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The Domingo Ramón Diary of the 1716 Expedition into the Province of the Tejas Indians: An Annotated Translation

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The 1716 Domingo Ramón and Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa expedition into the province of the Tejas Indians laid the foundation for Spanish domination in the region that was to become modern-day East Texas during a critical period of Spanish and French competition for control of the area. This article provides an introduction to the historical significance and context of the expedition, as well as new annotated English translation of the Ramón diary, which for the first time is based on the original diary manuscript.¹ Annotations included with the translation

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¹ Domingo Ramón, Untitled Diary (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Provincias Internas; cited hereafter as AGN, PI), vol. 181, folios 391r-401v. One English translation of this diary exists, though it is not based on AGN, PI. See note 2. The extant sources for the Ramón expedition diary include the original 1) Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, fols. 391r-401v. This document bears no title; 2) Biblioteca Nacional de México, Archivo Franciscano, caja 1/1.24, f. 32r-44v. This document is titled "Diario y Derrotero de la Entrada a la Provincia de Tejas." A photostat copy of this document is available at the Center for American History at the University of Texas at Austin; and 3) Archivo General de la Nación, Historia, vol. 27, fols. 181v-205r (hereafter cited as Historia 27). This document is titled "Derrotero para las Misiones de los Presidios Internos." Paleographic evidence clearly indicates that Paul Foik used Archivo General de la Nación (AGNMex), Historia, vol. 27, fols. 181v-205r (hereafter Historia 27) as his base; for a thorough analysis see Debbie S. Cunningham, "Domingo Ramón's 1716 Expedition into Texas: On Foik's Translation," *Southwestern Journal of Linguistics*, 23 (June, 2004), 35-43.

provide additional information of historical significance. Notes to the translation also point out substantive discrepancies between the previously published English translation of the Ramón diary,² and the source of these discrepancies, where appropriate.

Prior to 1716, the Spanish and French had vied for control of the lands north of the Río Grande. European exploration and colonization of Mexico laid the foundation for subsequent exploration and attempts at colonization of areas far removed from the capital city in northern Mexico and what is now the southwestern United States. Spaniards made frequent expeditions into the outlying country, most of which can be characterized as exploratory in nature, though there had been attempts to colonize New Spain prior to the 1716 Ramón and Espinosa expedition, particularly in response to what the Spaniards perceived as a French threat.³ One such expedition was that of Alonso de León, who arrived at the Nabedache village in May 1690 and founded the mission of San Francisco de los Tejas, the first in East Texas.⁴ This period of Spanish occupation of East Texas was short lived, however, and on October 25, 1693, Father Damián Massanet torched the mission and fled.⁵

Although Spaniards did not occupy Texas between 1694 and 1715, it was not entirely forgotten or unvisited. It especially remained on the mind of Father Francisco Hidalgo, who was consumed by unfinished missionary work among the Tejas Indians.⁶ According to Donald E. Chipman, “the mission effort in East Texas had familiarized Spaniards with the geography and Indians of Texas and convinced both church and government officials that future missions must be sustained by presidios and civilian settlements.”⁷ This interest, coupled with reports of new French activity in the region, sparked renewed concern on the part of Spanish officials. The arrival of the Frenchman Don Luis de St. Denis at the presidio

² Paul Foik, “Captain Domingo Ramón’s Diary,” *Wilderness Mission*, ed. Jesus F. De la Teja (1933; reprint, Austin: Texas Catholic Historical Society, 1999), 129–148.

³ Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America 1492–1783* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1936), 292.

⁴ Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 216; Donald E. Chipman, “Spanish Texas,” in Ron Tyler, Douglas E. Barnett, Roy R. Barkley, Penelope C. Anderson, and Mark F. Odintz (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas* (6 vols.; Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), VI, 17.

⁵ William C. Foster, *Spanish Expeditions into Texas 1689–1768* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 109.

⁶ Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519–1821*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 105.

⁷ Chipman, “Spanish Texas,” 17. The Tejas Indians were members of the Hasinai confederacy. The Spanish narrowed the group name, *Tejas* to refer to the tribes of the Neches and Angelina Valleys. See Herbert E. Bolton, *The Hasinai: Southern Caddoans as Seen by the Earliest Europeans*, ed. Russell M. Magnaghi (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 63–64.

San Juan Bautista was the catalyst that would force the Spanish to take action.

According to Chipman and Harriett Denise Joseph, St. Denis, who was accompanied by Pierre and Robert Talon and Medar Jallot, arrived at San Juan Bautista on July 19, 1714.⁸ St. Denis was in search of Father Francisco Hidalgo and having failed to find him, decided to continue on to San Juan Bautista.⁹ St. Denis's arrival at San Juan Bautista sparked Spanish concerns. Diego Ramón, captain of the presidio at San Juan Bautista, sent a letter to Father Hidalgo in Querétaro warning, "and I say that if His Majesty (who God protects) does not take warning and the Naquitoises [Natchitoches] villages are not settled, the French will be masters of all this land."¹⁰

A report of the arrival of the Frenchmen was also given to the Viceroy Fernando de Alencastre Norona y Silva, Duque de Linares.¹¹ In response to the new French presence, Spanish officials called a general junta,¹² which met August 22, 1715, and endorsed the recommendations to have Spanish missionaries return to the land of the Tejas Indians and reestablish missions.¹³ Approval of the expedition was the first step in permanent Spanish occupation of lands northeast of the Río Grande, as it represented Spain's commitment to the permanent occupation of the province of the Tejas Indians.¹⁴ The viceroy drew up a set of instructions for the proposed *entrada* and appointed Domingo Ramón leader of the expedition, along with St. Denis, who was to serve as conductor of supplies for as long as his services were required.¹⁵

Religious interests on the expedition were divided equally between friars from the missionary colleges of Querétaro and Zacatecas.¹⁶ Father Isidro Félix de Espinosa was the president of the missionaries from the College of Querétaro. The fathers who accompanied him from this college

⁸ Donald E. Chipman and Harriett Denise Joseph, *Notable Men and Women of Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 41.

⁹ Robert S. Weddle, *The French Thorn: Rival Explorers in the Spanish Sea, 1682-1762* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 193.

¹⁰ Letter from Diego Ramón to Francisco Hidalgo (July 22, 1714), Catholic Archives of Texas, as cited in Chipman and Joseph, *Notable Men*, 53.

¹¹ Elizabeth H. West, "Bonilla's Brief Compendium of the History of Texas: 1772," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 8 (July, 1904), 24.

¹² That is, a meeting of officials.

¹³ Notes from the General *Junta*, with original rubrics (AGN, PI), vol. 181, folios 370r-375r.

¹⁴ Diana Hadley, Thomas H. Naylor, and Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, eds., "Espinosa's Diary of the 1716 *Entrada*," in *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain. A Documentary History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 359-397, 360.

¹⁵ Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas: 1519-1936*, 7 volumes, (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1936), II, 38.

¹⁶ Chipman, *Spanish Texas 1519-1821*, 112; Robert S. Weddle, *San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 117.

included: Francisco Hidalgo, Benito Sánchez, Gabriel de Vergara, and Manuel Castellanos. The fathers from the College of Zacatecas included President Antonio Margil de Jesús, who was unable to make much of the journey due to illness, Agustín Patrón, Francisco de San Diego, Matías Sáenz de San Antonio, Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza, Javier Cubillos, and Domingo de Vrioste.¹⁷ Espinosa had been present on previous expeditions and “was qualified to serve not only as a diarist but, more significantly, as a guide.”¹⁸

After the junta authorized the expedition and appointed leaders, the expedition from the Río Grande to modern-day East Texas was quickly planned and organized. The journey of the entire expedition party lasted from April until July 1716. Ramón spent February to April preparing his expedition party, gathering supplies, and making the trek to the presidio San Juan Bautista, where he met with Espinosa and other religious leaders to begin the journey together.¹⁹ As the march got under way, Ramón listed seventy-five persons in the caravan, including nine priests, three lay brothers, twenty-five soldiers, three Frenchmen, and several dozen civilians.²⁰

Within a month of arriving in East Texas, four missions stood in settlements designated by the Tejas leaders. The reestablishment of missions and a presidio in East Texas gave Spain a claim to lands north of the Río Grande, did much to determine that Texas would be Spanish, not French, and helped advance the eventual boundary between Texas and the United States to the Sabine River.²¹

In 1933, the Texas Catholic Historical Society published Paul Foik’s English translation of the Ramón diary, which was reprinted in 1999 without annotations.²² Foik states that his translation was made from “original documents from which the certified transcriptions have been made” and cited the original manuscript locations. I have shown elsewhere that Foik’s translation was based not on the original Ramón diary

¹⁷ Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, *Diario Derrotero de la Nueva Entrada a la Provincia de los Tejas, Año de 1716* (AGN, PI), vol. 181, folios 405v-411v, 406r9-16.

¹⁸ William C. Foster, *Spanish Expeditions into Texas 1689-1768* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 95, 112. In 1709 Espinosa participated in a brief reconnaissance expedition to the Colorado River with Father Antonio de Olivares and Captain Pedro de Aguirre.

¹⁹ Domingo Ramón.

²⁰ The number of expedition party members has been a source of debate among historians. Some scholars have stated that the expedition party was comprised of seventy-five people. See Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, 117; Chipman, *Spanish Texas 1519-1821*, 112; John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men’s Worlds*, 207. Others propose that there were sixty-five; see Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, 225; Foster, *Spanish Expeditions into Texas*, 109; Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America 1492-1783*, 293. See note 59 below.

