907, by the *San Antonio Light*. Diaz’s father, Antonio Diaz was the custodian of San Fernando Church, and thus Diaz watched much of the activities from the tower of the church. He reported:

I did not go to the plaza when the dead were burned. I had no desire to see that great funeral pyre, but the odor of it permeated every part of the city. It was sickening and for weeks and months people shunned the Alamo. Some of the men who went there during the cremation told us that the Texas and Mexican soldiers were all piled in a heap and burned together [Diaz 1907; Groneman 2017:177; Matovina 1995:92-94].

Barnes also interviewed Juan Diaz and published another account in the *San Antonio Express* on August 27, 1911. Barnes wrote:

Juan Diaz, who states he is 105 years old and was born in old Mexico, but came to San Antonio before the siege of the Alamo, saw the memorable combat there between the heroes who defended the historic pile and the troops under Santa Anna. Diaz says he watched the burning of the bodies of those slain in the Alamo. He saw them placed on two pyres on the old Alameda, which is now East Commerce Street... [Barnes 1911b:9; Matovina 1995:106].

In his memoirs, Creed Taylor reports that Juan Diaz told him the following:

I knew of the progress of the siege from day to day; watched some of the assaults from a safe vantage point, and then witnessed the final scene of the bloody drama—the burning of the dead. I [Diaz] did not go out to where the dead were burned; I had no desire to see the great funeral pyre, but the odor of it permeated every part of the town. It was sickening and for weeks and months people shunned the place. Some of the men who witnessed the cremation said that the Texan and Mexican slain were piled in a heap and burned together [Taylor 1935:160].

It is obvious that Taylor had read Diaz’s reports in the newspapers and incorporated the statements into his book, but the statement is included here as it varies slightly from the 1907 version.

### **Account 40 - Juan Vargas, 1910**

In 1910, Louis de Nette, a reporter for the *San Antonio Light* interviewed Juan Vargas, (who claimed he was descended from the Aztecs) when he was a reported 114 years old. His account was reported by de Nette on April 3, 1910. Vargas was forced to serve the Mexican troops in their camp, tending to the wounds of Mexican soldiers, kitchen duties, equipage tasks, and helped to bury the dead. Because he was close to the battle site, he reported he was able to hear the battle sounds:

Back in the camp [the Mexican camp] soldiers mutilated and torn stumbled into camp to be bound up; dozens and scores were dragged in with gaping wounds through which their lifeblood had trickled....the uncounted dead [Mexican soldiers] were piled in camp...that day is one to go down in history, for never did a patriot band go more willingly to death than did those handful of Texans...fighting to the last. And never in history is there recorded a battle in which so few gave death to so many. The day after, the piling of those dead in trenches, the absence of humans from San Antonio—ah, but let us pass that, señor, let us pass that. I am old, close to the grave. Excitement is not good for me. I tremble and lose strength [de Nette 1910:34; Groneman 2017:181; Hansen 2003:536-538; Matovina 1995:101].

### **Account 41 - Charles Merritt Barnes, 1910a, 1911b**

Charles Merritt Barnes, a reporter for the *San Antonio Express* compiled interviews of eyewitnesses and others and produced his published book *Combats and Conquests of Immortal Heroes Sung in Song and Told in Story* in 1910. Barnes wrote:

He [Santa Anna] directed the Alcalde, Ruiz, to have built two immense wooden pyres. These were located on what was then known as the Alameda, or Cottonwood grove roadway. It is now a wide portion of East Commerce Street. The northeastern end of one of these pyres extended into the eastern portion of the front yard of what is now the Ludlow House. The other pyre was in what is now the yard of Dr. Ferdinand Herff Sr.'s old Post, Springfield House. I have had both pyres' positions positively located by those who saw the corpses of the slain placed there [Barnes 1910:36-37; Fox and Renner 1999:98].

In Barnes' article published in 1911 (Barnes 1911a; Fox and Renner 1999:98), he recounts the story as reported to him by eyewitnesses. Barnes reveals that his informants were Pablo

Diaz, Juan Antonio Chavez, and Enrique Esparza, ranging in age from 83 to 90 years (see accounts included herein).

Where workmen are excavating for the cellar of a new building [the Moody Building] that will stand on the spot of one of the two funeral pyres whereon the bodies of those slain in the Alamo's defense were consumed, is one of the memorable places of San Antonio, never marked and constantly passed unheeded. Few know that such a prominent event in history was there enacted. It will not be long before this spot and the one where the other funeral pyre was built will be the site of buildings for commercial purposes, and the populace, in all probability, will forget that either place was ever of historical interest.

The spot where the cellar is being dug comprises one half of the area on which the first pyre mentioned was located. It is on the north side East Commerce Street, adjoining the Ludlow House. The building is being constructed by Dr. G. (or G for George Harrison) Moody. The pyre occupied a space about ten feet in width by sixty in length, and extended from northwest to southeast from the property owned by Mrs. Ed Steves, on which the Ludlow House is built, to and through the property the Moody structure is to occupy, and a short distance out into the street. The other pyre, which was of equal width, was about eighty feet long, and was laid out in the same direction, but was on the opposite side and on property now owned by Dr. Ferdinand Herff, Sr. about 250 yards southeast of the first pyre, this property being known as the site of the old Post House or Springfield House.

The sites of the two pyres have been pointed out to me by several persons, three of whom saw them when the bodies were being burned and before the ashes had been scattered and the fragments removed [Barnes 1911a; Matovina 1995:102].

### **Account 42 - Don Juan Antonio Chavez, 1911a, 1914b**

Barnes reported that Don Juan Antonio Chavez, who saw the remnants of the pyres and the fragments of the bodies, was the third eyewitness who showed him the same spots that the other two (Enrique Esparza and Pablo Diaz) did and confirmed their stories, all three coinciding (Barnes 1911a). Barnes also stated that Antonio Perez and August Biesenbach also showed him the same places.

Barnes further wrote on August 27, 1911:

Don Antonio Chavez is another aged San Antonian, nearly ninety years old, who has spent the greater part of his life either in San Antonio or on the Calaveras Creek, in which locality he has a fine ranch. He was in San Antonio when Santa Anna and his soldiers entered and left the city with his parents when the siege commenced, going to the ranch. He returned during the time the bodies were being burned and saw the ashes and remnants of the pyres as well as some skulls, arms, and other fragments of humanity that had not been entirely consumed [Barnes 1911b; Matovina 1995:105-106].

A third interview with Chavez was published in the *San Antonio Express* on April 19, 1914. In this interview Chavez added the following information:

When we returned [from their ranch] the bodies of those that had perished in the Alamo were still burning on two immense pyres on the old Alameda. I went to look at them and the sight indelibly impressed itself upon my memory. One pyre occupied a position on the site of where the new Halff building is. The other was diagonally across the street on what is now known as the lawn of the Ludlow House and the recently built house adjoining it on the east. The bodies burned for several days and the wood and tallow fuel used for consuming them was frequently replenished. I made several trips to the scene, which so fascinated me I could not stay away until all of the bodies had been consumed. They were all reduced to ashes except a few charred heads, arms, and legs that were scattered about. These were gathered up and placed in a shallow grave where the Ludlow House lawn now is.

All of the officers and some of the privates of Santa Anna's army, according to Don [Juan] Antonio Chavez, were buried in the cemetery where Milam Park now is, but the slain Mexicans were so numerous it was thought the quickest and best way of getting rid of the bodies was by throwing them in the San Antonio River, then a swift and deep stream. There were so many bodies they choked its flow. Many of them lodged in the curves of the river [Groneman 2017:190; Matovina 1995:116-117; SAE 1914:B:45].

### Account 43 - August Biesenbach

In 1911, Barnes further stated that Antonio Perez and August Biesenbach "also showed me the same places and stated they had been the ones whereon the bodies had been burned" (Barnes 1911a; Matovina 1995:105). Barnes wrote:

There was an orchard very near the place where the place the bodies were burned on the south side of the Alameda, and it is stated that flames and sparks blowing in the fierce March wind that prevailed a part of the time during the incineration below the flames into the orchard, injuring many and destroying some of the fruit trees, most of which died soon after. This fact probably gave rise to the prevalent belief that obtained for many years, that after the bodies were burned none of the fruit trees in the neighborhood would bear and that they as well as the cottonwood trees all died soon after. It is a fact that there are now no bearing fruit trees within a block of where either of the two pyres were and there are but two of the fifty or more cottonwood trees left that grew originally on the Alameda. Neither of them is within a block of either of the pyres [Barnes 1911a; Matovina 1995:105].

### Account 44 - Trinidad Coy, 1911

Coy's account was told by his son Andres, a local San Antonio policeman and reported in the *San Antonio Light* on November 26, 1911. Coy was reported to be one of several scouts sent from the Alamo but was captured by the Mexican Army while trying to get back to the Alamo to make a report of the movements of Santa Anna. He reported that he finally escaped from the Mexican camp where he was being held and followed a known path around the city, arriving after an hour to the back of the Alamo chapel. He stated that a bank of cottonwood trees hid the Alamo and its defenders from his view, but that he was able to force his way through the underbrush to the Alamo:

[Coy] arrived at a point in back of the chapel of the Alamo, from where he could join his comrades. Only a bank of cottonwood trees hid them from his view. He forced his way through the underbrush. The Alamo lay before him. There were no signs of fighting. All was quiet. Only, before his eyes, there rose the heavy black cloud from a smoking pile. It was the funeral pyre of his friends [Groneman 2017:187; Hansen 2003:541-542; Matovina 1995:113; *San Antonio Light*, 26 November 1911].

#### **Account 45 - Judge José María Rodríguez, 1913**

In 1913, the memoirs of Judge José María Rodríguez, son of Ambrosio Rodríguez, were published. Judge Rodríguez was born in San Antonio on October 29, 1829. He was the son of Texian patriot Ambrosio Rodríguez and María de Jesús Olivarri. Ambrosio's father was Manuel Ignacio Rodríguez who married Antonia Courbiere. Rodríguez was the tax assessor and collector of Bexar County, an alderman of Bexar County, and a judge of Webb County for 35 years. His memoirs were set down just prior to his death on February 22, 1913. Rodríguez remembered Col. Travis from the many visits that Travis paid to visit with his mother and father in their home. His father joined Juan Seguin's company and was with Sam Houston while the Battle of the Alamo took place. Rodríguez and his mother and family fled to the county to the ranch of Doña Santos Ximenes. Rodríguez wrote:

There has been a great deal of discussion with reference to what had been done with the bodies of the Texans who were slain in the Alamo. It is claimed that Colonel Seguin wrote a letter in which he stated that he got together the ashes in the following February and put them in an iron urn and buried them in San Fernando Cathedral. This does not seem possible to me; because nothing of that kind could have happened without us knowing that and we never heard of any occurrence of that kind. Seguin did not return from Houston's army until my father did, both of them being in the same command, my father a first Lieutenant and he a Colonel. It is true that the bones were brought together somewhere in the neighborhood or a little east of where the Menger Hotel is now and were buried by Colonel Seguin, but that many of them were ever buried in the Cathedral, I have never heard nor do I believe that to be true. The only person I know of being buried in the Cathedral was Don Eugenio Navarro, who was buried near the south wall of the Cathedral near the chancel [Groneman 2017:188-190; Hansen 2003:508; Rodríguez 1913:9; [sonsofdewittcolony.org/rodmemoirs.html](http://sonsofdewittcolony.org/rodmemoirs.html) Dewitt abstract].

#### **Account 46 - Adina de Zavala, 1917**

By the time the story was documented by Adina De Zavala in 1917, the number of pyres had grown to four: "Tradition says that this first funeral pyre was lighted in the courtyard, but that orders were given later to burn the rest of the bodies elsewhere, and these pyres were then made beyond the walls. These three pyres were to the south, southeast, and east by south" (De Zavala 1917:36; Fox and Renner 1999:98).

Amelia Williams wrote that Miss De Zavala stated that:

...the bodies of the Texas dead were ordered by Santa Anna to be piled in heaps and burned, and this order was in part executed within the court or patio of the main Alamo building north of the church. Tradition says that this first funeral pyre was lighted in the courtyard, but that orders were given later to burn the rest of the bodies elsewhere, and that three pyres were then made beyond the walls. These three pyres were to the south, southeast, and east by south [Williams 1934].

#### **Account 47 - San Antonio Express, 1920**

On February 14, 1920, the *San Antonio Express* published an article that stated:

Human bones that may be those of the Texas heroes who sacrificed their lives in 1836, or those of early Indian converts that formerly lived within the walls of the early mission of San Antonio de Valera [sic], the chapel of which is now known as the Alamo, have been unearthed in excavations being made for an automobile garage on the corner of Alamo Plaza and Crockett Street. Since only a few of the bones were excavated and the graves were filled up and allowed to remain as they were found, it is possible that within a short time the spot that may have been the last resting place of the half-cremated remains of the Texans will be sealed forever underneath the cement floor of a busy garage.

The bones..., were found on the site of the garage being erected by Wright and Saunders for Joseph Courand. The graves are about 200 feet south of the south wall of the Alamo. Whether they are the resting place of the Texans or of Indian converts cannot be determined until physicians made a study of the bones. In the meantime the graves have been refilled and work of erecting the modern garage in going on. Workmen are making shallow excavations for a cement floor for the garage building. At a depth of about 18 inches scattered human bones were found. An opening in the ground was next found, and upon further investigation a grave containing human bones was discovered according to A.A. Holden, foreman. Mr. Holden himself made the excavation of the first grave. [It may be possible that this account could relate to account 32]. Four graves were found but the three remaining

ones were filled up again. Some of the bones were laid aside, but most of them were thrown out with the earth and hauled away. An effort is being made to have physicians examine the bones and give their decision as to what people they belonged—whether Indian or American.

Among those disinterred were a jawbone with some of the teeth still in a fair state of preservation, several bones from the upper arm, several from the hand, including what seem to be finger bones and parts of the pelvic bones. All of them are apt to crumble with handling. Mr. Holden said that there were a number of them which were mere clay forms which fell apart with the earth when the excavation was made.

Belief that these bones may be those of the heroes of the Alamo is found on the fact that history says that after the fall of the Alamo in 1836 the Mexican invaders dragged the bodies of the Texans out of the ruined chapel and burned them, after which the half-cremated remains were buried. Nowhere in history has there been any reference to the exact spot of where the remains were buried and no trace has ever been found of the sacred spot. In later years a tradition has grown up that the spot where the bodies were burned is about where the Halff wholesale firm is now located on East Commerce Street.

Mrs. Fannie Applewhite, custodian of the Alamo, stated that this has never been fully proved, and that more than likely is based on the fact that this spot was the burial ground for some American soldiers whose bodies were brought back to San Antonio long after the Revolution.

Mrs. Applewhite expressed the opinion that the bones recently interred were not those of the Mexican soldiers who fell in the storming of the Alamo on Sunday morning, March 6, 1836, because records on the battle state that the bodies of the Mexican soldiers were thrown into the San Antonio River, which was at that time a much bigger stream than the slow-wining little river that makes its way about town today.

There also is a possibility that the bones are those of the Indian converts who were kept close within the walls of the mission [San Antonio Express, 14 February, 1920:1-2].

#### Account 48 - John Sterling Frazar, 1935

John Sterling Frazar was born in 1871 in Saint Hedwig, Texas and died in 1952. He was a long-time member of the San Antonio Police Department when he was interviewed in 1935. As part of the interview questions, the reporter asked the longtime resident of San Antonio for his recollections concerning encounters with human remains in the Alamo Plaza area. He was asked to comment on the human skeletons unearthed in August of 1935 in the area of the southeast corner of the Old Post Office and Federal Building on the northside of Alamo Plaza. "Frazar said it was his recollection that the bones believed to have been some of the defenders of the Alamo were buried in San Fernando Cemetery. The only cemetery he could recall being located in the vicinity of the Alamo in those days, he said was on Commerce Street east of that is now Joske's corner" (Frazar 1935:1A and 2A).

#### Account 49 - Creed Taylor, 1935

Taylor's recollections of the story of the Alamo, as he had written and collected through the years, were published after his death by James T. Deshields in *Tall Men with Long Rifles: The Glamorous Story of the Texas Revolution, As Told by Captain Creed Taylor, Who Fought in that Heroic Struggle From Gonzales to San Jacinto in 1935*. Taylor stated that the information reported by him came from his own personal knowledge up to his time from his departure from Béxar in 1836, then his return with Byrd Lockhart in late 1836/early 1837. Taylor further states that his reporting came from statements made by others who were witnesses to the siege and fall of the Alamo. According to Taylor, he frequently conversed with one who was in the Alamo for some days while the siege was occurring and with others who were there and witnessed the struggle from its beginning to its end (Taylor in De Shields 1935). Taylor stated that he "shall only relate only such facts as were told to me by soldiers who took part in the tragedy and citizens who lived in Béxar and were cognizant of all that transpired during those eventful days" (Hansen 2003:465).

