

Karankawa headman José Maria led a band that allegedly attacked a stranded Spanish ship in Matagorda Bay. According to Spanish reports, they plundered the ship and murdered the captain, Louis Landrin, his twelve-year-old son, and all of the crew, except for one man of Indian descent from the Yucatan. The Landrin incident incited the fury of the Spaniards. As a result, the Spanish Indian agent and commandant at Natchitoches, Athanase de Mézèires, proposed an elaborate plan for a war of extermination and removal aimed at the Karankawas to Governor Croix in October, 1779.<sup>28</sup>

The Spanish authorities in San Antonio failed to carry out their plans because of a lack of funds for such a campaign and the need to use their limited military resources to protect San Antonio from the Lipans. However, hostilities prevailed between the Karankawas and the Spaniards for the next decade. During that time, the few Karankawas in the missions fled to their villages on the coast. By 1790, José Maria had died after a late conversion to Christianity, and the Lipan attacks had reached the Karankawas on the central coast. As a result, the Karankawas were ready to turn to the Spanish for help.<sup>29</sup>

The José Maria years marked an important turning point for the Karankawas of the central coast. First, a leader emerged that united elements of the heretofore autonomous divisions of the Karankawas. As a result, the Karankawas became a more cohesive political unit. Second, José Maria began a tradition of powerful and possibly hereditary band leaders that continued through the Anglo-Texan conquest. Third, the Karankawas, despite continued resistance and hostilities, came to look upon the Spanish, and later the Mexican, authorities at La Bahía as a source of protection when confronted with powerful outsiders. Fourth, the Karankawas became part of the larger pattern of smuggling, salvaging, and piracy that dominated the economy of coastal Texas during Spanish rule. Finally, as we shall see later, the European construction of the Karankawas as vicious cannibals came to dominate European thinking about Karankawas.

During the last fifteen years of Spanish rule, some Karankawas continued to use the mission established for them on an occasional basis as a part of their subsistence activities, but intensifying Comanche raids discouraged the Karankawas from using the mission. The priests and the Karankawas abandoned Mission Refugio in 1824 for the safety of La Bahía. At the time the Mexican government's order of secularization was executed on February 8, 1830, twelve Karankawas with their chief and eight Cocos remained attached to the mission.<sup>30</sup>

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by farming and stock raising and had adopted the dress and many of the customs of their Tejano neighbors. They considered themselves superior to their "savage" Lipan, Karankawa, and Tonkawa neighbors. The Aranamas apparently accompanied the Tejano residents of Goliad to the Rio Grande when they abandoned the town in the aftermath of the Texas Revolution. See Jean Louis Berlandier, *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, p. 165; James Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas*, p. 336. Compare to Beth White, *Goliad Remembered, 1836-1940*, pp. 2-3; Kathleen Gilmore, "The Indians of Mission Rosario: From the Books and from the Ground," *Columbian Consequences, Volume 1*, p. 224. See William H. Oberste, *History of Refugio Mission*.

28. Herbert E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, pp. 298-302.

29. Ibid., pp. 104, 111, 298-302.

30. See Ricklis, *Karankawa Indians*, pp. 159-66. Compare to Faulk, "Comanche Invasion"; Oberste, *History of Refugio Mission*, p. 342.

31. Aten, *Indians of the Upper Texas Coast*, pp. 84-85.

32. Ricklis, *Karankawa Indians*, p. 156; Robert Arthur Ricklis, *Aboriginal Life and Culture on the Upper Texas Coast: Archaeology at the Mitchell Ridge Site, 41GV66, Galveston Island*.

33. Jose Antonio Pichardo, *Pichardo's Treatises on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, Volume I*, pp. 393-96; Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières*, pp. 18-19, 165; John Sibley, "Historical Sketches of Several Indian Tribes in Louisiana South of the Arkansas River and River Grand," *Travels in the Interior Parts of America Communicating Discoveries Made in Exploring the Missouri River, Red River, and Washita . . .*, pp. 40-53; Padilla, "Texas in 1820."

34. See David B. Gracey, II, "Jean Lafitte and the Karankawa Indians," *East Texas Historical Journal* 2 (1964): 40-44; Aten, *Indians of the Upper Texas Coast*, p. 58; J. O. Dyer, *The Lake Charles Atakapas (Cannibals)*, 1817-1920.

35. Gatschet, *Karankawa Indians*, p. 18; Annie P. Harris, "Memoirs of Mrs. Annie P. Harris," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 40 (1937): 231-46.

36. See Aten, *Indians of the Upper Texas Coast*, pp. 75-76, 89-96; Fray Gaspar José de Solís, "Diary of a Visit of Inspection of the Texas Missions Made by Fray Gaspar José de Solís in the Year 1767-1768," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 35 (1931): 28-76.

37. Compare to Ewers, "Influence of Epidemics"; Harris, "Memoirs," p. 242.

38. See Gatschet, *Karankawa Indians*, p. 63; Gilmore, "The Indians of Mission Rosario."

39. Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture*, p. 2; Kathy Weston, "Lesbian/Gay Studies in the House of Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1993): 339-67.

40. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and His Companions from Florida to the Pacific, 1528-1536*, p. 127. See de Solís, "Diary of a Visit"; Gatschet, *Karankawa Indians*, p. 131. Compare to Williams, *Spirit and the Flesh*, pp. 108, 181-92.