²¹ Chipman, “Spanish Texas,” 18.

²² See note 2. Foik, “Capitan Domingo Ramón’s Diary.”

located in the Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, but rather, on the Archivo General de la Nación, Historia vol. 27 copy of the original manuscript determined to be the furthest removed from the original, which was made a century later.²³ The annotated English translation provided herein is based on the original diary manuscript and documents errors contained in the Foik translation that occur as a result of his reliance on a copy of the diary manuscript, rather than on the original Ramón diary. I have chosen to document only those errors that are attributable to Foik's reliance on a secondary manuscript source, particularly where his translation results in a substantive difference from my own.

It should be noted that the English translation I am providing is a literal one, and that as a result, run on sentences, which are common in the Spanish language, are a frequent occurrence. Other nuances include the use of adjective and syntactic structures that seem awkward to readers of English. It should also be noted that this article focuses solely on the Ramón diary from this expedition.²⁴

Domingo Ramón's 1716 Diary

In the name of the most Holy Trinity, in the town of Saltillo, Government of Nueva Vizcaya,²⁵ on the seventeenth day of February of the year 1716, I begin the diary and route of the expedition to the Province of the Texas. By order of His Excellency, my master, Duque de Linares,²⁶ Viceroy and Captain General of this New Spain, I, Captain Domingo Ramón, with the company of 25 cavalymen, enter said province for the protection and custody of the missions that are to be established; of which company I am named, by my master, His Excellency, as commander-in-chief, their protector.

[Feb. 17] This day I left said town of Saltillo with all my company and pack train and the rest of the train. I marched one league in a northerly direction to some corn stalks where the horses and mules pastured, and the place was named Santa Inés.

[Feb. 18] I marched with all the train four leagues in a northerly direction until arriving at an arroyo that is called of the Padilla, where I stopped.

²³ See note 1. Historia 27, fols. 181v-205r.

²⁴ I am presently preparing an annotated translation of the Espinosa diary, as the existing English translations of it have also been found to be unreliable. See note 119 below.

²⁵ Nueva Vizcaya was the first province of northern Mexico to be explored and settled by the Spanish. It served as the "heartland" of the northern frontier for some 250 years. See Mark Odintz, "Nueva Vizcaya," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 1074.

²⁶ The Duque de Linares, Fernando de Alencastre Norona y Silva (1641-?), served as the thirty-fifth viceroy of New Spain from 1711-1716. Thomas Charles Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981), 95.

[Feb. 19] I stopped in this place on account of some pack mules being lost and because one of the herdsman of said pack mules ran away, when he was most needed.

[Feb. 20] This day I marched eight leagues in an easterly direction to the Rinconada Place²⁷ because there was a very high mountain ahead.

[Feb. 21] This day I marched five leagues in a northerly direction until I arrived at Nacatas Post²⁸ where I set up my camp. At this time I gave the order that the Second Lieutenant, Pedro de los Santos, leave Icamole²⁹ Post with all his horses to join me at this place, as it is suitable, and to allow time for the Religious of the Cross³⁰ to catch up with us, because they had to join my convoy in order to undertake said trip; this place being suitable as a stopping place.

[Feb. 22] This day I left my camp and I arrived at four in the afternoon at the town of Saltillo,³¹ where I had sent the sergeant of this company with six soldiers to escort the religious to said camp, and because the religious had detained themselves in said town ten days on charity work. They left the first day of March, having spent three days on said distance to the camp, and they arrived at Nacatas on the third.

[Mar. 9] I remained at this place until the ninth because it was necessary to arrange other things in order to undertake the trip. This day, at night, Ana Guerra, a young mestiza, came to me, and asking her what she wanted, she said that she came to see if I wanted to send or take her to [the Province of the] Texas because her master abused her; moved by charitableness, I brought her into my family.

[Mar. 10] This day Lorenzo Mercado, a soldier of this company, came and asked me if he could marry Ana Guerra, with which design I take her with my company. This day, at around ten o'clock, I left this place and ordered the Second Lieutenant of this company with thirteen men to take the cavalry through the Culebra Post to meet me at Piedras Corral, be-

²⁷ I use "place" in place names for the Spanish *paraje* throughout.

²⁸ I use "post" in place names for the Spanish *puesto* throughout.

²⁹ Foik refers to this as *Ycomole*, 130; Domingo Ramón (AGN, PI), 391r21 shows *Ycamole*. Icamole is a town in Nuevo León, Mexico.

³⁰ This College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro was the first institution for the propagation of the Catholic faith in America. Many Franciscans who served in Texas, including Father Isidro Félix de Espinosa, came from this college. Under its direction two other colleges were founded to send missionaries to Texas, the College of San Fernando de México, and the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. During its period of missionary endeavor in Texas, the college founded several missions, including three on this expedition. See Anonymous, "College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, II, 210–211.

³¹ It is questionable that Ramón could have traveled eighteen leagues in one day to return to Saltillo. The accuracy of his estimations of distances traveled, especially when compared with Espinosa's account, should also be questioned. However, until a daily comparison of the Ramón and Espinosa original diaries is completed (a project currently underway by this researcher), there is no evidence to support my suspicion that Ramón overestimates the number of leagues he travels each day.

cause the road on which I traveled was extremely barren. With the rest of my company, pack mules, and train, I passed in sight of the town of Pesquería. I marched four leagues in a northerly direction in the middle of a large canyon, crossing a river, and I stopped at Captain Francisco de Quintanilla's hacienda, because there were some corn stalks in this place.

[Mar. 11] This day I left this place and marched four leagues in a northerly direction along the banks of said river, until arriving at San Martín Post.

[Mar. 12] This day I left this place, and close to it, a pack mule was lost. The party continued on, marching five leagues to the north until arriving at Captain Joseph de Villarreal's farm. This afternoon, they arrived with the lost mule.

[Mar. 13] This day we were unable to leave due to fog and bad weather.

[Mar. 14] This day I marched, crossing a river, four leagues in a northerly direction, crossing in front of the house of Captain Joseph de Villarreal, Chief Officer of this jurisdiction. This hacienda has a chapel of Señor San Diego³² where the religious dedicated themselves to hearing the confessions of the people of the hacienda. I arrived at the Corral de Piedras Post, where I decided to wait for the cavalry because I had given this order to the Second Lieutenant.

[Mar. 15] I was informed this day that Alexandro Morales and Jacinto de los Santos had left the cavalry, taking with them two of my horses.

[Mar. 16] This day I remained in this place because the cavalry had not arrived. I was informed that two other soldiers, named Joseph Cadena and Joseph García, had deserted.

[Mar. 17] This day the religious caught more than 300 fish³³ in a river which is close to the stopping place. I dispatched the sergeant with Agustín Tellez and Marcial Saucedo³⁴ in pursuit of said four soldiers with a letter of arrest.

[Mar. 18] This day I remained in this place for the same reason of the cavalry not having arrived.³⁵

³² Foik states "St. James," 131, however this is an instance of translator error, as the transcript from which he was working, and the *Historia* manuscript both show 'San Diego' (Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, cited hereafter as CAH; Anonymous, Spanish Material from Various Sources, 1600–1921, Box 2Q246, 56. Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, 56; *Historia* 183v5).

³³ The original provides detail about the species of fish; Ramón (AGN, PI), 391v29 *pescado de aguarta*. I believe this means *pescado de a quarta*, which indicates the size of the fish, being that of a quarter of a *vara*, a measurement equal to approximately thirty-three inches.

³⁴ Foik's translation shows "I sent Sergeant Agustín Félix and Marcial Saucedo," 132, following *Historia* 27 folio 183v19–20 *despache al sargento Agustín Félix y Marcial Saucedo*. Ramón, diary, 391v30, shows *despache al sarx<en>to con Aug<usti>n Tellez y Marzial Saucedo*.

³⁵ Foik, following *Historia* 27 183v32 omits this entry, and therefore the dates with which he titles each entry are off by one day, 132. Ramón, diary, 391v31–32 shows *Este día me detube en este paraje por la misma l ocas<i>on de no hauer llegado la cauallada*.

[Mar. 19] This day I remained in this place and decided to go out personally to look for the horses, which I did, and finding them six leagues from this stopping place, I gave the order that the following day they be at Corral de Piedras; I returned to my camp.

[Mar. 20] This day the horses could not arrive.

[Mar. 21] The following day all the horses arrived late in the day; I was informed that enemies were in the vicinity and I went to find them. I came upon two Indian foot trails which appeared to be from the Tobosos.³⁶ On account of this, I ordered that the guards at the camp and that the horses be doubled.

[Mar. 22] I left this place and marched fourteen leagues in a northerly direction over country entirely lacking in pasture and water, the reason for which such a long distance was traveled, until³⁷ arriving at the Potrero Place, next to a farm.

[Mar. 23] I remained in this place in order for the horses to regain their strength, as they arrived in bad shape the previous day.

[Mar. 24] I remained in this place in order to gather some horses and oxen that our Father Friar Antonio Margil added to the herd.³⁸

[Mar. 25] This day I marched along the edge of a mountain, crossing the Lion's Mouth Camp³⁹ and River until arriving at a *ranchería*⁴⁰ that is called that of Juan Méndez, having traveled this day six leagues in a northerly direction.

[Mar. 26] This day 116 head of goats got lost, and after two days they were found on a mountain, on account of having run out of pasturage; they appeared without one missing.