Taylor was an active participant in the Texas Revolution, the Mexican War, as well as with the Texas Rangers in several battles with Native Americans (Sowell 1900:808; Groneman 2017:194). He gathered not only his account, but accounts by others and then passed these accounts on to James T. DeShields who allegedly induced "the grizzled old veteran... to dictate his recollections of the Texas War of Independence" (Groneman 2017:194). Taylor was sent by Col. Travis prior to the final battle to enlist the help of volunteers, mainly from Gonzales and he also served as a scout. He states that he was with John W. Smith. Taylor joined the Rangers first with Captain David E. Murphy's company in Victoria and then joined Byrd Lockhart's company after he learned that



Lockhart was under orders to go to San Antonio (Taylor in DeShields 1935:236). Taylor's location matches closely with that of one of the Mexican entrenchment encampments mentioned by Lt. Col Travis as being "on the ditch, eight hundred yards northeast" of the Alamo (Travis's Victory or Death letter, in Holley 1836:352). Eight hundred yards equals .455 miles (2,402 ft; 732.13 m), not too far off from Taylors ½ mile (2,640 ft; 804.7 m). Taylor reported: "This hatred on the part of the populace was fully displayed when Santa Anna ordered the bodies of the Alamo victims burned many of those people volunteering to gather wood from a nearby chaparral" (DeShields 1935:157; Hansen 2003:467). He continued:

[The] Historian Yoakum gives Colonel Seguin and his command the credit for having collected and buried the ashes of the Alamo victims. On the morning after Lockhart's company arrived orders were given to make search for the remains of the alamo men in order that they might receive Christian burial. I claim to be one of the first to discover the spot where these martyrs to liberty were cremated. Near the Alamo we discovered a dim trail which led us to the spot about one half or three-quarters mile northeast from the fortress. And what a sad sight! The heaps of burned bones told the story of Mexican cruelty. In a long row the bodies of the Texans had been stacked, first a layer of wood and inflammable substances, then a layer of men, and so alternately until all the bodies had been prepared for the poorly arranged cremation, when the pile was ignited. The wood being shorter than the bodies, in many instances the skeletons remained only partially destroyed, which made more terrible the hideous sight.

I reported the discovery to Captain Lockhart who had the remains carefully collected, and placed in a large, neat black coffin, with the names of Bowie, Travis, Crockett, and Bonham, engraved upon a metallic tablet and attached to the inside of the lid. A solemn procession was then formed and the coffin was tenderly borne to the Military cemetery where appropriate ceremonies were performed and orations delivered, after which the remains of the immortal heroes of the alamo were buried with military honors.

I have found that writers on Texas history do not agree in their reports of that funeral. In a published letter written by Juan N. Seguin, in 1878, he says that he collected the remains of the Alamo victims and placed them in an urn and buried them near the altar in San Fernando Cathedral.

Several years ago, my attention was called to an account of the obsequies as published in the 'Texas Register' in 1837. Both of these accounts are at variance with the facts. It is well known that Seguin took command at Béxar on the retirement of the Mexican troops shortly after the battle of San Jacinto. The remains of the Alamo victims were not collected and buried until February 25th, 1837. Why did Seguin wait ten months before gathering up the charred remains of his old comrades and give them Christian burial? The truth is, Colonel Seguin took no steps toward this matter until the arrival of our company, and then showed his indifference in diverse ways. He seemed not to know even where the heaps of these remains were and made no effort to aid us in locating them, and when they were at last found, collected and prepared for burial, no one thought of consulting Seguin as to how or where they should be laid to rest.

The account in the 'Texas Register' is far fetched and overdrawn. The only music I heard was that of a bugle. There was a procession, but on a scale quite humble as compared to that recorded by the Register. At the grave in the old Military cemetery, we heard speeches—I do not remember who the orators were—the coffin was then lowered and three volleys fired over the open grave. Others to the contrary, there are the facts—perverted statements should not mar a country's history nor be used in eulogizing its heroes.... Seventy years have rolled away since that day I rode into Béxar and assisted in collecting and performing the last sad rites over those immortal heroes... [DeShields 1935:236-239].

### **Account 50 - Rafael Soldana, 1935**

One of Taylor's witnesses was Captain Rafael Soldana, whom Taylor reported to be a captain in the Tampico battalion and led his company during the final assault on the Alamo (Groneman 2017:194). Taylor stated that he obtained this information from Soldana after the war, and it is included in De Shields:

When all was over Santa Anna strode over the scene and then gave orders for the disposal of the dead. The Mexican officers received burials but most privates were either dumped in the river or burned. The bodies of the Texans were gathered up and carted off a short distance where they were thrown into a heap, alternate layers of wood and bodies being placed together and kindling

distributed throughout. The pile being completed about five o'clock in the evening, it was lighted. Thus was reared the altar upon which the heroic sons of freedom were consecrated to their country. As the flames crackled and increased, the smoke of the sacrifice ascended on high invoking the wrath of the Almighty upon the oppressors, and while the rising incense floated around the throne of heaven the retributive [sic] arm of offended justice was lifting the sword of vengeance, which fell so heavily on them at San Jacinto [DeShields 1935:165-166; Hansen 2003:471].

### **Account 51 - Dr. Charles F. Herff, 1935**

In a September 1, 1935 *San Antonio Express* newspaper article Dr. Charles F. Herff related his story:

There is no rest for the numerous skeletons unearthed at the site of the old post office! Now comes Charles A. Herff of Seguin, a resident of San Antonio for 81 years, who, from conversations with men who lived in the last century, claims the bones belong to Texans which the Mexicans decapitated following the Battle of the Alamo" [Herff 1935; Lindley 2003:328-330].

Mr. Herff declares: 'On Alamo Plaza in 1870 I had a conversation with a Mr. [Antonio] Menchaca [a member of James Bowie's unit] and a Mr. [Juan] Losoya [younger brother of Alamo defender Toribio Losoya and a noncombatant], a Mr. Castanola [most likely Louis Castanon according to Lindley and a member of Juan Seguin's company] and a Peter Gallagher [who served in the Texian Army in the spring and summer of 1836], whose residence, by the way, was immediately back of the Alamo facing Nacogdoches street. All of these men, who lived in the beginning of the last century, declared that the Texans, to a man, were slaughtered in front of the church, in a space between the Alamo proper and a building known as the powder house, which extended east and west in the center of Alamo Plaza... They further stated that after the Battle of the Alamo Mexican soldiers began cutting off the heads of the Texans, but they were soon stopped by Mexican officers.

It became imperative by reason of the already existing unsanitary conditions to bury the dead as quickly as possible, but to do this was slow proceeding by reason of the rock bottom which is all around the Alamo. It was thereupon decided to cremate the bodies and a great funeral pyre

served this gruesome purpose, which took place on ground located from Blum Street south across the block to the Alameda, now East Commerce Street, including the site where now stands the Halff building on the corner of Commerce and Rusk streets. [Note: the M. Halff Building mentioned is at the location of what is called the old Post or Springfield House]. I was told by Menchaca, Losoya, and a noted Mexican woman by the name of [Madam] Candelaria that the Mexican officers felt remorse for the soldiers having mutilated the dead bodies of the Texans and those [no names given here as to who "those" are] were buried where the post office now stands. Those particular bodies were not burned. They were not buried where they fell, but were buried at the post office where there is a gravel formation which made the burial much easier. I can recall when the basement of the post office was excavated over 50 years ago, that 13 or 14 headless bodies were found at that time, which would confirm those statements made to me [Herff 1935; Lindley 2003:328-330].

### **Account 52 - Captain Roy F. Hall, 1935**

In a 1935 an article in the *San Antonio Express*, Captain Roy F. Hall related: "It appears that they [the Alamo defenders] were first buried in a peach orchard, which stood where the east yard of the Ludlow House was later located. This was a red brick building, 200 yards east of St. Joseph's Church." (Hall 1935:1A-2A).

### **Account 53 - Antonio Menchaca, 1937**

Antonio Menchaca was a well-known citizen of San Antonio. His Memoirs were published in 1937. In those he stated that Bowie and Seguin determined that the Menchaca family should leave the city (Menchaca 1937). The family left and went to the ranch of Juan Seguin, but then he went to Gonzales and met up with General Burleson. Menchaca was a veteran of the Battle of San Jacinto. Menchaca stated: "When Santa Anna took the Alamo and burned the men that he had killed, he ordered, Madam Dixon [Dickinson] (Travis' servant and Almonte's servant.), a lady whose husband had been killed in the Alamo, with propositions to A. or to those desiring to make Texas their home" (Menchaca 1937:22-23; Hansen 2003:506).

Based on the above accounts, there are 53 instances found to date in which persons or newspaper accounts mention a funeral pyre or pyres, burials of remains from the pyres, or charred remains found that were believed to possibly be the bodies of the Alamo defenders. Additionally, the firsthand

account of Santa Anna is included since it factors in later with at least one other account of the burning of the remains and is the first account of the death and disposal of the bodies of the defenders. Therefore, a total of 53 accounts are included herein. The following table summarizes those accounts by person or source, the status of the person at the time of the battle, the date reported, and a short synopsis of comments (see Table 7-1).

### **The Sanchez-Navarro Map of 1836**

As described by McKenzie in Chapter 6 (see Figure 6-17), there is a depiction of a Calvary cross southeast of the Alamo chapel with the notation “Q” and described in the legend of that map as “Site at which 250 bodies of colonists were burnt” (Sanchez-Navarro 1836). This location coincides with accounts of a funeral pyre located on the north side of the Alameda. Sanchez-Navarro was present at both the Siege of Béxar and the Battle of the Alamo so this is a primary account. While he only shows a single pyre, his map’s principal focus is the Alamo fortifications and the Mexican firing positions and maneuvers so it may be that he lacked the space to add other pyres that were beyond the range of his map. His account with the number 250 exceeds the number of the known Alamo defenders that died, but again, it is not known whether he was simply guessing at a number or if more than Texian dead were burnt on the pyre(s).

This concludes the section on accounts of the disposal of the bodies of the Alamo defenders as seen by eyewitnesses, first-hand accounts, newspaper accounts, maps, historians, and others. However, there is yet another part of the story to investigate. In the early twentieth century, based on an account by August Biesenbach, the original graves and subsequent reburial of Mexican War heroes Robert Addison Gillespie and Samuel Hamilton Walker contribute to the story and the possibility of the final location of the remains of the Alamo defenders. The following section discusses the cemetery founded along the Alameda (Commerce Street) to bury the remains of these two Mexican War heroes, their exhumation and subsequent reinterment in the Odd Fellows Cemetery, and how that exhumation and reinterment plays a role in the story of the Alamo defenders and the funeral pyre.

### **The Odd Fellows Cemetery, the Removal of Bodies of Captain Robert Addison Gillespie and Samuel Hamilton Walker to the Odd Fellows Cemetery: Alamo Heroes Too?**

In 1906, August Biesenbach, City Clerk of San Antonio, claimed to have witnessed the exhuming of bodies on the Alameda. He stated:

That when he was an 8 year old boy playing on the Alameda he witnessed the exhuming of the bodies of the remains consisting of ashes, burned and fragments of bones of the victims of the siege of the Alamo that had been interred under the place where the bodies had been burned and originally buried and saw their transfer from that place to the cemetery now the Odd Fellows Cemetery at Powder House Hill. The bodies had been first buried in 1836 and some in 1837. Mr. Biesenbach states that these bodies are buried midway between the monuments to Capts. R.A. Gillespie and S. H. Walker...Mr. Biesenbach is of the opinion that the bodies of Gillespie and Walker were first buried at the same place that those who perished in the Alamo were interred, and that they were removed at the same time.

Mr. Biesenbach pointed out the place that Don Pablo Diaz and Antonio Perez designated the spot where the Alamo heroes were burned and buried. Mr. Biesenbach however states that a long trench was dug for the interment of the Alamo slain, and that Crockett, Bowie, and Travis were buried under a mound a very short distance east of the trench. He placed the trench inside the yard of the Ludlow House and the mound of Crockett, Bowie, and Travis a very short distance outside... [San Antonio Daily Express, 8 July, 1906].

Barnes added that Biesenbach was quoted as attesting that they had removed “fragments of heads, skulls, arms and hands” and given them final burial at “Odd Fellow’s Rest, on Powderhouse Hill” (Barnes 1911). He further testified that the remains had been placed between two tombs that were “monuments to people killed in tragic episodes which occurred some years after the struggle at the Alamo, and had no connection with it, but happened to have been buried for some time below the location of one of the pyres” [emphasis added by author] (Barnes 1911; Fox and Renner 1999:98-99). Ponder believes it possible that Biesenbach actually witnessed only the exhumation of Walker and Gillespie’s bodies, not that of any of the Alamo defenders (Brad Ponder personal conversation 7-13-2021).

The “tombs” referred to in the Odd Fellows’ Cemetery off Commerce Street beside the City Cemeteries, are in fact two obelisks marking the graves of Captains Gillespie and Walker, legendary Texas Rangers killed during the Mexican War in 1846 and 1847, respectively. Both had been returned to San Antonio for burial after the hostilities, but their grave sites had long been recognized and frequently honored during memorial ceremonies (Fox and Renner 1999:99).

Table 7-1. Summary of Archival Accounts

Account	Month	Day	Year	Narrator	Association	Report
1	3	6	1838	López de Santa Anna	Present at Battle	Defenders buried in entrenchments
2a	3	11	1836	Sam Houston	Leader of Texian forces	Heard report that defenders' bodies burned; Mexicans buried
2b	3	13	1836	Sam Houston	Leader of Texian forces	All defenders killed were burned. Mexicans buried
3	3	24	1836	Telegraph and Texas Register	Newspaper	Defender's bodies thrown in a pile and burned
4	3	28	1836	Commercial Bulletin	Newspaper	Defender's bodies thrown in a heap and burned
5	4	12	1836	Arkansas Gazette	Newspaper	Defender's bodies thrown in a heap and burned in the center of the Alamo
6			1836 1837	José Enrique de la Peña	Present at Battle	Funeral pyre; greater part of Mexican Army buried
7a	3	24	1836	Susannah Dickinson	Present at Battle, Survivor	Bodies thrown in a pile and burned
7b			1875	Susannah Dickinson		Mexican dead buried in the City Cemetery across the San Pedro
7c			1876	Susannah Dickinson	Present at Battle, Survivor	Dead defender's bodies burned
8	4	5	1836	Mexican soldier	Present at the Battle	Bodies burned
9a	4	11	1836	Joe, Travis' slave	Present at the Battle. Survivor.	Heroes burned
9b	4	12	1836	Joe, Travis' slave		Defender's bodies removed to without the walls of the fort
9c	5	5	1836	Joe, Travis' slave		Defender's bodies collected in a pile and burned
9d	3	20	1836	Joe, Travis' slave		The American dead were collected in a pile and burnt
10			1836	Mary Austin Holley	In Texas	Slain defenders thrown in a heap in the center of the Alamo and burned
11	1	8	1837	E. M. Pease	Not at Battle.	Defender's bodies burned
12			1836 (1860)	Francisco Antonio Ruiz	In S.A. during Battle	Mexican dead to cemetery; some thrown in the river. Wood brought to burn the bodies of the defenders.
13			1836 (1898)	Dr. J. H. Barnard	Captured with Fannin. Sent to S.A. to attend wounded Mexican wounded	Ashes 100 rods from the fort of church
14a	2	25	1837	Col. Juan Seguin	Present at Alamo prior to Battle. Returned to S.A. in Nov. 1836	Ashes collected, put in coffin, carried to church, buried where collected in prepared graves.
14b	4	4	1837	Col. Juan Seguin		Defenders dragged by their feet to this spot and reduced to ashes
14c	3	28	1889	Col. Juan Seguin		Collected charred remains, placed in urn at San Fernando Cathedral.

Table 7-1. Summary of Archival Accounts (continued)

Account	Month	Day	Year	Narrator	Association	Report
15	3	29	1837	Gen. Winfield Scott Dancy	Present in 1837	Mr. Smith pointed out where the defender's bodies were burned. Fragments of bones mixed with the ashes all that remain.
16			1838	Chester Newell	Wrote history in 1838	Defender's bodies burned in pile
17			1836 (1840)	Ben, Santa Anna's servant	Present in San Antonio de Béxar during Battle	Defender's bodies burned. Bodies of Bowie, Crockett, and Travis were interred in a common grave separate from the rest
18			1841	William Kennedy	Diplomat and writer. In Texas in 1839	Defenders thrown in a heap and burned
19			1843	William Bollaert	Not present at Battle	Gravesite under some peach trees a short distance from the Alamo
20			1846	William McClintock	Travel journal in 1846-47	Gravesite in peach orchard
21			1855	Henderson Yoakum	Historian	Defenders thrown in heaps and burned
22			1836 (1856)	Damasio de los Reyes	In S.A. during Battle	He was ordered to gather up dead defenders and burn them
23			1836 (1859)	Francisco Esparza	In S.A. during Battle	Took body of his brother Gregorio and buried him in the burying ground Campo Santo on west side of San Pedro Creek
24			1836 (1859)	Candelario Villanueva	In S.A. during Battle	Defender's bodies laid in a pile and burnt
25			1860 (1878)	Reuben Potter	Quartermaster's Depot; in S.A. 1857	Place of burial in a peach orchard outside the town and a few hundred yards from the Alamo
26			1836 (1860+)	John Sutherland	At Alamo prior to Battle. Sent to Gonzales	Mexicans hauled to graveyard, or in river. Defenders' burnt. Bones collected by Seguin Feb.1837 interred in peach orchard
27			1836 (1878)	Manuel Loranca	Present at the Battle. Mexican soldier	Bodies in front of the fosse [east side of Alamo] and burned. No room in Campo Santo as it had been taken up by bodies of Mexicans
28			1836 (1882)	Apolinaro Saldigna	Present at the Battle. Mexican soldier	Dead Texans brought together in a pile in "center of the arena", bodies burned, "heat drove all the soldiers back to the wall".
29			1836 (1882)	Francisco Becerra	Present at the Battle. Mexican soldier	Citizens ordered to pack wood to Alamo, raised of layers of wood and corpses; defender's bodies reduced to ashes. Buried the Mexican dead.
30			1883	John J. Linn	Resident of Victoria	Three pyres constructed and defenders burned
31			1836 (1889)	Felix Nunez	Present at the Battle. Mexican soldier	Defender's bodies dragged out and burnt; infantry tied ropes, cavalry drug. Mexican soldiers given sepulture (burial)
32			1836 (1893)	William Cannon	Claimed present at Battle. Escaped with Candelaria	Mexican soldiers brought in wood. Defender's bodies burned. Mexicans buried between Alamo and Menger Hotel were taken up.

Table 7-1. Summary of Archival Accounts (continued)

Account	Month	Day	Year	Narrator	Association	Report
33a			1836 (1899)	Andrea Castanon de Villanueva (Madame Candelaria)	Present at the Battle. Survivor	Texans piled in a heap and burned
33b			1836 (1890)	Andrea Castanon de Villanueva (Madame Candelaria)	Present at the Battle. Survivor	All defenders were cremated
34			1900	A. J. Sowell	Texas Ranger, later author	Buried remains about 75 yards from the Northeast corner of the Alamo
35a			1836 (1901)	Enrique Esparza	Present at the Battle, Survivor	His father only defender who escaped funeral pyre
35b			1907	Enrique Esparza		His father only defender allowed a burial and not burned
35c			1910	Enrique Esparza		Ruiz built two pyres on the Alameda. One in front yard of Ludlow House, the other in yard of Dr.Herff's Post or Springfield House
35d			1911	Enrique Esparza		Two pyres on each side of the Alameda. Both Mexicans and Americans burned
35e			1936	Enrique Esparza		He didn't see pyre, but heard that the defender's bodies had been burned. Mexican soldiers buried.
36a			1836 (1906)	Pablo Diaz	In San Antonio de Béxar at one of the missions.	Saw pillars of flames south and east of the Alamo. Mexican soldiers in stream and buried. Pyre very long, 200 yards east of St. Joseph's. He did not see a pyre on the south side of Alameda.
36b			1909	Pablo Diaz		Made a funeral pyre in the plaza off to the side of the Alamo.
36c			1911	Pablo Diaz		Mexican soldiers thrown in the river. Some buried. Defender's bodies burned on two pyres on the Alameda.
37			1836 (1906)	Antonio Perez	Took word of defeat to Bergara and Barcena, Houston	Small mound that existed for many years on the Alameda
38			1836 (1907)	María de Jesus Buquor	In S. A. during battle	Saw smoke but gave no location
39a			1836 (1907)	Juan Diaz	In S. A. during battle	Was told that the Texas and Mexican soldiers were all piled in a heap and burned together
39b			1911	Juan Diaz		Watched the burning of the bodies. Two pyres on Alameda
39c			1935	Juan Diaz in Taylor	In S. A. during battle	Mexicans and defenders burned together
40			1836 (1910)	Juan Vargas	In S. A. during battle	Was cook for Mexican Army. Saw the dead piled in trenches. Mexican dead piled in camp
41			1910	Charles Merritt Barnes	Newspaper reporter	Pyres at Ludlow and Springfield house sites

Table 7-1. Summary of Archival Accounts (continued)

Account	Month	Day	Year	Narrator	Association	Report
42a			1836 (1911)	Antonio Chavez	Not in Battle. Family fled to ranch at arrival of Mexican Army. Returned to city after battle	Defender's bodies burned; saw ashes and remnants of pyres as little remains.
42b			1914	Antonio Chavez		Two pyres on old Alameda—one where new Halff bldg. is; other across street at Ludlow House. Bones gathered and placed in grave where Ludlow house is. Mexican officer and some privates buried in cemetery where Milan Park is, but many thrown into the river.
43			1911	August Biesenbach	Biesenbach not in Battle	Defender's bodies burned in an orchard on the south side of the Alameda
44			1836 (1911)	Trinidad Coy	Not present at Battle. Captured by Mexican army	Escaped and went to Alamo after its fall. Arrived to back of Alamo chapel and saw black cloud from a smoking pile.
45			1836 (1913)	Judge José María Rodríguez	Left city with family for countryside prior to battle. Watched battle from rooftop of house	Bones brought together somewhere in the neighborhood or a little east of where the Menger Hotel is now and buried by Col. Seguin
46			1917	Adina de Zavala	Historian	1st pyre lighted in courtyard; other pyres beyond the walls. Three pyres to the south, southeast, and east by south.
47			1920	San Antonio Express	Newspaper	Charred human remains found on the corner of Alamo Plaza and Crockett Street. The half-charred remains/graves are about 200 feet south of the south wall of the Alamo.
48			1935	John Sterling Frazar	Newspaper interview	Bones of some defenders buried in San Fernando Cemetery
49			1837 (1935)	Creed Taylor	Present at Alamo prior to battle. Returned to Béxar 1837 with Bird Lockhart	Pyre found ½ to ¾ mile northeast of the fortress. Remains gathered and placed in the "military cemetery".
50			1836 (1935)	Rafael Soldana	Present at the Battle. Mexican soldier	Bodies of Texians carted off a short distance. Mexican officers buried, others dumped in river or burned
51			1935	Roy F. Hall	Journalist and author	Defender's bodies first buried in a peach orchard, which stood where the east yard of the Ludlow House was later located
52			1935	Dr. Charles F. Herff	Owned property where one pyre was reported located	Bodies cremated and great pyre on ground located from Blum Street south across the Alameda where the Halff Bldg. is on corner of Commerce and Rusk Streets
53			1836 1907 (1937)	Antonio Menchaca	Not present at Battle. Went to Seguin's ranch	No location given

Note: Year (Year) denotes year of event followed by year reported, e.g., 1836. (1935) represents a first-hand account from 1836 reported in 1935.

When trying to determine the validity of Biesenbach’s claim that the above remains had been buried at the site of the funeral pyres, archival records were examined. In fact, Edward Dwyer set aside lands for a cemetery for the burials of Mexican War hero, Captain Robert Gillespie, who was wounded at the assault of Bishop’s Palace on Sept. 22, 1846, and died the next day. On February 26, 1847 (recorded April 27, 1847), a twenty-five varas square lot was conveyed by gratuitous deed from Edward Dwyer to Mayor Charles F. King, Mayor of San Antonio and “...to be held by him and his successors in office” (BCDR Vol. E2:77-79; City of San Antonio Municipal Archives, Office of the City Clerk, Donation of Edward Dwyer, 27 April 1847, on file, OHP). This lot was out of a larger suerte of land owned by Dwyer that ran from the east bank of the Alamo or Valero Ditch to the Alamo Madre or Mother Ditch and fronted south onto Alameda Street. Figure 7-1 is an 1852 survey made by François Giraud for Charles Riotte that shows the full extent of the Dwyer suerte outlined in green with the 25 varas square lot donation in red (Giraud 22 May 1852, CESB 1:154). Dwyer stated in the deed document that the donated land was:

for the purpose of interring or burying the remains of the late Captain Robert Gillespie who fell at the battle of Monterrey and also for the purpose of erecting such monument to his memory as his friends and the Citizens generally may see proper and also for the purpose of planting any trees, shrubbery, or grass or the construction or erection any fence railing of iron, or wood, stone or wooden wall or any other ornament or ornaments may be placed on said lot herein granted...I

do hereby reserve to myself my heirs and descendants the right of prohibiting the remains of any other person or persons being interred or buried on said lot of ground herein conveyed and I declare by this act to be my intention that the remains other persons shall be buried on said lot without the consent or myself or my heirs.... [BCDR Vol. E2:77-79; Donation No. 47 Edward Dwyer to C.F. King, Mayor 1847].

(F. Giraud, CESB 1:154, May 22, 1852). We can confidently determine the location of the graves of Walker and Gillespie on the Alameda (Commerce) Street by using this plat map and an 1855 city map (see Figure 7-2) by W. C. A. Thielepape (Thielepape, 1855). The map key shows the location of the “Monument of Walker and Gillespie.” located between old Bonham Street (now beneath the Rivercenter Mall) on the west, Bowie Street on the east, Blum Street on the north and the “Alameda” [modern day Commerce Street] on the south. A blowup of the map clearly shows a D marked along modern-day Commerce Street south of Blum Street and east of Bonham (modern day Alamo Plaza/Alamo Street) with a cemetery with a cross. The “Alamo Ditch” can be seen in the map to the west of the location and the “Acequia.” The location shown is within a long rectangular lot that is undivided and corresponds to the plat map of the land donated by Dwyer.

In 1856, some eight years later, Alderman Smith submitted a resolution that “the citizens of San Antonio have permission to remove the remains of the late Captains Gillespie and Walker from the Alameda to the Odd Fellows Cemetery (CCR, Volume B: 415, April 18, 1856; Fox and Renner

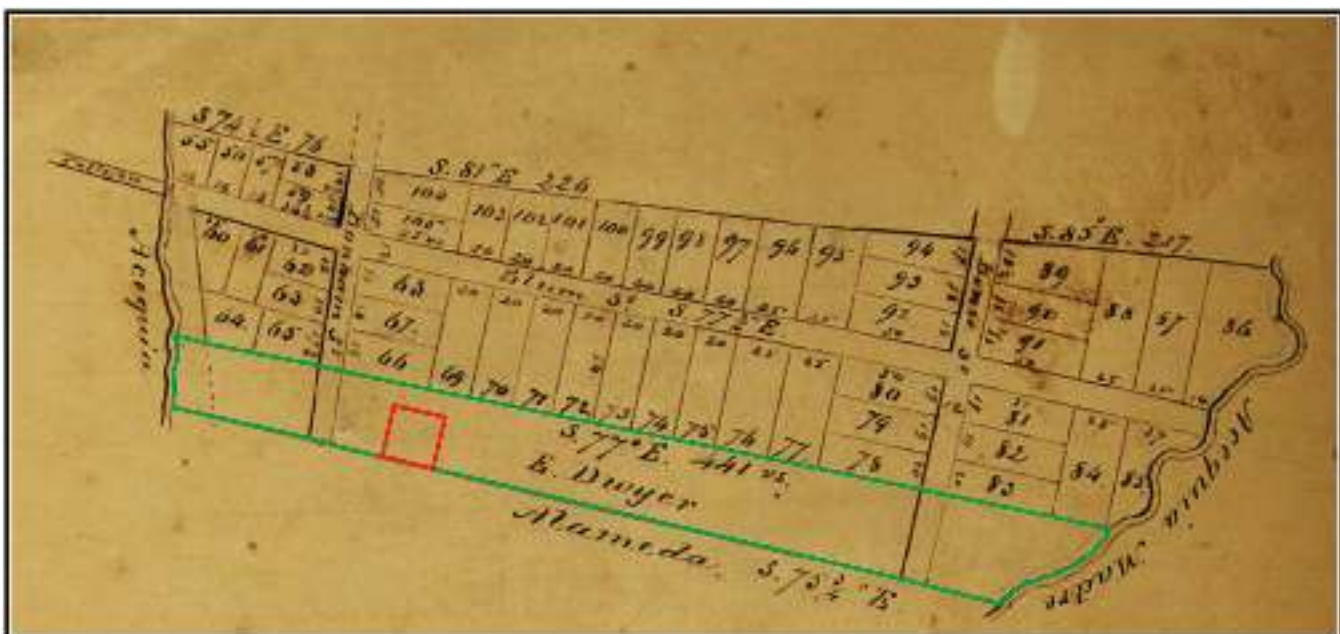


Figure 7-1. The boundary of the Dwyer property fronting south onto Alameda, in green, with the Dwyer donation in red, superimposed on the Plat and Field Notes of a half suerte of land for Charles Riotte drawn by F. Giraud in 1852 (CESB 1:154).





Figure 7-2. 1855 map of San Antonio made by W. C. A. Thielepape showing the location of the Monument of Walker and Gillespie (circled in red).

1999:99). The *San Antonio Daily Herald* reported that: “On Monday last April 21, 1856, the Odd Fellows, assisted by Masonic Fraternity, removed the remains of Capts. Walker and Gillespie from their former resting place beneath the cottonwood trees east of the river, to the Odd Fellows Cemetery” (*San Antonio Daily Herald*, April 26, 1856:2, No. 1). A ceremony was held on the occasion of the removal of the remains. The remains were removed as part of the battle of San Jacinto celebration (Walker, Handbook of Texas, State Historical Association).

Further, in 1913, it was stated that the body believed to be that of Captain Wesley Markwood (also known as Capt. Samuel Walker) who was killed at the Battle of Huamanta, in Mexico during the Mexican War was (re)buried in San Antonio in 1848 (*San Antonio Express*, Vol 48 No. 18 Ed. 1 Saturday, January 18, 1913; Files of the OHP, City of San Antonio). The paper stated: “San Jacinto Day, April 21, 1856, the body, together with that of Captain Gillespie, killed in the same battle, was removed to the Odd Fellows’ Cemetery and a monument was erected to the memory of [“Captains Walker and Gillespie.”] According to the newspaper account, Markwood was forced to quit the army in his youth. He re-entered the army under the name Walker in time for the Mexican War (idid). “A body thought to be his was brought to San Antonio from Mexico in 1848 and was buried on East Commerce Street under the spot on which the funeral pyre for the fragments of the bodies of the defenders of the Alamo was kindled [emphasis added by author]. The body

of the man thought to be Walker, the soldier, was buried beside that of Captain Gillespie because the last words of the Texan had been: ‘take me back and bury me beside Ad Walker’ (*San Antonio Express* 1913).

This article is a little unusual as it states that Markwood had run afoul of superiors and dropped out of sight for a period of time. He then supposedly changed his name to Samuel Hamilton Walker. The Handbook of Texas (Samuel Hamilton Walker, Handbook of Texas) does not mention this in their narrative of Walker and states that Walker was born to Nathan and Elizabeth Walker on Feb. 24, 1817, so the validity of such comments made above are unknown to this author. Regardless, it appears clear that the body buried was that of Samuel H. Walker.

In a 1935 article in the *San Antonio Express*, Captain Roy F. Hall related: Later in 1858 [1856], the bones [of the Alamo defenders] were taken up and reburied in the Odd Fellows Cemetery on Powderhouse Hill. They were buried in the plat, midway between the monuments of Capt. R. A. Gillespie and S. H. Walker which are about 15 feet apart” (Capt. Hall, 1935:1A-2A).

In 1936, Clinton Brown (Mayor of San Antonio 1913-1915), of Templeton, Brooks, Napier and Brown Attorneys at Law, wrote a letter to his “Uncle Jim” in which he stated:

I got your letter of May 18, in regards to the burial place of the Alamo heroes. Mama always

contended that this box with the bones in it was buried on one of your father's lots either in the masonic or Odd Fellows Cemetery, and she always thought it was on the lot belonging to your father in the Odd Fellows Cemetery, because the other lot in the Masonic Cemetery is practically all taken up with members of the family. About six or seven years ago she took several workmen and went out to this old lot in the Odd Fellows Cemetery and dug up the whole business to see what she could find, and the only thing she found was two coffins of American officers who were killed in the Mexican War, and I think that the minutes of the Odd Fellows Lodge showed that our father permitted the burial of these men on this lot and it was the understanding that their people would rather have the coffins transported back to the East, but that this was never done. Mama always said that she was glad that she had done this digging because it satisfied her that the box of bones that you mentioned, with the names of Travis, Crockett and Bowie inscribed on the inside of the same was not on this lot belonging to your father. I have heard it stated here many times that the remains of the Alamo heroes are now buried under the floor of the San Fernando Cathedral, but I do not know anything about whether or not this is true or not. I would be delighted, of course, if I could be of any assistance to you in finding out where this box of bones is, but I have no further information [On file, Sarah Reveley to Kay Hindes].

In 1995, CAR began excavations at the site of Samuel Walker's grave in the Odd Fellows Cemetery. This work was conducted at the request of family descendants who wanted to reinter the body at the Texas Ranger Hall of Fame in Waco. Work began on the exhumation, but was later halted by a court order filed by Lee Spencer (White) of the Alamo Defenders Descendants Association (ADDA). According to Cox: "[we] found 15 or 20 bone fragments"... [but] we see nothing that has anything to do with charred bone. It would appear to be some of Captain Walker's remains" (Roylance 1995). According to the newspaper account, there was evidence of two burials at the site, plus bits of what might be coffin wood and nails, and perhaps a fragment of a military epaulet. The author of this chapter was actually onsite during part of the proposed exhumation, and recalls seeing ashy soil with very small bone fragments mixed within the matrix. It is not known whether any of the bone fragments were human, or what the ashy soil represented. Since the project was concluded with the court order, no further work was done.