[Mar. 27–30]⁴¹ These four days I remained in this stopping place, on account of a soldier's wife giving birth, and also in order to gather some

³⁶ Foik translates "two Indian trails," (p. 132) omitting the tribal designation provided in the original, Ramón, diary, 392r1–2 *dos rastros de yndios | a pie al parecer Tobosos*. In the seventeenth century, the Toboso Indians occupied the Bolsón de Mapimí of Coahuila and Chihuahua, and in the following century they frequently raided Spanish settlements to the east in Nuevo León. See Thomas N. Campbell, "Toboso Indians," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, VI, 512–513.

³⁷ Foik omits this information and states "water, until," 132.

³⁸ Foik translates "which our Father Fray Antonio Margil had for me," (p. 132) following Historia 27 184r21 *me tenia*, while Ramón, diary, 392r8 shows *metia*. Antonio Margil de Jesús (1657–1726) was an early missionary to Texas. On April 22, 1673, he received the order's habit at La Corona de Cristo in Valencia. At the age of 25 he received Holy Orders and soon accepted the challenges of missionary work in New Spain. He arrived in Veracruz on June 6, 1683. Margil de Jesús was to have accompanied Ramón on the 1716 expedition, but illness prevented him from arriving in East Texas until after the founding of the first four missions. He arrived there in late July 1716. See Donald E. Chipman, "Antonio Margil de Jesus," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 505.

³⁹ I use "camp" in place names for the Spanish *campo* throughout.

⁴⁰ This term refers to temporary settlement of Indians.

⁴¹ Foik, having omitted the previous entry of March 26, shows March 26–29 for this entry, 132.

loads of flour and other supplies that I had in said camp, and for our Father Margil to incorporate some of the goats to take to Texas. This last day I dispatched the Second Lieutenant to go ahead with the horses to the Puesto de Carrizal because the horses were in bad shape.

[Mar. 31] I marched on a rocky road, lacking in pasturage and water, nine leagues in a northerly direction until reaching Carrizal.

[April 1] This day I marched four leagues in a northerly direction lacking in pasturage, but not in water, along which course a pack mule was lost in the woods and could not be found.⁴²

[April 2] I remained in this place the following day⁴³ to wait for a herd of mules that were about to arrive loaded with corn from La Caldera,⁴⁴ which is a short distance away. In the night of this day, I received a paper from a religious, a missionary at La Punta,⁴⁵ with news that enemy Indians has taken from his sight all the horses of the mission, and that only three men were in pursuit of them. With this news, I mounted my horse, accompanied by two soldiers, in order to leave the camp and the mules in good custody. I left with the soldiers to go find my horses, taking much care, on account of their having spotted the horses the night before. Here I changed horses, and because I did not know [about] the defeat of said Indians, I went to said mission, where they told me that they [the soldiers] had already taken the horses away from said Indians, having caught them in a plain, and who surmised⁴⁶ that there were many soldiers.

[April 3] This day I crossed the Caldera River and went over a very barren plain five leagues until arriving at the Chocolate Camp. This day Fathers Friar Francisco Hidalgo, Friar Benito Sánchez, Friar Gabriel de Vergara, and Friar Manuel Castellanos left to spend *Semana Santa* [Holy Week] in Mission de la Punta. Two religious remained in the camp so that

⁴² Foik states "a small boy was lost in the woods and could not be found" (p. 132), following Historia 27 185r1 *muchacho*, while Ramón, diary, 392r24 shows *macho*. Those who read in secondary literature that the expedition party abandoned a small child would be misinformed about the manner in which expedition leaders dealt with missing persons in this era (see Foster, *Spanish Expeditions*, 113, for example). In fact, in the one instance reported by Ramón where people went missing (see the entries for June 3–5), the party immediately stopped and a search party was sent to look for them, which delayed for two days.

⁴³ Foik adds "the first of April," following Historia 27 184r4–5 *1º de abril por*, 133.

⁴⁴ La Caldera was formally known as "Mission San Bernadino de la Caldera," and was established by Friar Damián Massanet in 1693 near the border of Nuevo León. See Donald E. Chipman, "Damián Massanet," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 549.

⁴⁵ La Punta was formally known as Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de la Punta at Lampazos, located in northern Nuevo León. See Thomas A. Campbell, "Payuguan Indians," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, V, 103–104.

⁴⁶ Foik omits part of this passage and translates "away from the Indians, who were under the impression that there were many soldiers" (p. 133), following Historia 27, which shows 185r21 *haber tenido entendido*, while Ramón, diary, shows 392r36–37 *auerlos | coxido en vn llano y auer entendido*.

all the people could confess, which they did, and so they could offer Mass.

[April 4–5] I remained in this post two days in order to wait for some of Father Margil's oxen and goats to be added to the herd, and because one of these days there was a strong wind and nothing could be done. This last night two soldiers, named Joseph del Toro and Joseph de la Fuente ran away; I ordered two companions, Joseph Flores and Jacinto Charles, to follow them on account of their taking two horses.

[April 6] This day I left this post and marched in a northerly direction six leagues over good terrain with pasturage until reaching the Conchas River, [thus named] because there were many [shells] in it. I stopped here five days in order that all the people would have plenty of time to confess, and to spend *Semana Santa*; at which stop some wild horses were caught while looking for some mules that were lost.

[April 11]⁴⁷ I marched in a northerly direction over good ground three leagues until crossing the Sabine River at the Pass of the Reineros, where I remained for one day to wait for the religious that were at Mission de la Punta with soldiers who were escorting them.

[April 13] This day I left this place and marched ten leagues in a northerly direction over a very flat and open ground, without slopes or hills, because here the slopes and hills are lost from sight, until arriving at Pescado Lake for there not having been any water before then.

[April 14–15] I remained here for two days so the horses could regain their strength, for they were in very bad shape and the stopping place was suitable. Here two beautiful wild colts were caught; I took the horses, oxen, and goats ahead the last day because the water was very distant.

[April 16] This day I marched over open ground, with little pasturage and less water, fifteen leagues, crossing the Arroyo de Juanes until arriving at the Arroyo de Amole. I remained here the following day because the horses, oxen, and goats had not arrived.

[April 18] This day I left this place and marched seven leagues in a northerly direction over good ground with pasturage, crossing an arroyo with running water, a distance of two leagues from the Río Grande Presidio.⁴⁸ The captain of said presidio, Sergeant Major Diego Ramón, my father, accompanied by other officials and soldiers, came out to receive us in two lines, and we returned the courtesy by firing our harquebuses;⁴⁹ the Reverend Father Friar Isidro Félix de Espinosa, president of said missions, accompanied by three religious of the same order, came out for the same

⁴⁷ Historia 27 omits the date 186r4 *Este dia*, while Ramón, diary, 392v 19 shows *dia onze*.

⁴⁸ Formally known as the Presidio de San Juan Bautista del Río, this presidio was established in 1702 to provide military protection to the Mission San Juan Bautista. See Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, 53.

⁴⁹ Foik translates "bows and arrows" in all instances in which *arcabuz* occurs in the manuscript, 136, 141, 142.

reason. Passing all the expedition party close to said presidio, I set up camp in some corn stalks adjoining a mission.

[April 19] I remained in this resting place this day in order to secure some provisions and other supplies from said presidio for the trip, and this night news arrived that our Father Friar Antonio Margil de Jesús, seriously ill, was detained at the Arroyo de Juanes, nine leagues distant from this presidio. Although it was after eight o'clock, the Reverend Father, President of said mission and two religious, left for said place and brought said sick father to the presidio.

[April 20] The sergeant of this company asked me for permission to go to the presidio to be the best man for a soldier named Joseph Galindo, who was to marry a girl who joined the expedition party with her parents; I granted permission so that it would foster population growth. For this reason, this day and the twenty-second were spent. I therefore remained in this resting place four days that were used for moving the Father Missionaries' necessary supplies.

[April 25] This day all the religious arrived and everything necessary was gathered; I started my journey, and in this manner [the train] left camp. I started the list of the following people who were going on the trip. First, the very reverend Father Friar Isidro Félix de Espinosa, President; Friar Francisco Hidalgo; Friar Matías Sáenz de San Antonio;⁵⁰ Friar Benito Sánchez; Friar Manuel Castellanos; Friar Pedro de Mendoza; Friar Gabriel Vergara; the Father Friar Javier de Cubillos,⁵¹ religious lay brother, and Friar Domingo, religious *Donado*. The reason that our very reverend Father Friar Antonio Margil de Jesús did not accompany us was because his illness was worsening, and it was with everyone's great sorrow that he remained in said presidio. I, Captain Domingo Ramón; Second Lieutenant, Diego Ramón; Sergeant Diego Ramón; Don Antonio de Espronceda; Francisco de Revillar;⁵² Joseph García;⁵³ Domingo Jiménez; Juan de Sentucha; Nicolás de los Santos Coy; Juan Valdés; Diego Valdés Jiménez; Joseph Galindo; Antonio Flores; Bernardo Prieto;⁵⁴ Domingo Flores; Agustín Téllez; Marcial Sauzedo; Joseph de García,⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Foik names "Fray Matías Sanches de San Antonio," following manuscript Historia 183v15 *Sanches* while Ramón, diary, 393r24 shows *Saez*, 135.

⁵¹ Foik translates "Fray Gabriel Vergara, Fray Gabriel Cubillos," (p. 135), following Historia 27 187v17-18 *Fr<ay> Gabri- l el Vergara, Fr<ay> Gabriel Cubillos*, while Ramón, diary, 393r35-36 shows *Fr<ay> Ga- l briel Bergara, el P<adr>e Fr<ay> Xabier Cubillos*.

⁵² Foik omits two names in this list, showing "I, Captain Domingo Ramón; Chief Ensign Diego Ramón; Francisco de Revillar," (p. 135) and omits the Sergeant Diego Ramón and Don Antonio Espronceda, following Historia 27, 188r2-3, while Ramón, diary, 393v4-6 includes them.

⁵³ Foik "José Guerra," (p. 135) follows Historia 27 188r3 *J<ose>ph Guerra*, while Ramón, diary, 393v6 shows *Joseph Garzia*.

⁵⁴ Foik shows "Bernardo Pruto," (p. 135) following Historia 27 188r6 *Bernardo Pruto* while Ramón, diary, shows 393v8 *Ber<nar>do Prieto*.

⁵⁵ Foik translates "José Guerra," (p. 135) following Historia 27 188r7-8 *J<ose>ph Guerra l el mozo* while Ramón, AGN, PI, shows 393v9 *Joseph Garzia el mozo*.

the servant, Lázaro Chirino; Antonio Cadena; Joseph Cadena; Lorenzo Mercado; Juan de Castro; Manuel Maldonado; Francisco Betancor; y Domingo Gonzalez, all of whom are soldiers of this company. In addition, the following people accompany me: Second Lieutenant Joseph Maldonado with his family; Sergeant Lorenzo García; Pedro Botello with his family; Jacinto Charles; Joseph del Toro; Joseph de la Fuente; Alexandro Morales; Lucas de Castro; married women María Longoria; Antonia de la Cerda; Antonia Vidales; Ana María Jiménez de Valdés; María Antonia Jiménez; Juana de San Miguel; Josefa Sánchez; Ana Guerra, single, to be married; a six year old boy and a four year old girl; Captain Don Luis de San Dionisio [St. Denis], chief convoy; Don Juan de Medar; and Don Pedro Larjen, all three from France;⁵⁶ Joseph García; Joseph de Montemayor Arrieros; Antonio Gonzalez; Sebastián García;⁵⁷ Valentín Mendoza; Blas Jiménez; Joseph Sáenz; Juan Rodríguez; Juan Pérez; Juan Diego; Miguel Pérez;⁵⁸ Cayetano Pérez; Francisco de la Cruz; a black man by the name of Juan de la Concepción; two Indian guides, and three in charge of the goats, all of whom make a total of seventy-five⁵⁹ people.

[April 27] This said day I left the said Río Grande and marched five leagues, three to the northeast and two leagues to the west, until arriving at Diego Ramón's Pass.⁶⁰ At around eight o'clock, a storm of wind and water came to pass so furiously and violently that we were certain that it was excited by infernal furies. Nearly all of our supplies, which were piled on the ground, were blown down. The three tents were under a severe strain, breaking the post of one of them. More than this, was what happened to a post soldier: the wind picked up the horse on which he was riding, and carried them, and everything they had, more than three to four yards. The horses, oxen, and goats stampeded, but God wished that they would all be found.

[April 28] This day I left this post, having advanced the goats and oxen, and I marched five leagues in a northeasterly direction over level country, where for the first time we saw green pasturage. We praised God for the difficult hardships we had with the horses until arriving at the Lion's Cave.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Don Juan de Medar is Medar Jallot, and Don Pedro Larjen is Pierre Largen. Largen was listed as one of the men who accompanied St. Denis' during his trek from Biloxi to San Juan Bautista in 1714. See Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, 101.

⁵⁷ Foik shows "Sebastian Guerra," following Historia 27 188v4-5 *Sebasti-an Guerra* while Ramón, diary, shows 393v24 *Sebastian Garzia*, 135.

⁵⁸ Foik combines these two names to show "Diego Miguel Pérez" (p. 135) following manuscript H 188v6-7 *Juan Peres* | *Diego Miguel Peres*, while Ramón, diary, shows 393v26 *Juan Perez, Juan Diego, Miguel Perez*.

⁵⁹ Foik cites "sixty-five people" (p. 135) following Historia 27 188v10 *sesenta y cinco*, while Ramón, diary, shows 393v29 *setenta y cinco*, 135. The number of expedition party members listed by Ramón add up to seventy-five.

⁶⁰ Foster identifies this as Río Grande crossing in modern Maverick County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁶¹ Foster identifies this as Cueva Creek in modern Maverick County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

Upon arriving, the Frenchman Juan de Medar fell off his horse, because the horse caught its hooves in a hole.

[April 29] This day I marched over low long hills, with good pasturage, where some bad arroyos for the pack mules were present. In one of the arroyos, having passed the goats through a very bad pass, with all of them being on the other side, it happened that we passed more than 100 head to the other side, without knowing to where, and having gone to find to where they had passed, a good pass for the pack mules and horses was found. That night before, it happened that we were short twenty head of horses, and it was because some Pacuache Indians⁶² were found to have them, and they were taking them to their *ranchería*, but Lorenzo García followed their trail for a distance of four leagues and took the horses from them and brought four⁶³ of [the Indians] before me. Not having punished them more than the fear they suffered, I gave them tobacco and warned them through an interpreter that should they do it again, I would have to hang them. This day I traveled seven leagues in a northeasterly direction.

[April 30] This day I marched through well-pastured country, some mesquite brush, and some cacti six leagues in a north-northeasterly direction, until arriving at the Carrizo Post.

[May 1] This day I marched three leagues in an easterly direction over beautiful ground of good pasturage covered with a variety of flowers that gave off a nice fragrance, until arriving at Spring Post.

[May 2] This day I left this place and marched six leagues in an easterly direction over well-pastured, level ground, and we crossed two arroyos, one of them the Caramanchel, and the other, the Arroyo Hondo, until arriving at a river that is called the Nueces.⁶⁴ Here we found very little water and a watering hole so bad that it was necessary that we fix it with hoes. This day I counted all the beasts that came to the watering hole and found 490.

[May 3] This day I remained in this resting place and the day was celebrated by placing a cross, carried in procession. A salute was given with harquebuses.

[May 4] This day I marched three leagues in a southwesterly⁶⁵ direction over level country with plenty of boxwood and open ground. As a result, there were five falls, one [of which involved], he who writes this diary, who

⁶² The Pacuache Indians were associated with an area in Texas southwest of San Antonio. They were most frequently encountered on the Nueces, León, and Frio Rivers. See Thomas N. Campbell, "Pacuache Indians," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, V, 4.

⁶³ Foik omits that four Indians were brought before Ramón, though the information appears in *Historia* 27 189v6-7 *y traxo a mi pre-l sencia quarto de d<ic>hos yndios*.

⁶⁴ This is the modern Nueces River in Zapata County. See Foster, *Spanish Expeditions*, 124.

⁶⁵ The expedition was following a generally northeasterly direction. This and subsequent entries (May 6, 7) from both manuscripts reporting a southwesterly direction are in error. Compare Espinosa's diary entry for this day, Espinosa, *Diario Derrotero*, 406v41 *rumbo de les nordeste*.

was at the point of not writing in it nor in any other thing. All the falls resulted from a Frenchman wanting to be agile, but not being so, with his horse in reaching for a hat from his horse. We arrived at Ranas Lake,⁶⁶ which has many fish and they caught an eel. This day Joseph del Toro ran away, and I sent the Second Lieutenant after him with a *bozal*⁶⁷ and gentile Indian, and they found him up a tree. When the said Second Lieutenant was taking out his harquebus to scare him, the gentile Indian begged him for the love of God not to kill him, which was greatly admired by us.

[May 5] This day I remained in this place because it was necessary that the horses rest and because a soldier who had been asking to marry said Ana Guerra got married. This was celebrated with a salute that his companions gave him.

[May 6] This day I marched five leagues in a southwesterly direction over long low hills in sight of some beautiful canyons with sparse evergreen oaks, a variety of flowers not yet known of a strange fragrance, and among them, a large quantity of oregano, until arriving at the lake, that is called de los Encinos, which is beautiful; and we called it San Juan Bautista.

[May 7] This day I marched in a southwesterly direction four leagues over land similar to that of the previous day, over an open slope, crossing the Frío River⁶⁸ which we found dry, but with much vegetation. We stopped a league from said river at a lake that we named San Lorenzo,⁶⁹ in whose country a very beautiful variety of wood is found. Here they caught four turkeys which satisfied the taste. Here six Indians from the Patague⁷⁰ tribe came because their *rancheria* was nearby.

[May 8] This day I marched four leagues in a northeasterly direction over land with much vegetation, where we found good roads to some lakes that are in a large canyon, which we named San Alexo, two leagues before the Hondo River.⁷¹

[May 9] I remained here the ninth to look for a crossing for said river, and I found a good one without having to go around, being that it was very deep.

[May 10] The train marched four leagues in a northeasterly direction,

⁶⁶ Foster identifies this as Tortuga Creek in modern Zavala County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁶⁷ This term refers to Indians who spoke Spanish.

⁶⁸ Foster identifies this as the Leona River in modern Zavala County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁶⁹ Foster identifies this as a lake located east of Leona crossing in modern Frio County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁷⁰ The Pataguo tribe of Indians were seen by Spanish travelers along the Frío and Nueces rivers between 1690 and 1716. Nothing specific was ever recorded about the Patague culture. Patague, Patan, and Patou are all variant names of the tribe. See Thomas N. Campbell, "Pacuache Indians," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, V, 4.