In 2004, the ADDA placed a marker at the gravesite of Walker and Gillespie in the Odd Fellows Cemetery located off Commerce Street (Figure 7-3). The text of that marker states:

August Biesenbach, city clerk of San Antonio states that when he was an 8 year old boy playing on the Alameda (Commerce St.) he witnessed the exhuming of bodies or remains consisting of bones and fragments of bones, of victims of the siege of The Alamo that had been interred near the place where the bodies had been burned and originally buried, and saw their transfers from that place to the old cemetery, on Powder House Hill (Oddfellows Cemetery) that, he states, happened in 1856. The fragments of the bodies had been first buried in 1836 and some in 1837. Mr. Biesenbach states that these bodies are buried midway between the monuments of Capt. R. A. Gillespie and Capt. Samuel H. Walker (Marker text).

### **Miscellaneous Accounts Pertaining to Remains of Alamo Defenders: An Undocumented Cemetery on Commerce Street**

An undocumented cemetery along Commerce Street also is pertinent to the discussion of the disposal of the bodies of the defenders and the funeral pyre. This previously undocumented cemetery is in the general vicinity of the locations provided in the archival records for the funeral pyre(s) (personal communication Matthew Elverson). On January 27, 1909, the *San Antonio Daily Express* reported:

Skeleton remains thought to be relics of the battle of the Alamo were found yesterday afternoon in an excavation now being made at Water and Commerce Streets. One of the workmen while digging, unearthed the skeleton of a full grown [sic] human being. The vertebrae and ribs were found first, and in a little while the balance of the bones were discovered. From the position of the skeleton the body was not buried in the usual fashion, the indication being that the body had been doubled in a manner that reminds of the Indian practice of burial. As a matter of fact, the only evidence that would lead to the conclusion that it is the body of one of the defenders of the Alamo, or possibly its assailants, is a metal button found near the bones. The teeth of the skeleton were unusually well preserved and were still white, while the bones, owing to being buried in black loam,

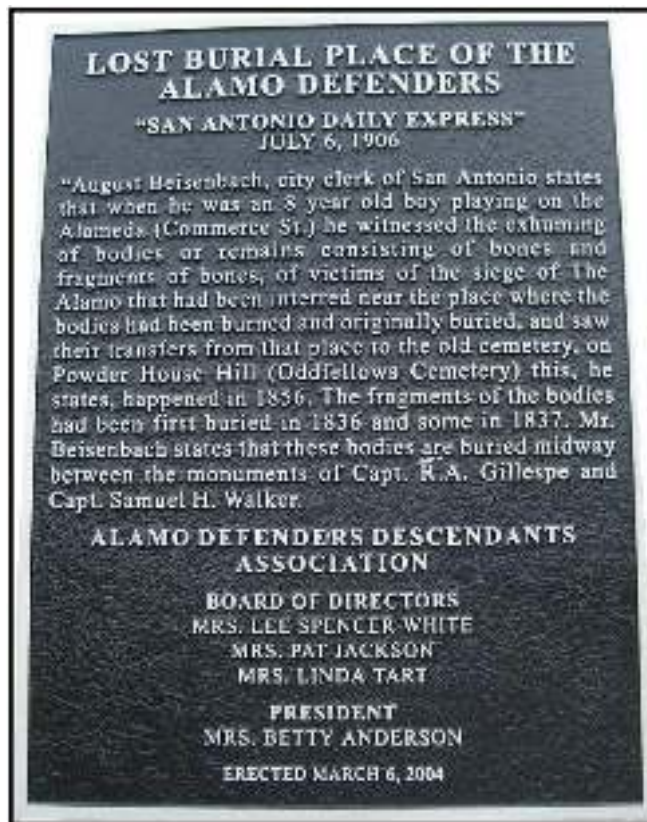


Figure 7-3. Marker at the gravesite of Samuel H. Walker and Robert Gillespie in the Odd Fellows Cemetery.

had assumed a brown color. No other articles have been found so far. The grave must have been very shallow, for the bones were found at a depth of about four feet. The man in charge of the work thinks that other skeletons may be discovered. The skeleton unearthed yesterday will be held for investigation and developments [San Antonio Daily Express, 27 January 1909a].

The next day, on January 28, 1909, the *San Antonio Daily Express* published more or less an elucidation and refutation of the above account that the bodies were of Alamo defenders:

The bones exhumed in an excavation on Water and Commerce Streets are neither those of an Indian nor an Alamo warrior. Back in the '40s [1840s] the site on which the skeleton was found served as a common burial ground for the people of San Antonio, and Mrs. Caroline Kampmann, living at Nacogdoches and Fourth Streets attended three of the funerals as a little girl. At least 100 burials took place in the grounds then sheltered by tremendous cottonwood trees that had grown up under the fostering care of the Spanish missionaries and

monks, according to Mrs. Kampmann. In those days, a canal was purposely kept open to supply these trees with water. But these cottonwood trees have gone and so have whatever stones that marked the graves of those buried in their shade. Today the memory of the old burial grounds is only kept green in San Antonio's pioneers. No regulated cemeteries existed then and people buried their dead in a certain spot by common consent, says Mrs. Kampmann.

When the cholera broke out in 1848 many of its victims were buried there. Mrs. Kampmann recalls the names of two blacksmiths in the employ of the Government who died of this dread disease. Killian and Nelson were two fine young fellows, and when they died they were buried in what in those days was considered a good enough coffin, that is a box nailed together from rough boards. She also remembers the burial there of the daughter of a Mrs. Martin who had been drowned in the San Antonio River near Commerce Street while playing around the washtubs which in those days were the only laundries this city had.

A number of United States army officers were also buried in the grounds among them General Wood who fought in the Mexican War. Their bodies however, were exhumed subsequently and were reinterred in what is now the Odd Fellows Cemetery. Following the cholera epidemic it often became necessary to bury negroes in the same spot. The old burial grounds extended from Commerce Street beyond the point where the remains were found and from there some distance west.

The excavations on the site of the old burial ground have now been completed and work has begun on the foundations of the house that is to be erected over it. It is possible, however, that other skeletons may be unearthed when the cedar posts that are to support the building at the center will be set. The bones were discovered at a depth of about four feet and late yesterday afternoon they were found in a shattered condition bleaching in the sun. Apparently, nothing is being done to dispose of them [San Antonio Daily Express, 28 January 1909b:5].

The articles are important because they provide information on a possible previously undocumented cemetery near where the funeral pyres were reported. Secondly, Mrs. Kampmann

claimed that the bodies of United States army officers were also buried in the grounds and includes at least one general who fought in the Mexican War. This may correspond to the land donated by Edward Dwyer and in which Gillespie and Walker were buried along the Alameda, or in near proximity. If so, this cemetery could be associated with the location of the funeral pyre(s) if indeed the cemetery contained other soldiers than Walker and Gillespie and if Biesenbach's account that ashes and bones from the defender's bodies were exhumed along with those of Walker and Gillespie. The archival record for the property pledged by Dwyer clearly stated that the land he donated for a cemetery was to be used only for Captain Gillespie, but others could be added with his consent. Is it possible that General Wood was also buried in the same tract? Further, is it possible that the house foundations that were being dug are the same as those mentioned by Barnes and Herff?

Personal communication with Matt Elverson, City Archaeologist, City of San Antonio (Matt Elverson to Kay Hindes personal communication 8-11-21), supports the idea that a probable undocumented cemetery was on the south side of Commerce Street and roughly one block south and east of the of the Herff location as given at the corner of Rusk and Commerce. As plotted by Elverson, the southern extent of the probable cemetery as found in the archival record to date is located at what was North and Water streets, now underneath the convention center. Elverson's plotting of a second location of human remains possibly associated with this probable cemetery, based on a 1932 article, would place the burials at LaFitte and Water, which, today is close to the intersection of Market and Bowie. This northernmost extent of the probable cemetery, as found in the archival record by Elverson, was historically at the intersection of Water and

Commerce and is close to the intersection of Bowie and Commerce. The probable cemetery in its entirety is located then south and east of the Commerce and Rusk Streets locations discussed by Herff in his 1935 article. However, the distance is not great, and future archival research may shed light on this probable cemetery and its relationship with the locations of the funeral pyres reported along Commerce Street and of the graves of Walker and Gillespie.

### Archaeological and Archival Research of Three Archaeological Projects

As noted earlier, this compendium is an archival document of the various accounts as to the burial sites/funeral pyre(s) reputed to be the resting place of the remains of the defenders of the Alamo and the funeral pyre locations. As such, it is also incumbent on the authors to discuss at least one archaeological investigation that included archival research which sought to try and locate any remnant of the funeral pyre, one archeological investigation where a Field Director believed that evidence of a funeral pyre might have been found in Alamo Plaza, and one archaeological investigation that occurred at the site of St. Joseph's Church, mentioned in some proximity to the pyre. The first study relevant to the possibility of finding the funeral pyre(s) was the work conducted by the CAR-UTSA in 1984-1985 for the Las Tiendas/Rivercenter Mall project. Project personnel at that time were very aware of the possibility that a funeral pyre for the heroes of the Alamo could be within their project area. Therefore, intensive efforts, both archival and archaeological were undertaken to try and locate any evidence of such pyre(s). These efforts concentrated around the former Ludlow House/Hotel location (see Figure 7-4) and the Moody Building

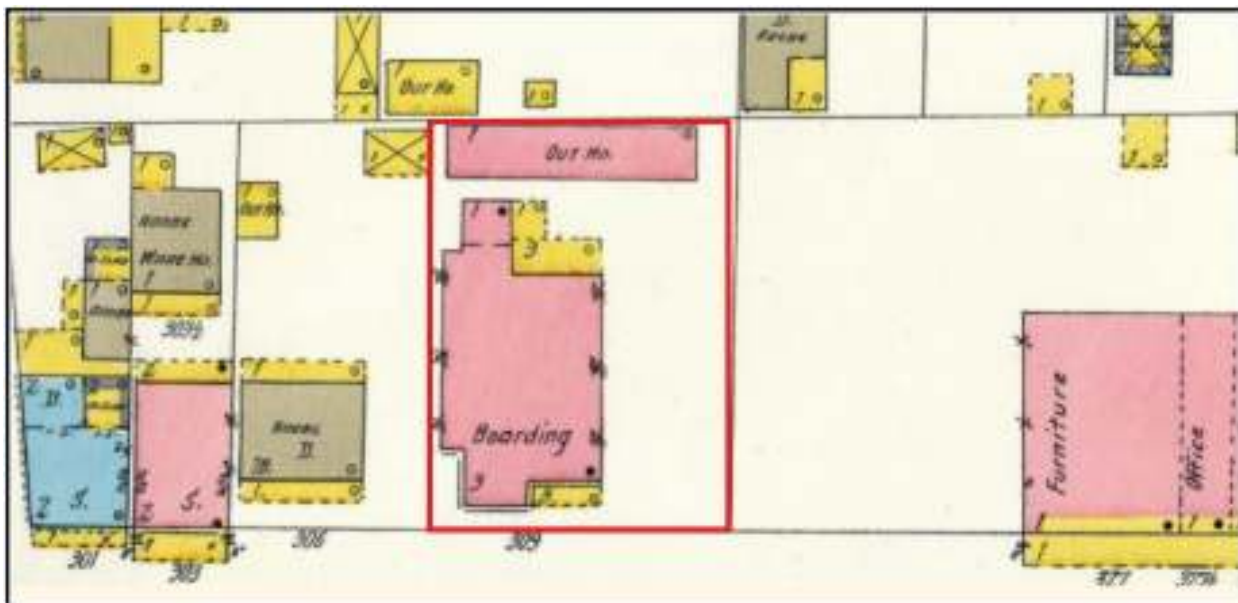


Figure 7-4. Ludlow house on the 1904 Sanborn.

location since these two areas had been previously identified by various persons as being the site of one of the funeral pyres for the Alamo defenders (see above). It was necessary to locate the exact lot areas specified by these informants (including Charles Merritt Barnes) as the area containing the pyre, and then an estimation was required to evaluate the effects of subsequent disturbances by later construction on the site.

### **Las Tiendas/Rivercenter Mall: the Ludlow House/Hotel and the Moody Building (Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, NCB 1010)**

With the disturbance of the area around the battle site, years of construction, demolition and reconstruction along Commerce Street, any attempt to locate and excavate for the pyres presented a great challenge for the Las Tiendas (Rivercenter Mall) project. However, in view of the archival documentation that had been assembled for the Las Tiendas project seemingly indicating that the area on both sides of East Commerce Street might be the last remaining opportunity to investigate for evidence of the pyre's existence, it became imperative that an attempt be made prior to the construction of the mall to carefully search for such evidence (Fox and Renner 1999:100). The site on the south side of Commerce, the one indicated by Barnes as the "Post or Springfield House," (Figure 7-5) had long been a landmark until it was destroyed by the river extension for Hemisfair in 1967. The old Post or Springfield House, owned by Dr. Herff on the south side of Commerce Street (see discussions above) was pending demolition in 1912. It was constructed in ca. 1852 by the Post family who came to San Antonio and engaged in retail trade. After the Civil War, the house was used as an Army hospital, later as an Episcopal boarding school for girls, and eventually

a general boarding house. By 1912, it was described as such: "The old house stands, ramshackle and deserted, on East Commerce Street, just a little beyond St. Joseph's church. In a short time it will be torn down, a modern business building will take its place; it will have passed away and be forgotten" (Reveley 2017). Since the river extension occurred prior to the enactment of the executive order creating the Antiquities Code, no archaeological investigations were performed. It was therefore doubtful that any evidence of the reported pyre would still exist on the south side of Commerce Street in the vicinity of the Post or Springfield House due to the construction of the river extension. It was also out of the area of potential effects (APE) for the project area. The investigation of the area of the Ludlow House (Hotel) and Moody Building became an important component of the Scope of Work for the mall project (Figure 7-6). A careful attempt was launched to locate, with as much accuracy as possible, any portion of the area between the former sites of the Ludlow Hotel and the Moody Building that may not have been totally disturbed by construction in the years since these two building locations were identified as probable locations (Fox and Renner 1999:100-101). A detailed search of the records was conducted to ascertain what structures may have been built over the area, and the nature of their construction, to determine if any original surface might have survived. Archival research was conducted to provide ownership title for the project area, and, in particular, for the area of the Ludlow House and the Moody Building. The Moody Building's front elevation is shown in Figure 7-7. The following archival information is taken almost exclusively from the work done for the Las Tiendas/Rivercenter Mall project and is incorporated herein.

### **Archival**

The earliest grant in the project area (NCB 1010) was from the Spanish government to Luis Hernandez after the mission lands were secularized (BCSA Volume II:95 and III:95) as reported in Fox and Renner 1999: 99-100). The land remained in the hands of the family, basically undeveloped, until sold by the Hernandez heirs to Edward Dwyer (BCDR Volume T2:79). Edward Dwyer, a native of Ireland, came to Texas early in the Republic period, formed a partnership with William Elliott, establishing himself as a prominent businessman in the city and serving as a mayor of the city (Chabot 1937:152; Fox and Renner 1999:99). The reader is referred to the above discussion about Dwyer's grant to the mayor of the city for the property used as a cemetery for the bodies of Major Robert Gillespie and Captain Samuel H. Walker. In 1843, Dwyer married Mariana Leal, descendent of the original Canary Islanders. Upon Dwyer's death in 1854, his widow Mariana inherited the property as well as the estate, and eventually transferred the property along the Alameda



*Figure 7-5. Post or Springfield House along Commerce Street.*

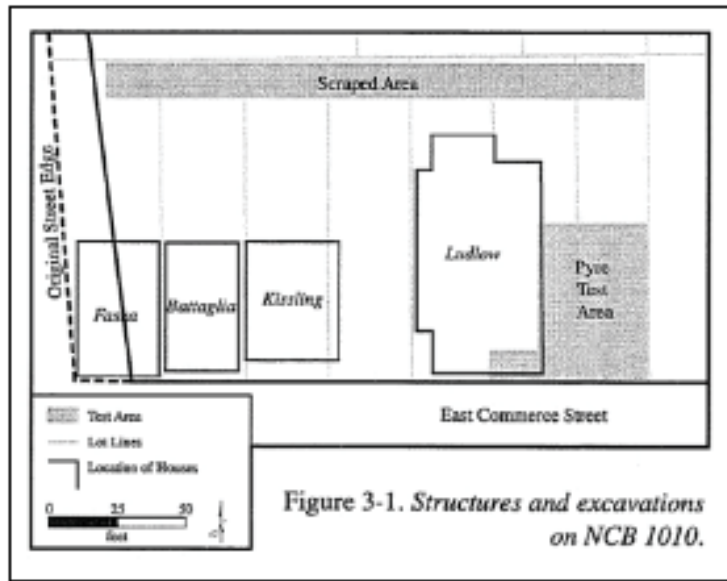


Figure 7-6. Las Tiendas/Rivercenter mall project plan.