⁷¹ Foster identifies this as the Frío River in modern Frio County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124). The Frío River has been identified as the stream that Alonso de León called Río Sarcho in 1689. See "Frio River," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, III, 9.

crossing said river, in which there are walnut trees of an extremely large size, without nuts, because they were not in season and there had been a freeze. We found very large grapevines intertwined in the trees, upon which we found some grapes. We found a beautiful lake where an expert religious observed and found that we were at forty-eight degrees and twenty-nine minutes.⁷² We named this place Santa Rita.

[May 11] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction three leagues over some long, low hills and good pasturage and over very picturesque and pleasant ground. We stopped at a canyon at some lakes, because one of the religious was sick. We named this place Santa Isabel, Queen of Hungary.⁷³

[May 12]⁷⁴ This day we marched in said direction three leagues over a downward, open slope of good ground and a lot of pasturage, and a pleasant forest of very thick-topped trees. We arrived at the lake called las Pitás,⁷⁵ which is very large and round, with some fish of which those who enjoy fishing took advantage. On its banks we found a grapevine tree, and out of curiosity, we measured it and it had a circumference of eight feet and one inch. From here we advanced the goats and the oxen because the next day's journey would be long.

[May 13] This day we marched in a northeasterly direction twelve leagues over ground, part of which was a pecan grove, and other variety of trees, loose dirt, and some pasturage, until the Medina River;⁷⁶ some fish were caught. The least expected calamity that had occurred happened, and it was that due to having driven all of the horses into a lake to bathe them, which is customary, because some of the horses had sores [from their saddles], and having entered in said lake, most of the horses lost their footing and slipped and in a steep, straight, slope that said lake has on the south bank, wanting to get out, said horses put their hooves on the back of other horses, which were attempting to get out, and they got stuck and there was such confusion that eighty-three horses drowned. I made a list of their owners in order to pay them from my own pocket, in order to

⁷² Ramón, diary, 395r3-4 wrongly shows *en quarenta y ocho grados y triente y nueve*. Foik states "twenty-eight degrees and thirty-nine minutes," (p. 137) following Historia 27 191v3 *en 28 grados 39*.

⁷³ Foster identifies this as a stopping place "probably on San Miguel Creek" in modern Frio County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁷⁴ Foik omits most of the passage for May 12 and combines it with the entry for May 13, 137-138.

⁷⁵ Foster identifies this as San Miguel tributary in modern Medina County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁷⁶ Foster identifies this as the modern Medina River located in Bexar County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124). The Medina River was named by Alonso de León in 1689 for Pedro Medina, the early Spanish engineer whose navigation tables de León used while mapping his route through the wilderness with an astrolabe. See Peggy Tobin, "Medina River," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 605.

encourage my people, and everyone said that if all the horses had drowned they would still be happy about their blessed enterprise, even if the evil enemy [the Devil] had done this to impede the war that was about to be unleashed upon him. In order to defeat him, the next day a mass was sung in thanks of the gift.

[May 14] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction seven leagues through some mesquite brush with plenty of pasturage, crossing two dry arroyos, and we arrived at a spring on level land which we named San Pedro.⁷⁷ This is sufficient to support a city. We entered a beautiful amenity of walnuts, grapevines, willows, elms, and other variety of trees, more than a quarter of a league from the San Antonio River.⁷⁸ We were able to cross said river, which is large, but not deep, as it reaches our stirrups. We arrived upstream to look for a resting place and we found a good one, because it had a nice camping area with good trees and pasturage. We found the source of the river. Here, with the estimate of twelve ultramarines,⁷⁹ hemp nine feet high and flax two feet high are found. Enough fish were caught for everyone and nets were used in said river with ease.

[May 15] This day was passed in this place because it was good and is necessary for the horses to regain their strength, and in order to celebrate the day of San Isidro, which we did.

[May 16] This day I marched two leagues in a northeasterly direction, over some hills with good pasturage and mesquite trees. We crossed the Arroyo Salado,⁸⁰ although it is not salty. On its banks we found some grapes that appear to have been put there on purpose,⁸¹ and we stopped on its banks.

[May 17] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction five leagues over some low, long hills with mesquite trees, water in abundance, and green grass, until arriving at an arroyo⁸² of a large lake that we named San Javier.⁸³

⁷⁷ According to Joachim McGraw, John W. Clark Jr., and Elizabeth A. Robbins in *A Texas Legacy: The Old San Antonio Road and the Camino Reales, A Tricentennial History, 1691-1991* (Austin: Texas Department of Transportation, 1991), this is the spring "near which the presidio and settlement of San Antonio de Béjar would eventually develop" (*A Texas Legacy*, 89).

⁷⁸ The San Antonio River has been identified as one of the rivers crossed by Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1535, and as the stream called *Arroyo de León* by Alonso de León in 1689. The river was named for San Antonio de Padua on June 13, 1691, by Domingo Terán de los Ríos. See Frances Donecker, "San Antonio River," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, V, 810.

⁷⁹ This refers to individuals who were from Spain. The *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* defines the term "ultramarino" as "que está o se considera del otro lado o a la otra parte del mar."

⁸⁰ Foster identifies this as Salado Creek in modern Bexar County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁸¹ Foik omits the information about grapes, 138.

⁸² Foster identifies this as Cibolo Creek in modern Bexar County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁸³ Espinosa reports that from here, Captain Don Luis de St. Denis went ahead with Don Juan de Medar, a Frenchman, and an Indian guide to look for the Tejas Indians to come to meet the expedition party. Espinosa, *Diario Derrotero*, 407v43-44.

[May 18] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction over low, long hills with good pasturage, sparse oaks, evergreen oaks, and walnut trees, and we were able to cross the Guadalupe River⁸⁴ which has two arroyos, which is the most beautiful river than can be imagined, because from the pass to its source it is not greater than a harquebus's shot. It is so deep that it almost can't be crossed without swimming, the pass being very wide; its water is without equal because on its banks and at its head were found many maiden hair fern, mulberries with leaves like the fig tree, and grapes. The river bottom's rocks are transparent without any bitumen, which proves its healthfulness; it is very cold.

[May 19] This day we walked to the northeast one league to another river that up to this point we thought was an arm of the Guadalupe, but as we realized it was not, we named it San Ivon.⁸⁵ In both rivers many fish were caught.

[May 20] I left this post and marched in a northeasterly direction ten⁸⁶ leagues over good ground with many walnuts, grapevines, and evergreen oaks trees and good pasturage, crossing the San Marcos River,⁸⁷ which is very large with good water, and very cool; we stopped at an arroyo which we named San Rafael.⁸⁸ On the other side, we found two springs which we named San Isidro and San Pedro de Nugal.

[May 21] We remained in this stopping place in order to celebrate the Day of the Ascension to Heaven of Our Lord Christ; a turkey was caught.

[May 22] This day I marched nine leagues in a northeasterly direction to an arroyo with streams of plentiful water through some low, long hills, sparse woods, and deep boxwood with openings in the ground at its banks, many grapevine, walnut, hemp, and other variety of trees.

[May 23–24] This day I marched three leagues to the northeast over hills, level ground, and canyons, with plenty of water, and good pasturage

⁸⁴ Foster identifies this as the Comal River in modern Comal County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁸⁵ Foster identifies this as the Guadalupe River in modern Comal County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124). The name Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, or Guadalupe, has been applied to the present-day river since 1689, when the stream was so named by Alonso de León. Domingo Terán de los Ríos, who maintained a colony on the river from 1691 to 1693, renamed it *San Agustín*, but the name Guadalupe continued to be used. See Vivian Elizabeth Smyrl, "Guadalupe River," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, III, 365–366.

⁸⁶ Foik states "fifteen," 139.

⁸⁷ In 1689 members of Alonso de León's expedition gave the name San Marcos to the first considerable river east of the Guadalupe, which scholars now believe to have been either the Colorado River or the Navidad River. Later Spanish explorers applied the name San Marcos to the first considerable river beyond the Guadalupe to the north and west, the present San Marcos River. The name San Marcos was applied to the river used by Fray Espinosa and Fray Olivares in 1708. See Vivian Elizabeth Smyrl, "San Marcos River," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, V, 869.

⁸⁸ Foster identifies this as the Blanco River in modern Hays County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

and we arrived at the Colorado River,⁸⁹ which we found very swollen. Although we encountered it four leagues upstream, a pass was not found there. We stopped and that night there was a thunder and lightning storm where the river comes from; for this reason, we thought the river would be even more swollen the following day. It was not so because God willed it better, said river receding more than a foot and a half. The religious and women, somewhat frightened, crossed the river. Father Friar Manuel Castellanos, on account of his horse having gone out of the shallow water, and a soldier named Marcial Saucedo, on account of his horse getting stuck in the mud, were especially frightened when crossing the river. Litanies were sung, as is customary upon passing rivers. The entire day was spent passing cargo.

[May 25] This day, with happiness, the goats crossed the river swimming; the river being more than a harquebuses's shot wide in two arms.

[May 26] I remained at this place in order to find and explore the road, due to it being unknown from here on out, which I did, dispatching the Second Lieutenant and two companions, and for this reason I left the following day.

[May 27] This day I marched three leagues to the south-southeast, four to the northeast, over ground with good pasturage, although open and rugged, and it was with hard work that the horses traveled. There a buffalo was killed, which was the first, and it was mature, but it pleased all of us for the fine taste of the meat and the great quantity of it. The animal is at first sight beautiful, but on closer observation it is ugly. It is larger than an ox, the hooves are similar; the horns, although they are very black, are shorter and curved. The whole neck up to the forehead is ill shaped, and it has long hair that obstructs its view; for this reason, it runs against the wind. It smells very bad and doesn't hear well, and sees less on account of its aforementioned hair. The tail is like a pig's, and it grunts like a pig. It runs very fast, and the horse must be very quick to catch it. It has the meat of two oxen, and it is very good and wholesome. We arrived at an arroyo that we named San Nicolas.

[May 28] This day we marched in a northeasterly direction six leagues over rugged terrain to an arroyo we named Las Animas.⁹⁰ The terrain has

⁸⁹ Foster identifies this as the modern Colorado River in Travis County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124). The Colorado River has been identified as the stream Juan Domínguez de Mendoza and Fray Nicolás López called *San Clemente* in 1684, and as the one René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, named the La Sabonnière ("Sand-pit") in 1687. The name Colorado was first applied by Alonso de León in 1690, not to the present stream but to the Brazos, and there is considerable evidence to support the theory that the names of the two streams were interchanged during the period of Spanish exploration. The present names, however, were well established before the end of Spanish Texas. See Comer Clay and Diana J. Kleiner, "Colorado River," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, II, 228. See also Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, II, 673.

⁹⁰ According to McGraw, et al., Las Animas is now known as Brushy Creek (*A Texas Legacy*, 89).

bad holes due to dryness, which is strange for an open and level country with continuous showers and green grass. There four buffalos were killed, which provided an abundance for all the people.

[*May 29*] I remained in this stopping place in order to explore the area, which was done because with the passing of time, watering places change; some dry up and others appear. The brush grows and some dry up with the heat.

[*May 30*] This day I marched three leagues to the northeast over hills and canyons with some boxwood, abundant water, and some woods, where we found a fresh trail of five Indians, which I ordered be followed. They caught up with them four leagues from the stopping place, and then, brought two of them before me. One of them was from the Irbiame Nation⁹¹ and the other was Mescal.⁹² They told me that their *ranchería* was close by and that they would serve as guides for me, which they did.

[*May 31*] This day I marched five leagues to the northeast through some boxwood, but with pastured ground and plenty of water, and I stopped at an arroyo that we named San Diego de Árcala.⁹³ This afternoon a considerable shower fell, and the same happened at night, but the rain was much needed and because of this, we were able to continue our journey.

[*June 1*] This day I left this place and marched two leagues in a southeasterly direction, crossing two dry arroyos, some boxwood, but with good pasturage, and some woods not difficult to penetrate, and we arrived at a river that we named San Javier,⁹⁴ where some fish were caught (although buffalo was preferred).

[*June 2*] This day I remained in this stopping place for it being such a great day and to celebrate it, which was done with a High Mass and salute.

[*June 3*] This day I marched five leagues to the northeast on which road various turkeys were found, having been scared out of the safety of the

⁹¹ The Ervipiame (Hivipane, Cibipane, Hierbipiane, Huvipane, Hyerbipiame, Yerbipiame, Yrbipia) Indians were first known in 1673 at which time they lived in northeastern Coahuila. In 1675 they were encountered by the Bosque-Larios expedition north of the Río Grande in the southwest part of the Edwards Plateau. In 1689 some Ervipiames were in the mission of northeastern Coahuila. It was not until 1707 that this tribe appeared in central Texas and became the dominant group in the *Ranchería Grande de los Ervipiames*. See Thomas N. Campbell, "Ervipiame Indians," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, II, 886.

⁹² In the late seventeenth century, when first mentioned in documents, the Mescal (Mescate, Mexcal, Mezcal, Miscal, Mixcal) Indians ranged from the Río Sabinas of northeastern Coahuila across the Río Grande at least as far as the southern margin of the Edwards Plateau in Texas. North of the Río Grande they were often encountered along the Nueces and Frío rivers. See Thomas N. Campbell, "Mescal Indians," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 640.

⁹³ Foster identifies this as a tributary of Brushy Creek in modern Williamson County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

⁹⁴ Foster identifies this as the San Gabriel River in modern Milam County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 124).

woods by gunfire. We crossed an arroyo and some woods, which were difficult for the pack train to cross. We arrived at Camp Santo Domingo where an Indian caught an alligator that came out of the water within his reach, and he waited for it, and he killed it. This afternoon, I dispatched three Indians to look for buffalo, and without my seeing them, and without my order, another Indian, an interpreter, and Miguel Pérez, mule driver, both servants of the Fathers, also left. The three Indians returned, but the last two named did not because they got lost, and this afternoon, having looked for them, they did not appear.

[June 4–5]⁹⁵ These two days I remained here during which I personally, and half of the Indians and company, searched, but the lost [men] did not appear. The Fathers held masses and public prayers.

[June 6] This day I marched through a dense, inaccessible, wooded area with evergreen oaks, and oak trees so thick that on horseback we were unable to travel without first getting down with axes and knives, which we did. Two knives were lost and we traveled with great effort seven leagues. We arrived late to an open spot with water and pasturage that God put for resting after such a difficult journey. Here the ultramarine religious saw a live buffalo up close, which was the first one that could not be killed.

[June 7] This day I marched three leagues in no particular direction for the same reason. Along the road, a large portion of wild grapes were picked, for there are many; we arrived at a small open place, next to a laguna which we named San Juan Bautista.⁹⁶ From here I left with an Indian who knew the country to see where the woods ended. At a distance of a harquebus's shot from the flat land, said Indian told me that he was bewildered and did not know where he was. Following the course, I found the clearing, for which we gave thanks to God, for having been deluded for three days.

[June 10]⁹⁷ This day we left this place and marched in a south-south-easterly direction three leagues, part of which was woods, like the previous place; on the road we found a quantity of wild grapes. We came to a stop at a plain [at] the back of which we found some very beautiful springs that were fresh and shallow.⁹⁸ This day a horse loaded with supplies ran off from a soldier. Three soldiers went after it with the Second Lieutenant, discovering that the soldier, who always had the lost horse in sight, had also been lost.

⁹⁵ Foik states "June 5–6," 141.

⁹⁶ Foster identifies this as an unknown creek in modern Bureson County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 125).

⁹⁷ Foik mislabels the entry for June 9, and separates the entries for June 10 and 11, which should be combined into the entry for June 10, 141–142.

⁹⁸ Foik states "containing many fish," (p. 142) which does not follow *Historia* 27 196v12–13 *unos ojos de agua su- l mamente hermosa de fresca y delgada*.

[June 11] This day I remained here, because the resting place was good to celebrate the *Día de Corpus*, which we named this place. In the afternoon the soldiers came with the lost horse.⁹⁹ The expressed day was celebrated as best as it could be, with a salute; everyone confessed and received Holy Communion.

[June 12–13] This day I marched eight leagues in a southeasterly direction and a half league to the north over good terrain, crossing two arroyos with water, and one without, and at the bank of the last one, more than forty Indians of various nations came out to receive us. Among them were four captains. One of them, the leader from the Ervipiame tribe knew me from having done us some wrong many years previous. They were happy and served as our guide to their *ranchería*¹⁰⁰ where they had a hut to stay; some were on horseback, others were on foot. I put my camp one *harquebus's* shot from said *ranchería*. I stayed a few hours in said hut where there were more than 2,000 souls (of men, women, and children) most of them gentiles and very many apostates. We were very sorry to find among them so many lost souls. The Indians asked me to remain here the thirteenth in order to have time to trade their skins, buffalo hides, chamois skins, and other things that they had with my people. To all I legalized this trade with said Indians so that they would not have a bad concept of the Spaniards, and they did this with much pleasure.

[June 14] This day I marched three leagues in a northeasterly direction through some canyons and arroyos with water encircled by woods until arriving at the Trinity River¹⁰¹ [as] they call [it]. On account of finding it swollen, it was unable to be crossed this day, but more than sixty Indians passed the goats one by one. For this, an ox and two goats were killed for them.

[June 15] This day I passed said river, taking the mules one by one, and everything was passed with happiness—the water, arriving chest high, of which many people were afraid. Next we crossed another [river] that the Indians told us was the Trinity,¹⁰² for it was the name the Spaniards gave it when they came the first time. The river is very boggy. It is wide and the water comes up to the saddle tree of the horses, which made it necessary to pass all the cargo with rafts, which was done this afternoon with great happiness by the Indians. They were slowed down a bit by an alligator that

⁹⁹ Foik omits this entry (p. 142), following *Historia* 27 196v18, while Ramón, diary, 397r31 shows *Por la tarde binieron los soldados con el caballo perdido*.

¹⁰⁰ Foster identifies this as a large Indian village in modern Burleson County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 125).

¹⁰¹ Foster identifies this as the Brazos River in modern Burleson County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 118, 125).

¹⁰² Foster identifies this as the Brazos River in modern Brazos County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 118, 125).

was close by, waiting to swallow one of them, which they customarily do, of which the Indians are grossly afraid. For them I removed this danger by shooting the alligator in an eye, which is the only place where the bullet can enter. The Indians remained frightened upon seeing this great act. This afternoon, the two lost men arrived in my presence at Camp Santo Domingo, saying that they had gone into a horrifying forest and that during twelve days they were unable to get out. In the forest they found cattle from Castile that the Spaniards had lost the first time they came, from which they killed a very fat cow that sustained them, and some turkeys. At the end of those days they found our trail and they followed it until they located us at the river.