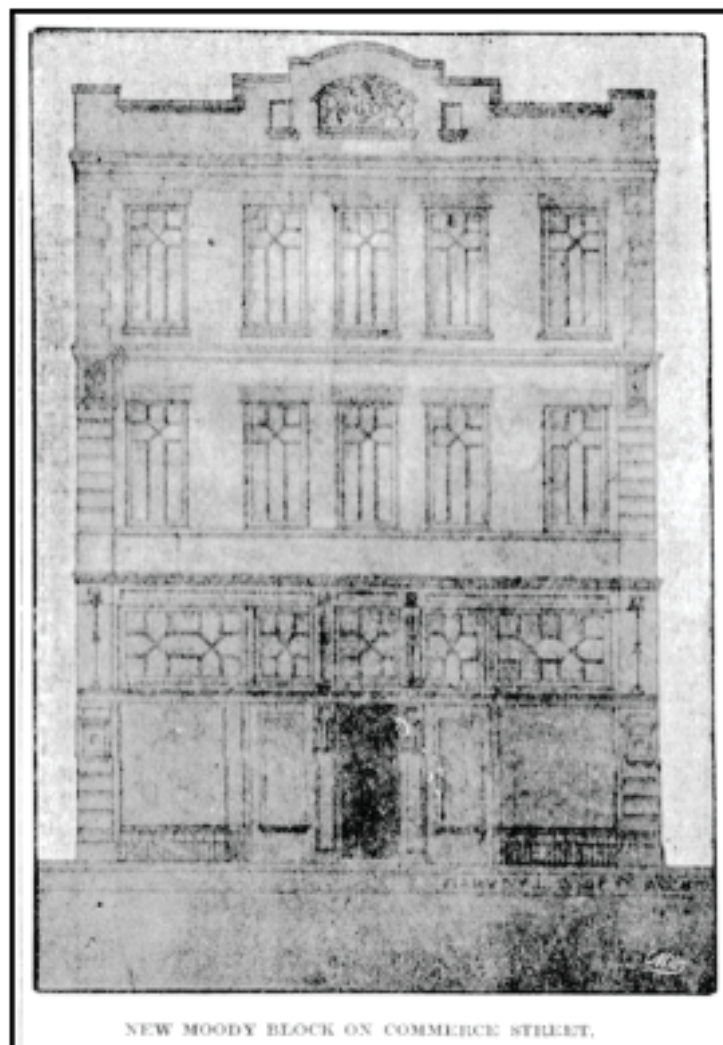


Figure 7-7. Elevation drawing of Moody Building, San Antonio Light April 2, 1911.

to their eldest child, Anita (BCDR 1:58, 67, 152). Anita married the dashing West Point graduate John Withers in 1859. Withers graduated West Point in 1849, then served in Oregon and California, rose to the rank of captain and was assigned to the adjutant general's department under General Twiggs in San Antonio. Withers served in several other positions including as an aide to Twigg's successor, Colonel Robert E. Lee, as an Adjutant General in Washington, and served as a colonel on Lee's staff in Richmond, Virginia during the Civil War. After the war, he and Anita returned to San Antonio where he joined George Brackenridge in the banking business until his death in 1892. They had three children; the eldest daughter became the wife of General John L. Bullis (Fox and Renner 1999: 99-100; Lewis Publishing Company 1907:317-319).

Unimproved Lots 3, 4, 5, and 6 were conveyed to John Kissling in 1867, after the Withers' return to San Antonio for \$2000.00 (BCDR Volume U2:325: Fox and Renner 1999: 80,100). Johann Joseph Kissling had been born at Hessen-Cassel, Germany in 1830 and, prior to 1850, immigrated to Texas. On May 26, 1853, Kissling received his naturalization papers (United States Census Report [USCR] of 1850, B  xar County; Naturalization Records, County Clerk's Office, B  xar County Courthouse, San Antonio, B  xar County Archives Book D: 120). A builder and stone mason, Kissling constructed his homestead on Lots 3 and 4, which he occupied until 1884. A small adobe house was located at the back of Lot 5 by 1885 and was demolished by 1895 (Fox and Renner 1999:80). In 1874, Lots 5 and 6, which had remained undeveloped, were transferred to Edward Steve "for lumber storage" (BCDR Volume 4:42). Edward Steves had been born in Barmen, Elberfeld, Germany, on December 14, 1829, and immigrated to New Braunfels in 1848 where he married Joahanna Kloepper in December of 1857. In 1866, Edward and Joahanna moved to San Antonio and Edward established one of the first lumberyards in the city on the corner of Blum and Bonham Streets (Chabot 1937:399). He apparently utilized the lot merely for storage; the extremely successful business was later relocated further out Commerce Street near the Southern Pacific depot. Steves sold the unimproved lots to Daniel Ludlow just after the turn of the century (Fox and Renner 1999:100).

In ca. 1901-1902, Ludlow constructed the three-story red brick boarding house, the Ludlow House, on Lot 5 and the eastern half of Lot 6 with a one-story brick outhouse extending across the rear portion of the lots. The three-story brick Ludlow House/Hotel is clearly seen on the Sanborn map of 1904 (see Figure 7-4). The hotel was later known as the New Commerce Hotel, managed by Mrs. Emily Blumenthal (City Directories 1902-1903, 1912).

Lots 7 and 8, the two lots located directly to the east on Commerce Street remained in an unimproved state when

they were conveyed by John and Anita Withers to Edward Bennett in March of 1883 for \$2000 (BCDR 27:98; Fox and Renner 1999: 100). In 1893, Dr. George H. Moody purchased the lots for \$4500 (BCDR 114:559-601). Moody received his medical degree from Tulane University in 1896, became an assistant to Dr. Marvin L. Graves, director of the Southwest Texas Hospital for the Insane, and in 1903, he established the Moody Sanitarium, specializing in nervous and mental disorders. Moody was elected president of the Texas State Medical Sanitarium, and elected president of the Texas State Medical Association in 1915 (Nixon 1936:244). In 1910, he contracted for construction of a three-story brick building on the eastern portion of the lots. This is the structure that Barnes notes as under construction in 1911. The Sanborn map of 1912 shows the Moody Building as a three-story apartment building, with basement, constructed on the eastern portion of Lots 7 and 8, with a one-story frame building adjacent to the west (Fox and Renner 1999:101). By 1912, the building was the Geneva Apartments, under the management of Mrs. D. A. Head (City Directory 1912). By 1939, the Salvation Army was located here (City Directory 1939; Fox and Renner 1999:100).

By 1952, the maps show the lots under consideration as unchanged, but the lots to the east (Lots 3 and 4 which had been the site of Kissling's home) have been converted to parking for the Joske's department store on Alamo Plaza. By 1957, the Ludlow Hotel and the frame building had been razed in preparation for the construction of a tire outlet for Joske's. The Moody building contained eight separate apartments and the rear of the building housed the Lone Star Printing Company (City Directory 1958). The Joske's Tire Care Center was completed by 1959 and consisted of a reinforced steel and concrete showroom on the corner of Bonhan and Commerce streets, with a service bay and grease pit on Lot 6. In 1971, the Moody building, then Lone Star Apartments and B  xar Chemical Company were purchased by the Joske Corporation and razed for an additional service bay for the tire store and further expansion of the parking lot (City Directory 1972, 1973; Fox and Renner 1999:101).

### **Archaeological Investigations**

As detailed above, archival research revealed that both the western and eastern portions of the site had already been eliminated by the construction of basements for the Ludlow Hotel and the Moody Building (Fox and Renner 1999:100). A review of Sanborn Insurance Maps revealed that the only portion of the area that left any promise of locating the remains of the funeral pyre was the area between the Ludlow House/Hotel and the Moody Building. These color-coded maps of the insurable portions of the city give a wealth of information concerning the placement of the structure on the lot, the nature of their construction, and

the presence or absence of basements. The early Sanborn maps corroborated that there was no activity on any of the subject lots until the construction of the Ludlow building in ca. 1901-1902 (Fox and Renner 1999:101).

The area was measured and the original lot lines were reestablished prior to beginning the Las Tiendas/Rivercenter mall project. Interior lots retained their original width with only the depth altered to a minor extent by slight widening of Commerce Street. However, Bonham and Bowie streets had been widened considerably, resulting in the lots along Bonham and Bowie streets being greatly reduced. Therefore, it was necessary to establish several base points for measurement from what appeared to be the corners of lots that evidenced the original lot limits. The crew then established the original lines of Lots 5 through 8 and determined, based on the best verification possible, which areas may have retained some level of intactness without excessive construction disturbance. As of 1984, Lots 5, 6 and 50 ft (15.24 m) of Lot 7 were occupied by the structure that served as Joskes' tire outlet and automobile service facility, with the remaining 20 ft (6 m) covered with an asphalt service driveway. The area that had been the Moody Building, destroyed a decade previously, had its basement filled and the surface paved over for additional parking. The Joskes' tire store was demolished over the period of late 1984 through 1985.

The foundation of the Ludlow house was cleared and the area to the east measured for the establishment of the grid system (Fox and Renner 1999: 101). Approximately 175 square meters was laid out for excavation and was divided into 42 3x3 m units marked by string lines. Additionally, the area fronting along the sidewalk along Commerce Street and bordering the foundation of the Ludlow Building was divided into an additional 50 one-meter units. Two backhoe trenches excavated to below sterile soil along the east and south sides of the structure. The first trench, 2.5 m in length, was placed one meter south of the front of the building and a second trench, 3.5 m in length, was placed 3.5 m away from and parallel to the western wall. Using a checkerboard manner, excavation units were then opened, varying slightly as evidence of disturbance dictated. Units were excavated by natural levels and all excavated material was passed through ¼ inch screens. All artifacts were bagged by unit and level. By the conclusion of the operation, twenty-seven one meter units were excavated to sterile soil (Fox and Renner 1999:101).

All skeletal remains from these excavations were submitted to a physical anthropologist at the Southwest Foundation for Biomedical Research for identification to determine whether the bones were human remains or animal bone. An additional 245 bone fragments were submitted for examination after further laboratory work. None of the bones or bone fragments were identified as being human.

None of these bones displayed evidence of burning, and no concentrations of ash and/or charcoal were found during the excavations (Fox and Renner 1999:102).

Further, Dr. David Glassman, then of Southwest Texas State University (now Texas State University) examined 847 skeletal remains recovered from the funeral pyre area. Glassman reported:

Each was inspected for diagnostic attributes for classifying the remain as representing either human or nonhuman. Of the 847 remains, 314 were found identifiable relative to this criterion. None of the 314 remains were human. It is reasonable [sic] to make the assumption that if human representation was present among the skeletal material recorded from the Las Tiendas' excavations, at least one or more of the 533 indeterminate bones might belong to a human cannot be totally ruled out [Fox and Renner 1999: Appendix D].

As a result of the 1984-1985 excavations, project personnel determined that it appeared that either all traces of the funeral pyres had been eliminated by activity on the site during the five decades (as of 1984) since the burning of the remains or that this was not actually the scene of the event (Fox and Renner 1999:102). This possibility was recognized during the planning stages of the project but it was decided that an effort to fully investigate the sites were necessary to eliminate any possibility of the destruction of an historical site of the utmost importance (Fox and Renner 1999:102). However, as noted above, Dr. Glassman could not rule out that at least one or more of the indeterminate bones could be human.

### **Alamo Wells Project**

The second archaeological investigation discussed is what is known as the Alamo Wells project. While that project has come under intense scrutiny by professional archaeologists, at least one archaeologist present during the investigations believes that they found evidence of the charred remains of Alamo defenders. A short discussion of that work will be presented.

Known as the Alamo Wells Project or the Tesoro del Alamo Preservation Project, investigations sought to locate a "missing" well of the Alamo. It was believed by some that a great treasure was to be found at the bottom of the Alamo well in the courtyard of the Alamo complex. While the project was extremely controversial due to its sensational nature, the flood of publicity that surrounded it, and the fact that most archaeologists have proffered little regard for the project, it is



included here due to published findings that stated the belief that at least one of the funeral pyres was found. Herein, a short summary of the work that was done is detailed.

The project was begun on February 1, 1995. Thomas R. Guderjan served as the Principal Investigator of the project and Herb Uecker served as the Field Director. Frank Buschbacher, a somewhat controversial figure because he stated a psychic had led him to the well location, sponsored the project.

Work commenced with a 15 ft (5.57 m) square cut was made in the pavement over an area where the project originator and sponsors believed magnetometry had detected the location of the well, which was just a few feet off the southwest corner of the Long Barracks Museum (Guderjan 2004; Uecker 2001:50). Archaeologists found intact levels below the modern street and base as well as an early asphalt capped street dating to 1936. Stratified deposits were encountered as follows from top to bottom: modern concrete cap; modern street base; landscape paver edger; old street level of asphalt; layer of compacted gravels used as base material; layer of fill and associated artifacts from the late nineteenth century; a level of artifacts from the Battle of the Alamo period; a layer of Spanish Colonial/Mission period artifacts; and naturally-deposited caliche and limestone gravels. A layer of small pieces of broken limestone extended over almost the entire floor of the excavation pit once the lower deposits were reached. All artifacts found in this layer were from the Mission period, with cut animal bones and other animal bone in the matrix, Spanish Colonial majolica, and stone tools (Uecker 2001:56; Guderjan 2004:8). Note: Guderjan reported that this mid-eighteenth century feature was associated with a kitchen midden (Guderjan 2004:8). His report states that the colonial midden contained “an intrusion approximately one meter across interpreted to be a distinct trash pit excavated from a later surface into the earlier deposits. The small pit contained two matrix zones: a soft ash and charcoal laden clay loam (about 20 cm thick) permeated with animal bones beneath a dense white caliche zone (about 15 cm thick) containing few or no artifacts (Guderjan 2004:38).

Uecker (2001) stated that above the colonial level, musket balls, gun flints, ashes and cinders, fragments of bronze mortar rounds, cannon shot, copper and iron were found. Uecker reported that a “thick layer of ashes laced with tiny pieces of burned and unburned bone was discovered near one corner of our excavation area just at the level of contact between the mission-period and battle-period artifacts” (Uecker 2001:57). The width of the area of ashes extended about five feet (1.52 m). He reported that the ashes were part of a much larger pile that extended southwestward for an unknown distance beneath the street. The ash layer was deposited into two distinct layers with the lower level about 7 inches (17.78 cm) in thickness and contained ash

laden soil with small pieces of charcoal and animal bones scattered throughout and a thin cap of animal bones near the upper surface. A chipped stone arrow point preform was also found. The upper layer was a medium gray soil about 5 inches (12.7 cm) in thickness with small lumps of white clay mixed throughout it. This layer contained a few bone fragments scattered uniformly within it (Uecker 2001:68). Uecker stated that he dug into the ash deposit laterally with his arm and that the deposit was 6 ft (1.83 m) or 7 ft (2.13 m) across and 12 inches (30.48 cm) in thickness.

Uecker hypothesized that, based on the location and estimated size of these ash deposits, the fire that created them was perhaps built about “equidistant from the northeast corner of the Low Barracks building and the southwest corner of today’s Long Barracks Museum” (Uecker 2001:68). He believed that “the press missed the story of what may eventually be proven to be the best find of the dig and perhaps the most important find in all of Alamo archaeology to the time this writing” (Uecker 2001:57). He further wrote that “a strong but not conclusive argument can be made that the ashes found in 1995 are some of the Texian Alamo defenders last remains” (Uecker 2001:67). When contacted in July of 2021, Uecker maintains his belief that this deposit represents a funeral pyre from the Battle of the Alamo (Herb Uecker, personal communication with Kay Hines, July 21, 2021). As noted above, Guderjan’s 2004 report states that the faunal remains and the feature represent a trash midden.

### **Mother of the Americas Faith Formation Center, St. Joseph’s Church**

A third archaeological investigation was conducted for the Archdiocese of San Antonio at the site of St. Joseph’s Church located along Commerce Street. In 2017, the CAR-UTSA conducted archaeological investigations at the site of St. Joseph’s Church downtown for the Archdiocese of San Antonio (Zapata, 2018). These investigations were conducted in association with the new construction of the Mother of the Americas Faith Formation Center. The APE for the project included a 0.185-acre site. The site area has previously been postulated as the possible second site of Mission San Antonio de Valero (41BX8), as well as the possible locational area of at least one of the funeral pyres of the Alamo defenders (Zapata 2018:iii). Additionally, the site area was believed to contain a segment of the Acequia de Valero (Alamo Acequia). Seven backhoe trenches were dug along the known path of the acequia, and two areas were tested along the northeast quadrant of the APE. Monitoring activities included the removal of asphalt paving and caliche base, grading and extraction of abandoned masonry wall footings and basements, utility installations, and the drilling of piers for the new building (Zapata 2018:2).

An abundance of late nineteenth century to early twentieth century artifacts were found, primarily within the channel of the acequia, with a small number of late Spanish Colonial ceramics recovered. Animal bone (number equaled 815) as well as a bone toothbrush were recovered, primarily from within the acequia channel, representing trash disposal (Zapata 2018:27). The archaeological investigations did not locate any evidence of the Battle of the Alamo funeral pyres. Also, no deposits associated with an early 18th century occupation associated with the possible second site of Mission San Antonio de Valero (1719-1724) were found. Work did uncover and document a partial segment of an alignment of the 18th century Acequia de Valero (Alamo Acequia). Based on the temporally diagnostic artifacts found in the acequia channel and archival work done in 2005, CAR concluded that the acequia channel was abandoned and backfilled between 1896 and 1904 (Zapata 2018:37).