[*June 16*] This day I marched in a north-northeasterly direction four leagues over open ground with sparse woods in which were found some grapevines with large grapes, oregano, flax, and hemp, and we stopped at an open area next to an old *ranchería* from which point I dispatched six men to kill buffalo, and they killed six head and two hogs, which they brought to the camp, with which we had a celebration for their being very brave.

[*June 17*] This day I remained in this stopping place on account of the Second Lieutenant's horse running off, and our not being able to locate it the night before due to darkness. It appeared without missing any items from those that it carried off. Everyone was amused by this.

[*June 18*] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction five leagues over land famous for its good pasturage, multitude of walnut and grapevine trees, and other leafy trees, crossing a small river with running water. In the middle of the road four Tejas Indians, with two women, who were out killing buffalo, came out to receive us, and the pleasure and happiness with which they received us was inexpressible, throwing their arms around us, which is characteristic of gentiles. The women did the same. Luckily it seems that they had communicated much with us, given the manner in which they treated us, especially when we told them that we were going to live in their lands. They accompanied us to a river that we named Corpus Christi,¹⁰³ on account of having arrived there the last day of His Octave.

[*June 19*] This day I marched, accompanied by said Tejas Indians, who I entertained as much as I could, in a northeasterly direction six leagues through sparse woods of evergreen oaks, oaks, walnut trees, and grapevine with many grapes and pasturage, crossing two arroyos with water, and one which had it in abundance. We arrived at a laguna, which we named de los Lampasos, because it has many [water lilies], and at San Christobal Camp on the edge of a large open area close to hills.

¹⁰³ Foster identifies this as Cedar Creek in modern Brazos County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 125).

[June 20] This day we marched in a northeasterly direction four leagues and to the east five leagues through some hills and open land with good pasturage, sparse woods and some dry arroyos, and we arrived at a small *ranchería* where there were seven Tejas people who received us with special pleasure and demonstrated it by giving us green corn and watermelons. This was the first time we saw corn in the province.

[June 21] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction five leagues over an open terrain with woods of walnut trees, grapevines, evergreen oaks, pine trees, and oaks; on the road we caught more than fourteen turkeys, having come out in a good spot to run them.¹⁰⁴ We stopped at a small arroyo that we named Santa Clara.¹⁰⁵

[June 22] Said day we marched in a northeasterly direction ten leagues over good terrain although there was no water, with many grapevines, walnuts, oaks and other timbers which make up the sparse woods. On this road we were very thirsty and we came to stop at the bank of a very swollen river, which the Indians told us was also the Trinity;¹⁰⁶ it is the case that this one and the previous one are one in the same at a great distance from this place, having passed them together General Alonso de León,¹⁰⁷ and we crossed two dry arroyos.

[June 23] This day at approximately one and one half leagues we found a beautiful laguna with fish and its banks were very nice for there were many kinds of trees on them. Close by, we arrived at a river with nice water, although the pass isn't very good, and right after passing said river, we found a valley of such heavy pasturage that the horses were unable to walk. The edges of said valley are made up of a variety of trees such as

¹⁰⁴ Foik omits the information about how the turkeys were caught, (p. 144), as Historia 27 reports 199r22 *comerlos*, while the original manuscript shows, 398v15–16 *correr- l los*.

¹⁰⁵ Foster identifies this as being near Boggy Creek in modern Leon County (*Spanish Expeditions*, 125).

¹⁰⁶ Foster identifies the Río San Juan Bautista as the Trinity River for this entry, utilizing information provided in the Espinosa diary (*Spanish Expeditions*, 125). The Ramón and Espinosa diary entries do not correspond, however, as Ramón calls the river San Fernando, and Espinosa calls an arroyo San Fernando, and later names Río San Juan Bautista, which Ramón never mentions. See note 31 and the conclusion for a discussion of the discrepancies between the Ramón and Espinosa original diaries. The Trinity has been identified as the stream that the Caddo Indians (see notes 109, 110, 115 below) called Arkikosa in Central Texas and Daycoa nearer the coast, as well as the one that René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, in 1687 called River of the Canoes. The name Trinity (*La Santísima Trinidad*) was evidently first applied to the present stream by Alonso de León in 1690. Domingo Téran de los Ríos in 1691 called the same stream *Encarnación de Verbo*. The Marqués de Aguayo and other later explorers used the name Trinity consistently. See Wayne Gard, "Trinity River," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, VI, 570.

¹⁰⁷ The Spanish explorer and governor of Coahuila, Alonso de León (ca. 1639–1691), was born in Cadereyta, Nuevo León, in 1639 or 1640. From the 1660s to the 1680s he led a series of *entradas* that traversed the northeast coast of New Spain as well as the banks of the Río de San Juan. In all, he led four expeditions between 1686 and 1689. In 1690 he and Damián Massanet cooperated in founding the first Spanish mission in East Texas, San Francisco de los Tejas. De León is credited with being an early advocate for the establishment of missions along the frontier, and he blazed much of the Old San Antonio Road on his expeditions. See Donald E. Chipman, "Alonso de León," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, II, 570.

cedars, willows, poplars, oaks, and evergreen oaks, and many more, and among these some pines that can serve as wood for boat making. Not very far from here we found a great lake, equally as beautiful as the previous one, next to a river which passes level with the ground, although it is not very deep. With the approval of all the religious we named the previously mentioned river San Fernando, the valley Linares, and the laguna San Luis.

[*June 23*] This day was spent fixing the pass of said river, as much in the exit as in the entry point, which was done quickly because of many people, and after crossing said river, at a distance of one league, we found an arroyo, which was necessary to build a bridge to cross it. This afternoon, on account of it being its eve, harquebuses were fired for it was the eve of the day of glorious San Juan.

[*June 24*] We continued the celebration and we celebrated the day in which everyone took part.

[*June 25*] This day I remained here in order to wait for one of my sons who I dispatched with Don Luis de St. Denis, Chief Conductor, and said son arrived this afternoon with a Tejas Indian with the news that all the Indians from his nation were getting together to come out to meet us on the road, and [also] in order to cross some goats, which we did this day.

[*June 26*] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction four leagues over pleasant terrain with some lowlands and canyons with a lot of water, many pine trees, and other not very thick woods for building [of supplies]. This afternoon Captain Luis de St. Denis, who is accepted among these people because he knows a little about their language, came to me accompanied by more than twenty-five Indians, most of them captains. I ordered that some material be extended so they could sit down. Before arriving at my said camp, at about the distance of a harquebus shot, they dismounted from their horses, for they were on horseback, and they got into single file, and at the head of it ([with] Don Luis among said Indians) came nine harquebuses, all of French make. I ordered my soldiers to line up in a single file, accompanied by all the religious with a banner of holy Christ and Our Lady of Guadalupe. This function was performed with much gunfire from many harquebuses shots. The said Indians seated themselves on the material and all of them hugged me with special exhilaration and happiness. Next, they took out a large pipe, which is the one used solely for peace, and they took out some of their tobacco, of which they have plenty. They lit it in the bowl of the pipe. The captains smoked first, and in this manner, the first puff of smoke towards the heaven, the second puff to the east, the third puff to the west, the fourth to the north, the fifth to the south, the sixth to the earth; these demonstrations are those of true peace. The bowl of the pipe has many white feathers, which

decorate the stem from one end to the other, being more than a yard long. Then they gave me the pipe to smoke, making the same demonstration of peace, and in succession they gave it to all of the people, even to the women. Next all of the captains took out tobacco from some sacks that they had, and in the middle, they made a pile of said tobacco, from which I was to take some, which I did. I offered some of my tobacco to be given to them. I also ordered that a small bull be killed so that everyone might eat. This ceremony was performed happily because these people are a smiling, happy, and agreeable people, especially with the Spaniards, as it seems they had communicated much with us.

[June 27] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction four leagues over ground with plenty of water and very plentiful with everything; for the many grapevines, walnuts, and other variety of trees. We stopped with said Indians at an arroyo with running water, accompanied by said Indians.

[June 28] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction five leagues over hills with a wooded area of evergreen oaks, oaks, pines, walnuts, and grapevines from which we gathered grapes as large as pigeon eggs, with a lot of water, and we arrived at a large open area where there are two lagunas with fish. Around the banks of these lagunas runs a river with plenty of water. This afternoon, more than 150 Indians, many of them captains, came into my presence, and at about a league before arriving, Don Luis de St. Denis went out to meet them. All the Indians appeared and they organized themselves in three lines, the one in the middle with captains, and among them some shotguns. They were approaching, and I went out to meet them, having ordered my soldiers to get out in two lines to meet them, and myself in the middle of them accompanied by the religious, I went with the described banner, to which Don Luis got on his knees and adored it. He hugged me, and successively all of the religious; to this followed all the Indian captains and other people. More than an hour was spent on this function, during which shots were fired all around, on account of my having given said Indians some gunpowder; and singing *Te Deum Laudamus*,¹⁰⁸ we went to the camp where they sat on some blankets. Later, many female Indians came with green corn, watermelons, cantaloupes, and tamales of their variety, which they placed in a pile so that I could eat and partake of these foods. I ordered that they be given 100 yards of sackcloth, forty blankets, thirty hats, [and] twelve packages of tobacco, all of which was

¹⁰⁸ The *Te Deum Laudamus* is a hymn the church used to give thanks to God for some blessing. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (19th ed.; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1970) 1248.

placed in a pile for them to divide among themselves, which they did with such a rare circumstance with the allotment of the sackcloth. The persons distributing the goods did not have any for themselves. Two or three more provincial captains also were left without any, and they remained as happy as if they had received all the goods themselves. They have a natural liking of Spanish goods, especially to blue things. All of the Indians having convened, I informed them through an interpreter, getting them to understand that the purposes of our coming to their country was the salvation of their souls, the knowledge of our Holy law, and that they should recognize in worldly matters, as their absolute and only master, our King, and natural master, (may God keep him), Don Philip the Fifth, who sends them these gifts as a sign of his love, through His Excellency, the Duke of Linares, Viceroy of New Spain, under whose orders I have come. I also told them that it was necessary for their good political government that they elect among themselves a captain general, which should be done at their discretion. They spent some time talking and later, a young man came out, the son of first captain, whom the Spaniards chose because they always chose the youngest in order that the government may last longer. They said that they wanted him for their captain general, to whom, in the name of His Majesty, I turned over my cane and approved said election; to him I gave one of my very good jackets, which made everyone very happy and content.

[*June 29*] I remained in this place in order to celebrate St. Peter's day, which was done, as well as could be, and in order to wait for more people that were going to arrive, as they arrived that afternoon, the Indians from the Nasoni¹⁰⁹ and Nacogdoches¹¹⁰ nations. They made the same demonstrations of peace. This night, somewhat removed, they made great demonstrations of pleasure with tambourines and drums.

[*June 30*] This day I marched in a northeasterly direction four leagues, over land famous for its abundance of watering holes, valleys, good woods of walnuts and grapevines, with many pine trees, and I came to stop at the foot of a large open area; at the edges of it there was a spring of good cold water and good pasturage, and watering holes around it. This afternoon,

¹⁰⁹ The Nasoni (Assony, Nasouim, Nassonite, Nisohone, Nazone) Indians, a Caddoan tribe of northeastern Texas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were divided into two parts: the Upper Nasoni and the Lower Nasoni. The Lower Nasoni Indians were among the southwestern or Hasinai group of Caddoan tribes and lived in the vicinity of present Rusk County. See Thomas N. Campbell, "Nasoni Indians," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 938–939.

¹¹⁰ The Nacogdoche (Nacadocheeto, Nacodissy, Nacodochito, Nagodoche, Nasahossoz, Naugdoche, Nocodosh) Indians, a Caddoan tribe of the Hasinai group in East Texas lived in the vicinity of present Nacogdoches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1716 Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches Mission was established in the principal Nacogdoche settlement and was intermittently maintained until 1773. See Thomas N. Campbell, "Nacogdoche Indians," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 923.

accompanied by the religious, I set out to look for a place to found the first mission, accompanied by the first captain of the Indians and some others, and we found a spot, which was decided upon by the Indians, and was to the liking of the President Father, upon whose decision we did not return to said camp.¹¹¹

[July 1–2] These two days were spent making me a very comfortable hut, which was done by all the Indians, who are very able and dedicated to this work; They spent nine hours, as much for their hard work as for the abundance of timbers which I recognized, in all this province, which I know.¹¹²

[July 3] Up to today, during the course of the journey, more than 300 High and Low Masses have been given in all the resting places, and more than thirty speeches and sermons, having put on the road more than ten giant crosses and celebrating the festive and holy days.¹¹³ This day was spent in the first founding of the mission of San Francisco,¹¹⁴ in the town of the Neches,¹¹⁵ where I named a chaplain and gave possession to said religious in the name of His Majesty. Until the fifth was spent making the hut, and the following day, as well.

[July 7] Day seven, I arrived at Concepción, having traveled nine leagues over peaceful land for the abundance of water, pasturage, beautiful sparse pine trees, and other trees with many grapevines with many wild grapes, crossing a somewhat high river, in a northeasterly direction, until arriving at the town of the Hasinai, where there are an infinity of *rancherías* with corn stalks, watermelons, beans, cantaloupes, tobacco, and a buffcolored flower, of which they eat a lot, but we do not know the name.

¹¹¹ Foik states “we then returned to oar [*sic*] camp,” 146.

¹¹² Foik translates, “They completed the abode in nine working days due to the abundance of timber in this province,” (p. 147) relying on Historia 27, which states 203v *en esta provincia*, while Ramón, diary 401r1–2 provides additional information, *en todo lo que esta prou<inci>a tengo l reconozido*.

¹¹³ Foik omits this information, (p. 147) as does Historia 27 203v16 *omits*, while Ramón, diary , 401r3–7 reveals *Asta el dia de oi se dijeron en todo el trancurso del tiempo del l camino mas de trescientas misas cantadas [^y rezadas] en todos los para- l jes y mas de treinta platicas y sermones abiendo puesto l en el camino mas de diez cruzas grandes y zelebrando l los dias festivos y solemnes*.

¹¹⁴ Originally established by Alonso de León in 1690 as San Francisco de los Tejas Mission, the Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Tejas Mission was located near the west bank of the Neches River in what is now Houston County. It was given the longer name when established by Ramón on this expedition and was located in what is now Leon County, near the town of Augusta (see McGraw, et al., *A Texas Legacy*, 284. Fray Hidalgo and Fray Espinosa were placed in charge. In 1719, the mission was again abandoned. It was reestablished in 1721 by the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, who moved it to a new location and renamed it San Francisco de los Neches. See “Nuestro Padre de San Francisco de los Tejas Mission,” in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 1073–1074.

¹¹⁵ The Neche (Nacha, Naesha, Nascha, Nesta, Nouista) Indians, one of the Caddoan-speaking tribes of the Hasinai confederation, lived along the Neches River in the area of present Cherokee and Houston counties during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Neches River received its name from the tribe. See Thomas N. Campbell, “Neché Indians,” in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, IV, 965.

I gave possession to said religious; I named a chaplain, and I did everything else necessary. The Indians dedicated themselves to the same activity of building a dwelling place and church.¹¹⁶ I left on the seventh and arrived on the eighth at the town of the Nacogdoches, having traveled nine leagues in a southeasterly direction, over very fertile ground, with watering holes, pasturage, thickets of pines, evergreen oaks, and many grapevines, and it was very hot. I named a chaplain; a church and a dwelling place were built.¹¹⁷

[July 9] I was in this place tending to what needed to be tended to.

[July 10] This day I left this mission, which was founded twenty-three leagues east of where the first was founded by the Spanish, and I spent this day at the Mission of the Nasonis, having traveled ten leagues to the west, over land equally as fertile as that previously mentioned, and very populated by said Indians, among whom we were very much entertained with what they have. On the eleventh, the first steps were taken in constructing the church and dwelling place, and I proceeded to name a chaplain.¹¹⁸ All of the people described are alike; kind, generous, and happy to teach their language. Especially happy are those of this mission, with whose dedication things that needed to be done were finished, founding four missions, as Your Excellency ordered me. Those tasks were completed, and I returned to my presidio, pleased to see the happiness with which the fathers were received, and with which the Indians received us. Although it was with some work, only I returned to my camp, on account of the horses, [and] because my companions and the livestock [were] tired out, and I signed it:

Domíngo Ramón {rubric}

This annotated English translation of the Ramón diary is the first one based on the original diary manuscript. Notes are included that document substantive differences between this translation and the one provided by Paul Foik. Current research is underway to provide an annotated translation of the Espinosa diary from this expedition, as research by this author has shown that both existing English translations of the Espinosa

¹¹⁷ Ramón does not provide the name of the third mission in his diary. Espinosa, *Diario Derrotero*, 411v17–18 reports *Mission de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Sacatecas*. This mission was established near present Nacogdoches. See McGraw, et al., *A Texas Legacy*, 89. For a study on the location of the missions founded on this expedition, see Robert B. Blake, "Location of the Spanish Missions and Presidios in Nacogdoches County," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 41 (Jan., 1938) 212–224.

¹¹⁸ "San José de los Nasonis Mission" was founded among the Nasoni Indians on a branch of the Shawnee Creek in what became northwestern Nacogdoches County. Ramón put Espinosa in charge of the mission, who appointed Fray Benito Sánchez its first minister. See Winifred W. Vigness, "San Jose de los Nazonis Mission," in Tyler, et al. (eds.), *The New Handbook of Texas*, V, 861.

diary are also problematic.¹¹⁹ There are many instances in which the information presented in the Ramón and Espinosa diaries is conflicting, and a new narrative summary based on original diary manuscripts, rather than on faulty English translations of them, will shed light on these discrepancies and will help us better understand the location and progress of the expedition party during its trek to modern East Texas.

¹¹⁹ The Tous English translation of Espinosa's 1716 diary suffers from many errors, such as the misnaming of expedition party members, omissions, and mistranslations. Gabriel Tous, "Ramón expedition: Espinosa's diary of 1716," *Preparing the Way* (Austin: Texas Catholic Historical Society, 1999), 330–361. Reprint of *Mid-America* 12 (4): 228–361, 1930. The more recent English translation, provided by Hadley, et al., also contains many errors resulting from the use of a faulty microfilm copy of the source document in which the right margins of all verso folios were illegible or cut off. Hadley et al., "Espinosa's Diary."