### Reported Locations of the Funeral Pyre or Pyres

In total, 53 persons or newspaper reports (see above) and 71 different accounts have been examined and included herein that mention a funeral pyre, funeral pyres, burning of the bodies of the Alamo defenders, bones from a funeral pyre, bone collected from a funeral pyre or pyres, or charred bone found believed to be associated with an Alamo funeral pyre. Three archaeological reports have been reviewed based on their proximity to the reported funeral pyre locations. A previously undocumented possible cemetery was located either adjacent to or overlapping the reports of the funeral pyre locations.

Based on the accounts detailed above, there are, at a minimum ten locations given for the funeral pyre(s) or buried remains. These are shown in Figure 7-8 and listed in Table 7-2. The earliest account of the disposal of the Alamo dead comes directly from Santa Anna in which he states that the defender's bodies were thrown in the *fosos* (ditches) and trenches. This account was made at 8:00 a.m. on the morning of the battle. He fails to mention anything about the bodies being burned, but it was yet too early in the day for such information to have been provided. The first notation of the bodies being burned comes from the letter written by General Sam Houston to James W. Fannin on March 11, 1836, in which he reported that the defender's bodies were burned, and the Mexican bodies buried. Houston's information on these events came from Anselmo Bergara, Andres Barcena, Antonio Perez, and ultimately from Susannah Dickinson who arrived in Gonzales several days after Bergara and Barcena. Houston provides no locational information for

the site(s) where the bodies were burned. However, Joe, Travis' enslaved servant, reported on April 11, 1836, that the bodies were removed to without the walls of the fort. Directly contradicting this is the article published by the *Arkansas Gazette* on April 12, 1836, that states the bodies were burned in the "centre" of the Alamo. Mary Austin Holley, in her book *Texas* published in 1836, also stated that the bodies were thrown into the center of the Alamo and burned.

Therefore, two of the very earliest accounts mention only one pyre and two possible locations: without the walls of the fort and in the centre [sic] of the Alamo. To date, Juan Seguin's account of March and April, 1837 provide much greater detail of the pyre(s), but again gives no locational information at this time. Seguin states that he found the ashes in three piles, with one large pile and two small piles. He gathered up the ashes from the smallest heaps and put them in a coffin which was then buried on the largest heap of ashes and where the ashes were collected. Seguin states that a grave had been prepared to bury the coffin with the ashes. At this point in time, Seguin gives no locational information as to where the ashes were found. Later historians have interpreted that the three piles of ashes represented three pyres, but this may or may not be true. It could possibly simply represent that a single pyre burned unevenly, and those larger piles of ashes had accumulated at the site of one pyre. Alternatively, it may well indeed be, that as later witnesses stated, that the three areas represented at a minimum two pyres and at a maximum, three pyres. By 1886, Seguin, responding to inquiries about the remains of the Alamo defenders stated that he buried them at San Fernando Cathedral.

Mary Austin Holley stated in her 1836 book *Texas* that the bodies were burned in the center of the Alamo. In 1837, General Winfield Scott Dancy implied that the pyre was located at the Alamo. He said that Mr. Smith (John Smith, no doubt) walked with him to the Alamo, and he also pointed out where the bodies were burned. He saw fragments of bones mixed with ashes.

It is not until 1843 that William Bollaert places the gravesite under some peach trees a short distance from the Alamo. Bollaert's memoirs were not published until 1956, and as other authors have noted, it may be that later information could possibly have been included in the various journals, diaries, accounts that were published much later than when they were written (or perhaps not). William McClintock, in 1847, also reported that the remains were located at a peach orchard. Ruben Potter in 1860, continues this narrative when he stated that the place of burial was in a peach orchard but adds the distance of a few hundred yards from the Alamo. John Sutherland, whose account was also not published in

Redacted Image

*Figure 7-8. Reported locations of funeral pyres from archival documents.*

Table 7-2. Chronological Order of Accounts of Disposal of Defenders Remains

Year	Individual Reporting	Association	Account
1836	Joe	Enslaved servant of Travis, battle survivor	Bodies moved outside Alamo walls
1836	Arkansas Gazette	newspaper	Bodies burned in the center of the Alamo
1836	Mary Austin Holley	In Texas, author	Bodies thrown into the center of the Alamo and burned
1837	Winfield Scott Dancy	Present in 1837	Smith at Alamo pointed where bodies were burned
1843	William Boellert	Travel journal through Texas 1842-1843/4	Gravesite by peach trees near Alamo
1846	William McClintock	Travel journal in 1846-47	Remains located at a peach orchard
1860	Ruben Potter	With Quartermasters Depot, 1857; Author	Burial in peach orchard 200 yards from Alamo
1878	Manuel Loranca	Mexican Soldier	Bodies gathered into fosses and burned
1882	Apolinaro Soldiga	Mexican Soldier	Bodies burned in plaza
1898	Dr. J.H. Barnard	Arrived after battle	Ashes 100 rods (4,950 feet) from the Alamo
1900	A. J. Sowell	Texas Ranger, later author	Remains buried 75 yards (225 feet) northeast of Alamo
1906	Pablo Diaz (a)	At Missions during battle	A single pyre 200 yards (600 feet) east of St. Joseph's
1909	Pablo Diaz (b)	At Missions during battle	Pyre made in the plaza off to the side of the Alamo
1911	Pablo Diaz (c)	At Missions during battle	Bodies moved to Alameda and burned on two pyres
1906	Antonio Perez	Took word of defeat to Bergara and Barcena, Gen. Houston	Small mound of ashes for many years on Alameda
1910	Enrique Esparza (a)	Battle survivor	Two wooden pyres on Alameda: one in yard of Ludlow House
1911	Enrique Esparza (b)	Battle survivor	Second pyre in Dr. Herff's yard (Post or Springfield House)
1911	August Biesenbach	Not in Battle	Bodies burned in orchard south side of Alameda
1911	Trinidad Coy	Scout arrived after battle	Alamo chapel (rear) smoking black cloud from pile
1913	Judge José María Rodríguez	On rancho during battle	Bones brought together east of Menger Hotel
1914	Antonio Chavez	On rancho during battle	Two pyres on Alameda, bones placed in grave at Ludlow house
1917	Adina de Zavala	Historian	Pyre in courtyard; three pyres to south, southeast, east by south
1934	Williams, citing de Zavala	Historian	Ordered to burn bodies in court/patio of the convento
1920	SA Express News	Newspaper	Four graves 200 feet south of Alamo
1935	Creed Taylor	Present at Alamo prior to battle. Returned to Béxar in 1837 with Byrd Lockhart	Pyre ½ to ¾ mile northeast

Table 7-2. Chronological Order of Accounts of Disposal of Defenders Remains (continued)

Year	Individual Reporting	Association	Account
1935	Dr. C. Herff (a)	Owned property where one pyre was reported located	Pyre on ground from Blum to across Alameda
1935	Dr. C. Herff (b)	Owned property where one pyre was reported located	
1935	Rafael Soldana	Mexican Soldier	Bodies carted off a short distance
1935	John Sterling Frazar	Newspaper interview	Bones of some defenders buried at San Fernando Cemetery
1935	Captain Roy F. Hall	Journalist and author	Buried in peach orchard, east of Ludlow House

its entirety until 1911 states that the bones were collected by Seguin and interred in a peach orchard near the scene of the last struggle. By the 1840s then, the largest number of accounts report that the remains were in a peach orchard and near the scene of the battle. These accounts are primarily written by persons who were not present at the battle, but account for four instances where peach trees or a peach orchard are mentioned.

In 1878, Manuel Loranca, a Mexican soldier present at the Battle of the Alamo and an eyewitness to the events, reported that the bodies were gathered in front of the fosse and there they were ordered burned. This is an interesting first-hand account and may provide some support for Santa Anna's claim that the bodies were dumped in the fosos and trenches, and if Trinidad Coy's report is correct, he may have witnessed the burning of the bodies on the east side of the Alamo. He was an eyewitness, so his account may be an indicator to at least one pyre being located near one of the fosses and possibly on the east side of the chapel since this is the direction from which he approached the site and saw the burning. Hypothetically, could this fosos be the Acequia del Alamo (or the Alamo Acequia) which ran behind the Alamo on the east?

John J. Linn stated in 1883 that the Mexican Army made three piles of the bodies and burned them. This is the earliest account we have found to date of multiple pyres. Felix Nunez, in 1889, stated that the bodies were dragged out and burnt. Nunez was another Mexican soldier and eyewitness to the battle and its aftermath. He gives no distance or direction, so we are left to speculate on where they may have been placed. Apolinario Soldiga, another Mexican soldier and present during and after the battle, reported in 1882 that the bodies of the defenders were reviewed in the center of the arena and the bodies burned, and stated that the heat drove all the soldiers back to the wall. If we take his account literally, he seems to imply that at least one pyre was in the center of the Alamo compound and the heat from the fire was so intense that the persons burning the bodies had to back themselves up to the walls. In 1882, Francisco Becerra, also a soldier in the Mexican Army and

an eyewitness to the events seems to support that at least some citizens were ordered to pack wood to the Alamo.

By 1898, Dr. J. H. Barnard, reported that the ashes were 100 rods (1650 ft or 503 m) from the fort or church. Barnard was in Goliad at the time of the battle but was saved from the massacre. He was later sent to San Antonio de Béxar in April, 1836 to attend to the Mexican wounded. His memoirs were not published until much later after the battle, but it is very possible that he did indeed see the site or sites of a pyre or pyres. In contrast to that, A. J. Sowell wrote in 1900 that the remains were buried about 75 yards (225 feet or 68.58 m) from the northeast corner of the Alamo. Sowell is not believed to have been present at the battle but based on the fact that he was a Ranger, he probably heard firsthand accounts from eyewitnesses or survivors. Amelia Williams postulated whether he may have meant from the actual church of the Alamo or from the corner of the compound.

Interestingly, by the turn of the century, almost 75 years after the battle, and by the time that Charles Merritt Barnes begins to interview survivors and eyewitnesses to the events, the accounts begin to give very specific locational information. Pablo Diaz claimed in 1906 that a very long pyre was located about 200 yards east of where St. Joseph's Church stands. He stated he only saw one pyre. However, in 1909, Diaz said that a funeral pyre was made in the plaza off to the side of the Alamo. Diaz, as stated, was not at the battle, but rather was at one of the missions, possibly Mission Concepción. He stated that he did see smoke and later came into town and recounted that he watched the bodies burning. By 1911, Diaz recalled that the Defender's bodies were removed to the Alameda where they were burned on two pyres. A painting by Hermann Lungkwitz in the mid-1800s shows the appearance of the Alameda (Figure 7-9). Antonio Perez, a witness to the events stated in 1906 (he was with Barnes and Diaz) that for many years a small mound existed on the Alameda and where he was told the charred bones that the fire did not consume were buried, including Crockett and Bowie. Enrique Esparza, who as a boy was inside the Alamo and a witness to the



Figure 7-9. *The Alameda* by Hermann Lungkwitz painted in mid-nineteenth century.

events, stated in 1910 and 1911, that there were two immense wooden pyres located on the Alameda. One pyre extended into the front yard of the Ludlow House; the other pyre was in the yard of Dr. Ferdinand Herff's Post or Springfield House. August Biesenbach, who was not an eyewitness, reported in 1911 that the bodies were burned in an orchard on the south side of the Alameda. Antonio Chavez stated in 1911 there were two pyres on the old Alameda—one where the new Half Building was and the other diagonally across the street and in the lawn of Ludlow House. The bones were gathered up and placed in a shallow grave at the Ludlow House location. Chavez, with his family fled the city prior to the battle and did not return until after the conflict. He did state that he saw the ashes of what remained of the pyres (San Antonio de Béxar—The Alamo Battlefield, Texas State Library Archives Division). As stated above, Trinidad Coy, who arrived at the Alamo just at the completion of the battle (as reported by his son in 1911), claimed that he arrived at the back of the Alamo Chapel and saw a black cloud from a smoking pile. In 1913, Judge Rodriguez, whose family also left the city for their ranch, reported that bones were brought together somewhere in the neighborhood or a little east of where the Menger Hotel is located. Rodriguez and

a friend supposedly watched the battle from the rooftop of the ranch house.

By 1917, Adina de Zavala, an Alamo historian, wrote that there were four pyres: the first pyre was lighted in the Alamo courtyard; other pyres beyond the walls; three pyres to the south, southeast, and east by south. It would appear that de Zavala analyzed as many of the accounts as she could that were available to her at the time, and arrived at this conclusion. Williams, another noted early Alamo historian, elaborated on Adina de Zavala's statement and says that in part the order to burn the bodies was executed within the court or patio of the main Alamo building north of the church. Tradition says that this first funeral pyre was lighted in the courtyard, but that orders were given later to burn the rest of the bodies elsewhere, and that three pyres were then constructed beyond the walls. These three pyres were to the south, southeast, and east by south (Williams 1934:173).

In 1920, the *San Antonio Express* reported that half-cremated remains were found in graves about 200 ft (61 m) south of the south wall of the Alamo on the corner of Crockett and Alamo. These remains were found while foundations were dug for a new garage being built at that location. The article stated that

the human bones may be those of the defenders, or alternately were Native American. The garage is further described by McKenzie in Chapter 6 and is depicted in Figure 6-8.

Creed Taylor, who was involved in the Grass Fight, the Siege of Béxar, fought at San Jacinto, and a later Mexican War hero reported, as noted above, that he was sent out to reconnoiter the area prior to the battle. He later returned to San Antonio with Byrd Lockhart's company in late 1836/early 1837. Taylor collected several reminiscences of the battle from eyewitnesses and reported on what he himself saw during his time in San Antonio prior to the battle and upon his return. His memoirs were not published until 1935 by De Shields, but Taylor claimed that he, along with some members of his company, located the pyre ½ to ¾ mile northeast of the fortress. He said that he and his company gathered the remains, placed them in a coffin and buried them in the "military cemetery" Rafael Soldana, a Mexican soldier who was present during the battle, while visiting with Taylor in Corpus Christi, Texas, reported to Taylor that the bodies of Texans were carted off a short distance. Captain Roy F. Hall in 1935 wrote that the bodies were first buried in a peach orchard, which stood where the east yard of the Ludlow House was later located. Also, in 1935, Dr. Charles Herff stated that the bodies were cremated on a great pyre on the ground located from Blum Street south across the Alameda where the Halff Building was on the corner of Commerce and Rusk Streets.

### **The Mexican Dead**

The above accounts and Table 7-1 have also provided firsthand eyewitness accounts of the disposal of the bodies of the Mexican soldiers who also died in the Battle of the Alamo. Fifteen persons included in this chapter specifically mention the disposal of the Mexican dead. Those alone do not eliminate the possibility of other accounts not reviewed/found due to time constraints that could provide additional information.

The earliest account is that of General Sam Houston as stated in his dispatch to Henry Raguette on March 13, 1836. At that time, Houston relayed that the Mexican soldiers killed in the assault were buried. His information, as noted above, came from Anselmo Bergara and Andres Barcena who reported to Houston upon their arrival to Gonzales from San Antonio. José Enrique De la Peña, in his diary, written most likely between 1836 and 1838, stated that the greater part of the Mexican soldiers were buried by their companions. Susanna Dickinson, an eyewitness and survivor, stated in 1875 that the Mexican soldiers buried their own dead in the city cemetery across the San Pedro. Francisco Antonio Ruiz, alcalde, who was ordered to burn the bodies of the Alamo defenders and to dispose of the Mexican dead, stated that he took the Mexican dead to the graveyard, but that he didn't have sufficient room for all the bodies, so he then ordered that they be thrown into the river.

In his 1860 account, John Sutherland, who claimed to be at the Alamo prior to the battle and sent to Gonzales, stated that the Mexican slain were taken to the graveyard, but because there was not room for all, some were thrown into the river.

Manuel Loranca, who was present at the battle as a Mexican soldier, stated that over 400 Mexican soldiers were buried in the "campo santo or burying ground." In 1882, Francisco Berrera, a Mexican soldier at the battle stated that they removed the dead Mexicans' bodies [from the scene of the battle] and buried them during the evening. He does not provide a location for the burials. Felix Nunez, another Mexican soldier present at the battle reported in 1889 that the faces of all the dead had to be wiped clean in order to distinguish the Mexican soldiers from the Alamo defenders. Santa Anna ordered the soldiers to not mistake the Mexican soldiers for the American soldiers and ordered that the Mexican soldiers be given a decent sepulture (burial). In 1893 William Cannon, who claimed to have escaped from the Alamo during the battle and watched it unfold, stated that the Mexican dead that were buried between the Alamo and the place where the Menger Hotel stood were "taken up." This then implies that some of the Mexican soldiers were originally buried in the space between the Alamo and the Menger Hotel. Enrique Esparza, who was a child survivor of the Battle of the Alamo, noted in a 1911 interview that both the Mexican and American defenders were burned. Later, in 1936, Esparza stated that it took three days for the Mexican Army to gather all their dead and bury them. Pablo Diaz, who was at one of the missions during the battle, but an eyewitness to the funeral pyres, stated that the San Antonio River was congested with the corpses that had been thrown into the water. He further stated that Ruiz endeavored to bury the bodies, that he had exhausted all his resources, still was unable to bury all the bodies and thereby threw the remaining dead into the river. Juan Diaz, who was in San Antonio during the battle reported in 1907 that some men who went to the cremation of the bodies told him that the Texans and Mexican soldiers were all piled in a heap and burned together. Creed Taylor, who reportedly found at least one of the funeral pyres, wrote in 1935 that Diaz reported the same to him. In 1910, Juan Vargas, who had been captured by the Mexican Army and served as a cook and in other roles, recounted that the Mexican soldiers were piled in "camp," meaning the Mexican Army camp. He does not note where the bodies may have been later buried. Antonio Chavez, who with his family had fled to their rancho during the battle, related that the Mexican officers were buried in the cemetery where Milam Park now is, but because the numbers were so great, many were thrown into the San Antonio River. Rafael Soldana, a Mexican soldier and present at the battle, stated that the Mexican officers received burials but most privates and others were thrown into the river or burned. Figure 7-10 depicts reported locations of Mexican dead from the Battle of the Alamo.

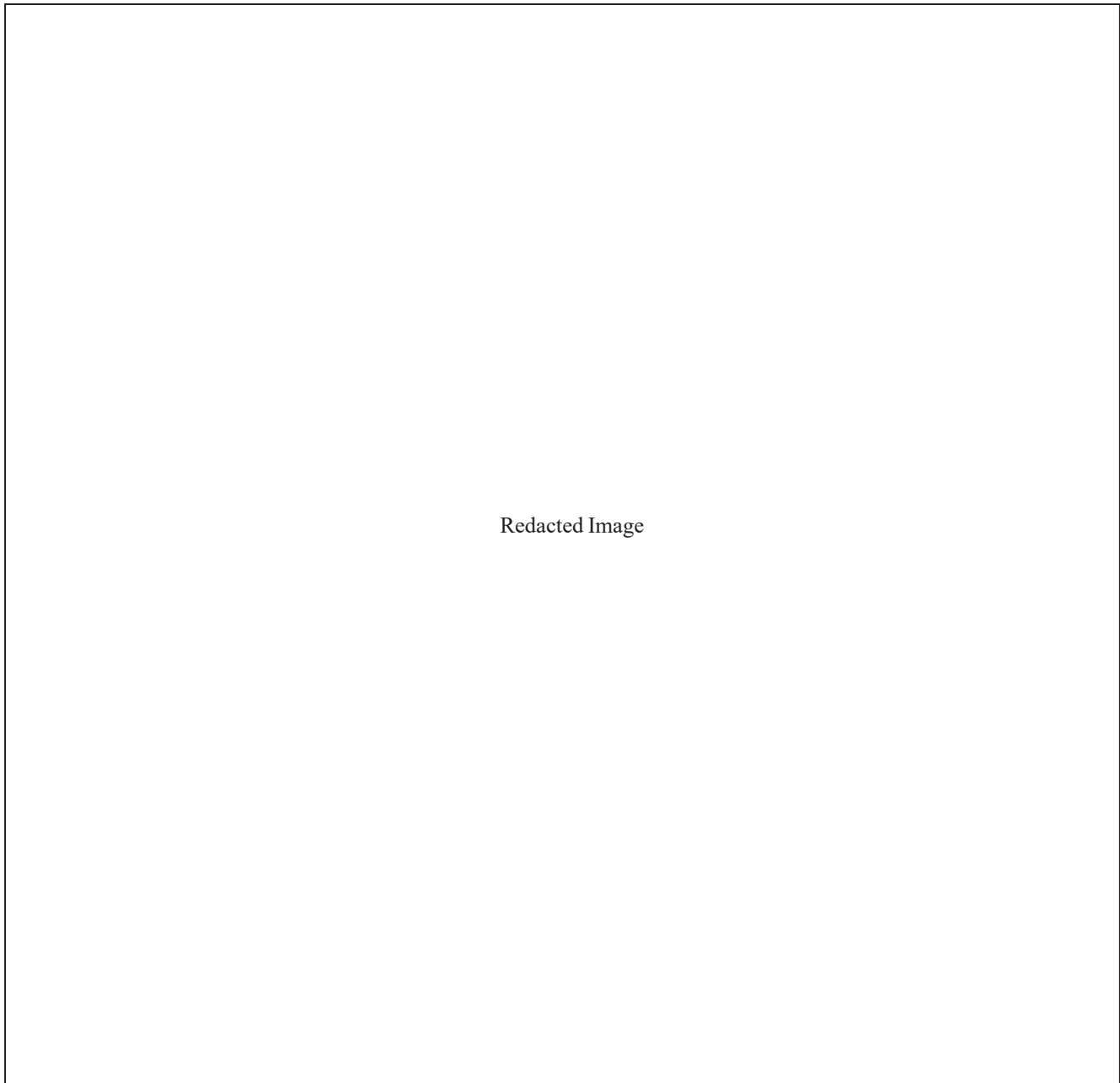


Figure 7-10. Reported locations of Mexican dead from the Battle of the Alamo.

### **Plaques Dedicated to the Alamo Defenders on Commerce Street**

On March 6, 1918, Adina de Zavala unveiled two marble tablets marking the locations of the funeral pyres for the men who died at the Alamo. A story in the *San Antonio Light* on March 6, 1918 stated that several hundred people attended, with speeches by generals from Fort Sam Houston (Reveley 2017).

Two plaques were placed on Commerce Street to mark the locations of the funeral pyres. The De Zavala Chapter of the Texas Landmarks Association placed a marble marker on

the M. Halff Building (see Figures 7-11 and 7-12) in 1918 (reported also as 1917), which stood near the corner of East Commerce and Rusk Streets, to commemorate the location of one of the funeral pyres of the heroes of the Alamo (See above discussions). It reads: On This Spot Bodies of Heroes Slain at the Alamo Were Buried on A Funeral Pyre. Fragments of the Bodies Were Afterward Buried Here. This Tablet is the Gift of Relatives of Green Be. Jemision [Jamison] and of Other Friends. De Zavala Chapter Texas Landmarks Association.”

A second bronze or brass marker can be seen along Commerce next to the marble marker (see Figure 7-13). This marker was placed there on March 6, 1995, by the Friends of Adina De





Figure 7-11. M. Halff Building in 1960-1962 when it was known as the N. Sinkin Building.

Zavala, The Alamo Defenders Descendants Association, The Alamo Battlefield Association and the City of San Antonio. This marker text states that when the M. Halff Building was demolished in 1968 for the extension of the Paseo del Rio, the owners of the building, Mr. and Mrs. William Sinkin removed the marker (the marble marker) and kept it in protective custody. It was reinstalled in the vicinity of the original location on March 6, 1995, to honor the memory of Adina de Zavala (Reveley, 2017, Hallowed Grounds Site of Alamo Funeral Pyres Largely Lost to History January 7, 201 *San Antonio Report*).

The second original marble plaque has disappeared. At the time that the Ludlow House was the home of the Salvation Army chapel, and an old photo shows the plaque on the building (Reveley 2017).

### Summary Statements

The archival record to date, based on those 53 individuals or newspapers, as well as 71 accounts detailed in this report (and we acknowledge that others may exist), appear to support that there are potentially multiple sites where the bodies were burned and or their remains and ashes were buried. John J. Linn first notes in 1883 that three pyres were built, but he doesn't give locations. Those accounts in totality report: (1) At least nine accounts appear to support that a pyre was

constructed within the Alamo proper or directly adjacent to the Alamo; (2) A peach orchard or peach trees are noted five times, but no location is given for these—these may or may not be along the Alameda; (3) The Alameda or modern day Commerce Street is mentioned ten times if we collectively take into account each report that mentions the Alameda, the Ludlow House, the Post/Springfield House, the Herff house, the M. Halff Building, St. Joseph's Church, the corner of Commerce and Rusk; (4) Four exact distances are given:



Figure 7-12. Marble marker on Commerce Street, formerly on the M. Halff Building.

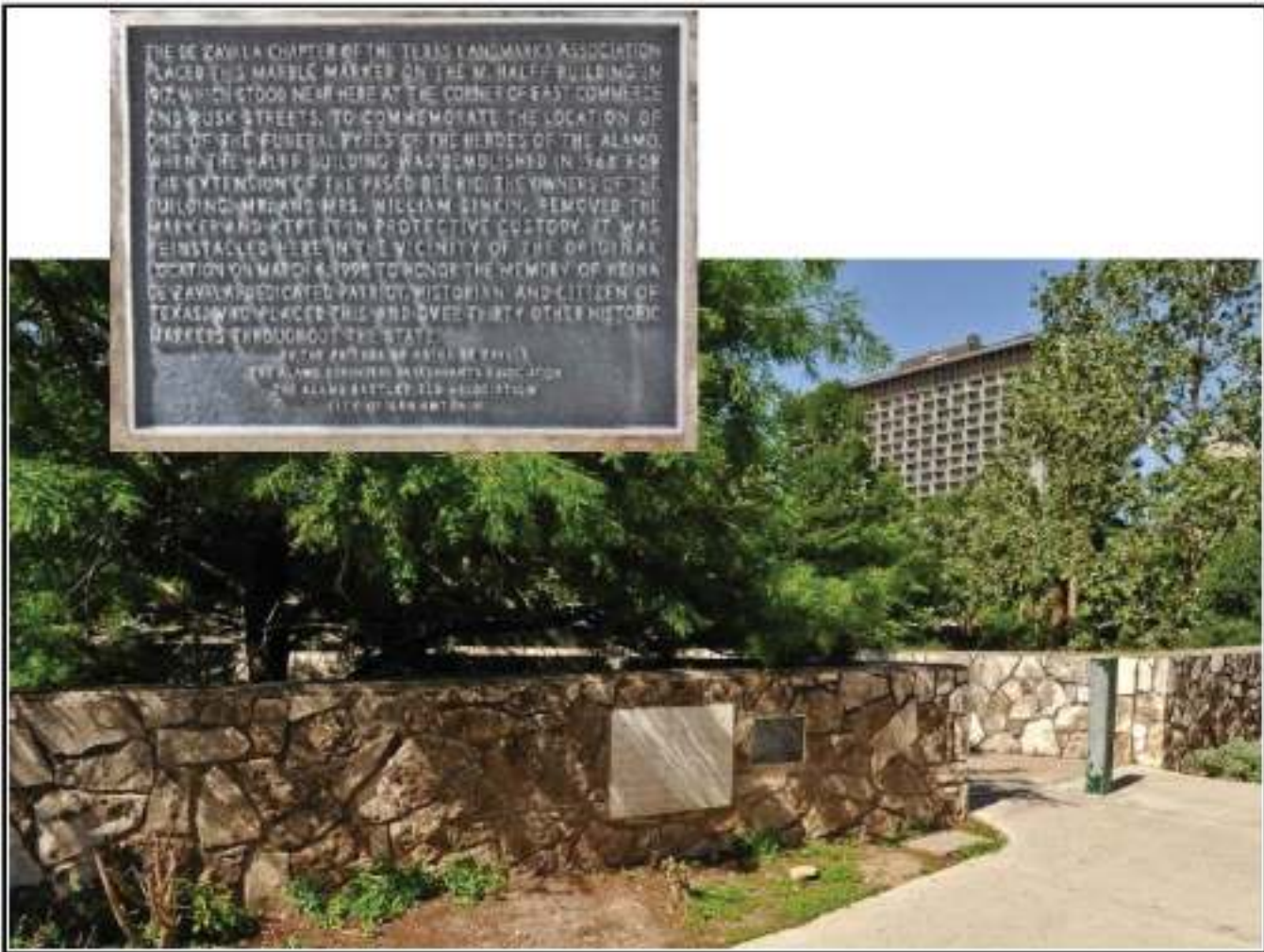


Figure 7-13. Bronze or brass marker on Commerce Street next to the marble marker as it appears today.

4,950 ft (1.5 km) from the Alamo—no direction given; 225 ft (68.58 m) from northeast corner of Alamo; 200 ft (61 m) south of the south corner of the Alamo; ½ to ¾ quarter miles northeast of Alamo; (5) Two accounts that support in the neighborhood or east of the Menger Hotel and Blum Street south to the Alameda (and down to Commerce and Rusk); (6) Juan Seguin’s report that states he buried the bones at San Fernando Church; (7) the 1920 San Antonio Express account that reported charred human remains, possibly from the Alamo defenders, were found 200 ft (61 m) south of the south wall of the Alamo; (8) Further, there is at least one account that states the ashes and bones of the defenders were exhumed with the bodies of Samuel Walker and Robert Gillespie and moved to the Odd Fellows Cemetery; (9) Seguin’s last account that he buried the bones at San Fernando Cathedral and (10) Frazar’s account that some of the bones from the defender’s bodies were buried at San Fernando Cemetery.

At least ten sites or locations are given either for a funeral pyre or a burial of remains from the funeral pyre of the defenders of the Alamo, or charred bones of the defenders.

One location, given by Frazar states they were buried in San Fernando Cemetery. Frazar may have been referring to the Campo Santo west of San Pedro Creek, since that is the Catholic cemetery that would have existed in 1836. Others state that some of the Mexican dead were buried at that location and the San Fernando Church records support this. Alternatively, he may have referred to the body of Gregorio Esparza. Also, a secondary burial site is postulated to be in the Odd Fellows Cemetery. A previously undocumented cemetery was also discussed as it could potentially relate to the funeral pyre(s) or burials of the burned Alamo defenders.

Further, based on the above accounts, the disposal of the Mexican soldiers is noted as listed in the archival record. Twelve accounts state that the Mexican soldiers (or some portion thereof) were buried. Interestingly, the archival record reflects that generally only the officers were buried. Five accounts state that at least some of the bodies, generally noted as privates, were thrown into the San Antonio River, congesting the river from as far as the Lewis Mill to Crockett Street. Four accounts mention that the bodies

of the Mexican soldiers, or the remainder of the Mexican soldiers that could not be buried, were burned along with the Alamo defenders. One account states that the bodies were piled in the Mexican Army camp, but makes no note of their subsequent disposal.

Locations provided for the burials include the City Cemetery and/or Milam Park (actually named in the accounts), the Campo Santo (or “burying ground”), the area between the Alamo and the Menger Hotel, and within the same pyres where the Alamo defenders were burned. The San Fernando Church burial records record some of the names of the Mexican soldiers buried within the Campo Santo, but very few. Thusly, based on the archival record, the Mexican soldiers were: buried (number given in one archival account states up to 400) in the open ground west of San Pedro Creek, perhaps in the old City Cemetery and also within the Campo Santo; many were thrown into the San Antonio River; some may have been burned alongside the Alamo defenders (see above for those possible pyre locations); and, based on the archival records, it may be possible, that some were buried between the Alamo and the Menger Hotel, were later

exhumed and reinterred at an unknown location. We have provided some basic preliminary information regarding a previously undocumented cemetery located along Commerce Street that may or may not have an association with the Alamo funeral pyres/burials. Perhaps further in-depth archival research will be conducted in the future that will illuminate this previously little-known cemetery and its role, if any, in the burials/funeral pyres. Information is presented that details the current plaques/signage of the location(s) of the pyres. These markers can be seen today by citizens of San Antonio as well as visitors to the city. Figure 7-14 depicts reported locations of interments.

Three archaeological investigations have been conducted that addressed the funeral pyres and the burned remains of the Alamo defenders. In the Las Tiendas/Rivercenter Mall project (1984-1985), it appeared that either all traces of the funeral pyres had been eliminated by activity on the site during the five decades (as of 1984) since the burning of the remains or that the project area was not actually the scene of the event. However, as noted above, Dr. David Glassman could not rule out that at least one or more of

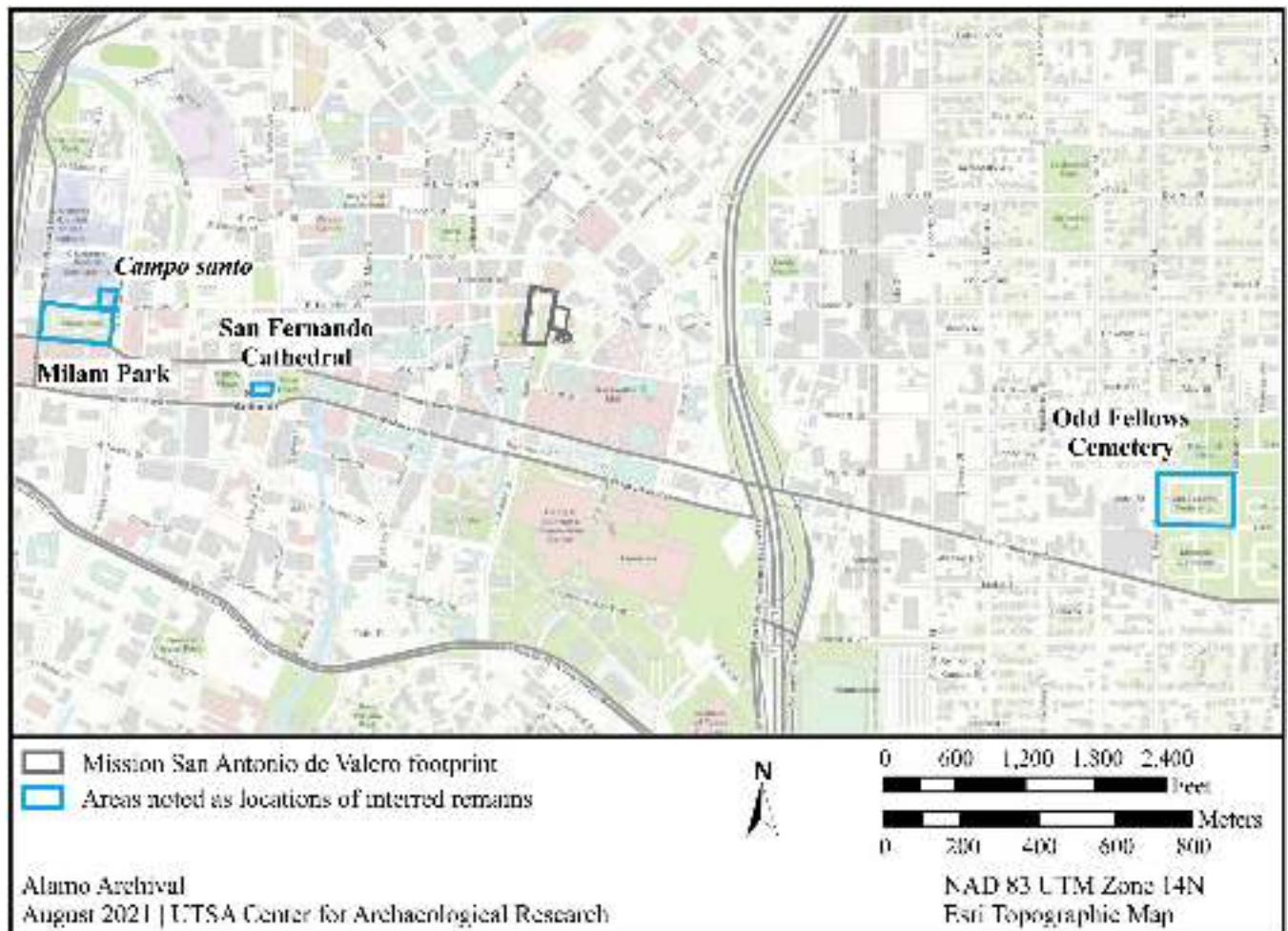


Figure 7-14. Locations of reported interments of Alamo combatants.

the indeterminate bones could be human. Investigations conducted for the Alamo Wells Project in 1995 led the project field director to believe that indeed remains from at least one funeral pyre was found in the area of the plaza between the Long Barracks and the Low Barracks (or South Wall) of the Alamo. Work conducted by CAR-UTSA in 2017, at the site of St. Joseph's Church did not encounter any evidence of a funeral pyre in the area under investigation, but did locate and document the Acequia de Valero (or Alamo Acequia) within the project area.

The accounts of the funeral pyre locations assembled here are extensive and, given the resources available, exhaustive. There is no consensus. No one knows, with any degree of certainty, where these events happened. As many of these accounts differ

in location, most are incorrect. It is certainly possible that all of them are incorrect. While we realize that some accounts may be more believable or popular than others, discounting lesser known or debated accounts, while championing those that are now popular, will not locate the funeral pyres. If any location is going to be confirmed, that confirmation will not come solely from archival sources, let alone from endless arguments regarding which source represents the truth. If an answer is forthcoming, it will have to be through archaeological discoveries that verify the presence of human bone in deposits of the right time frame, with some associated personal artifacts or other supportive analysis such as DNA. Perhaps, someday, archaeological, archival, and other scientific investigations may yet answer the question: Where were the Alamo defenders burned and buried?

## **Chapter 8: Summary**

*Clinton M. M. McKenzie, Kay Hinds, and James E. Ivey*

The archival and archaeological records together with awareness of temporally differentiated burial customs and practices allow us to ascertain certain, probable and hypothetical locations for cemeteries and burials within or immediately adjacent to the former third site of Mission San Antonio de Valero. Burials at this site vary by community, time, and place with overlapping use of the same areas between periods.

### **The Communities of the Valero Site**

The site discussed in this report has a nearly 300-year history of use by a variety of successive communities with some groups sharing the site during certain periods. Each of these communities called Valero home, even if in the case of the Alamo defenders, it was only briefly so. These communities lived and died at Valero, leaving archaeological traces of their everyday lives and their mortal remains indicating their connection to the site as their final resting place. During the active period of the Franciscan Mission San Antonio de Valero (1724 to 1793) there were four different locations for the church, and it is likely that there were two cemeteries – one associated with the first and second churches and the second associated with the third and fourth churches. The fourth church and second cemetery were also likely used by the later Pueblo de Valero (1793-1810) and by the *Compañía Volante del Alamo de Parras* (1802-1808). Lastly, while it appears likely that most of the Alamo defenders were immolated in one or more pyres, it is also clear that in some cases Alamo dead were disposed of in an ad hoc fashion elsewhere on site.

### **Numbers of the Dead**

The Spanish Colonial and Mexican period burial records are incomplete, but between extant records and conservative estimates for absent records, it is probable that between 1200 and 1500 individuals were interred at the site. Research performed here strongly suggests that burials continued at the Pueblo de Valero and were recorded separately but that record book is not extant. The size of the Pueblo de Valero community was relatively small, and a portion of that community elected burial at San Fernando. Nevertheless, it is probable that interments at the former mission continued. In addition to the cemeteries and burials associated with the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period, the Battle of the Alamo produced an estimated 600 to 900 combatant deaths and the archival records of the period provide a strong case

that the interment of some of those individuals was made in an ad hoc fashion with disposal in the acequia ditches as well as fortification entrenchments.

### **Burial Conditions and Probable Cemetery Locations**

Our review suggests that burials of shrouded bodies within churches and cemeteries was normative during the Colonial period. Burials in the Republic and later statehood periods increasingly were made in coffins rather than shrouds. This reflected a cultural change between periods and also included the abandonment of the practice of burial within churches or the constraint of burials in religiously prescribed cemeteries. Inhumation burials absent visible evidence or artifacts such as coffin nails or coffin hardware are suggestive of Spanish Colonial or Mexican period burials. Burials clearly absent coffin fragments or coffin fittings should be inspected closely for the presence of shroud pins. Likewise, the presence of coffin wood or coffin nails or hardware, are a reliable indicator of a post-Colonial burial. Coffins do occur in Spanish Colonial sites, but they are currently absent in the archival and archaeological record from contemporaneous contexts at Spanish Colonial sites in San Antonio. While not definitive, a potential way to discriminate an earlier coffin burial would be examination of the coffin nails to determine if they are hand-forged or cast – with the former indicative of the colonial and the latter indicative of the post-Colonial.

### **Subfloors of Churches**

Burials in the subfloors of the four churches should be expected. The locations of the first and second churches at Valero's third site are hypothetical, while the third and fourth locations of the churches are known. Archival and archaeological reports verify the presence of human remains in the subfloor of churches 3 and 4 at Valero. No archival documents clearly indicate burial at church 1 or 2, although custom and practice clearly indicate the high probability of interments. Further, no archaeological investigations reports have addressed that question, absent the disarticulated remains noted in newspaper accounts and TAP documentation on the 2019-2020 RKI led excavations.

### **Cemeteries or Campos Santos**

Archival evidence and inference indicate that there was a Campo Santo in the northern area of Alamo Plaza, possibly beneath and/or just north of the 1758-1762 compound walls.

It is conjectured that most of the burials described from the 1935 excavations near the southeast corner are attributable to the first church and/or its related Campo Santo.

There is also limited archival evidence for a second Campo Santo predating the present stone chapel and located south of the convento or long barrack. Few formal investigations have occurred in this area between the west entrance of the 3rd church at Mission Valero and extending into the plaza to the line of the west elevation of the convento. Several newspaper accounts discussed in Chapter 6 indicate human remains may have been found in that area. If future archaeological investigations in that area produce artifacts and human remains, time diagnostic artifacts, or osteological and/or DNA analysis could help determine the period of use for the presumed Campo Santo at Valero, considering that the area could have been used during the Mission period, Pueblo del Alamo period, Alamo de Parras period, and potentially in 1836.

### **Ditches, Entrenchments and Pyres**

The Chapter 6 review of archival accounts of human remains and militaria encountered on or adjacent to Alamo Plaza demonstrate that several had definite or probable association with the Battle of the Alamo. Further, Chapter 7 accounts indicate ambiguity in the archival record regarding disposition of the combatant dead. Several of those narratives mention disposal of dead from both sides in trenches as well as the irrigation ditches. These features are potential locations for human remains, though human remains from the battle may be found in other contexts as well.

The archival records review strongly indicates that many of the burials at the north end of Alamo Plaza were found in shallow burial contexts and often in proximity and/or association with Battle period artifacts. Regarding the pyres themselves, it is clear that until new research provides incontrovertible evidence of the exact location of the funeral pyre(s) or buried remains from the funeral pyre(s) are uncovered and perhaps confirmed by DNA, we cannot say where these pyres were located.

### **Definite, Probable, and Suspected Locations of Human Remains**

Figure 8-1 depicts the areas where human remains are known, expected and suspected within the study area. Depicted are the two known locations of churches 3 and 4, and the hypothetical locations of churches 1 and 2 at Valero (see Chapter 3 discussion). Also depicted are the hypothesized locations of two Campos Santos. The first is the Campo Santo associated with the first and second

church locations. The second is the probable Campo Santo immediately west of the stone church (third church of Mission Valero). Also depicted are the probable locations of the expected fortification trenches associated with the Siege of Béxar in 1835 and the Battle of the Alamo in 1836, and the Acequia de Valero that surrounded the site on all four sides. Both the fortification trenches and the acequia alignments should be considered areas that potentially contain human remains and or militaria artifacts associated with the battle of the Alamo. Ad sanctos burials are possible adjacent to and throughout the interiors of all the former and extant Alamo buildings.

### **Additional Research Directions**

An unanticipated result of the current investigations was a greater awareness of the need to perform further research on the Pueblo de Valero community. In large measure, this community has been invisible in the written histories of San Antonio and limited to noting that a civilian pueblo succeeded the mission pueblo at secularization and listing the Native Americans who were awarded lands, water rights, seed and tools at the time of secularization. The Pueblo de Valero was a mixed community, composed of Native Americans as well as Europeans, Africans, and individuals sharing mixed ancestry. Further, the community itself was an amalgam of several communities: former Mission Valero *conversos* and *vecinos*; former Villa de San Fernando residents; families from Los Adaes, and military families from the Alamo de Parras Company. Several members of this community are reported on individually, such as Anselmo Cuevas (Barr 2007:176), several Adaesano families (Galan 2020) as well as the Tejano Losoya and French Charles families, among others (Matovina 1995). It is apparent from the research performed that the composition of this community can be discerned through a combination of reviewing Spanish census records, vital event records from Mission Valero, Los Adaes and San Fernando, and further research on individual community members within the body of documents that form the Béxar Archives. The opportunity exists to examine this important transitional community and community members prior to their incorporation as a civilian pueblo, their mixed racial and geographic origin community, as well as their subsequent incorporation into the Villa of San Fernando de Béxar.

The Valero burial data makes clear the opportunity available to examine the totality of vital event records from Valero. The same treatment of the burial records should be made for both the baptismal and marriage records. While a true demographic examination is not possible, a wide array of human population studies as well as social network analyses and genealogical studies could be performed.

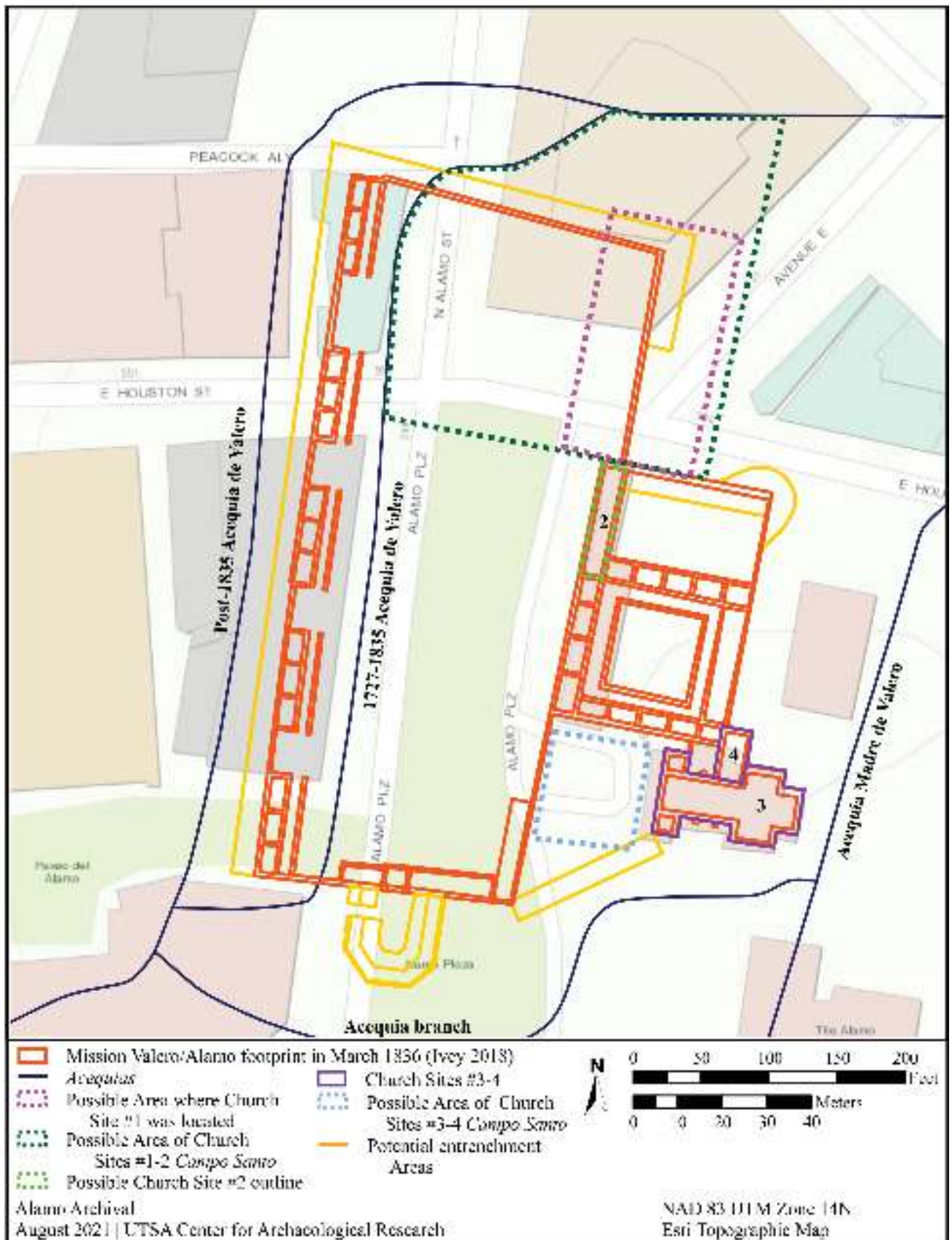


Figure 8-1. Known, expected, and suspected cemeteries or places of ad hoc or ad sanctos interments.

From an archaeological standpoint, the discernment of a potential area/location for the first Valero Church at the third site and its associated Campo Santo provide research direction and guidance for future projects in that area. Even though much of the space has been disturbed

by previous impacts in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the possibility remains that remnants of both persist beneath Houston Street between North Alamo and Avenue E as well as under sidewalk, street and utility right-of-ways.



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Year	Mo.	Day	Instrument	Volume:Page	Grantor	Grantee
1785	May	25	Deed	G:1	F. López	P. de los Angeles Charli
1847	Mar.	27	Donation	E2:77-79	E. Dwyer	C. F. King, Mayor
1865	Oct.	6	Deed	T2:79-80	F. Flores	F. Mendriguez
1867	Nov.	25	Deed	U2:325-236	JA. D. Withers	J. Kissling
1883	Mar.	9	Deed	27:98	A. D. Withers	Ed. Bennett
1887	Jan.	15	Deed	50:115-117	M. & P. Sabriego	U. S. Government

Bexar County Spanish Archives (BCSA) Wills and Estates (WE)

Year	Day	Month	Folio #	Testator/Testatrix	Spouse
1742	19-Jan		16	Juan Curbelo	Gracia Perdoma Umpierre
1769	6-Apr		1	Martin Lorenzo de Armas	Maria Robaina Betancour
1779	16-Jan		108	Vicente Albares Travieso	Mariana Curbelo
1784	27-Feb		26	Francisco Delgado	Catarina Santos
1794	19-Mar		45	Pedro Granados	Maria Ruiz
1797	20-Nov		40	Pablo Flores	Maria Trinidad Flores
1799	24-Apr		2	Maria Josefa Flores de Abrego	Miguel Guerra
1805	25-Jun		4	Pedro Angel [Charli]	None listed
1834	12-May		92	Maria Manuela de la Peña	Juan Manuel Ruiz

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