

Félix Ramos, both signed the completed tables on August 29, 1777.²⁹ These tables were clearly Form 2 of Croix's instructions as such is stated in the title of the document "Provincia de Texas. n.º 2. Jurisdicción del R.º Presidio de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo." The La Bahía count showed 696 people in the jurisdiction—257 men, 200 women, 124 boys, and 115 girls—at the three settlements: the presidio and the missions of Espíritu Santo and Our Lady of the Rosary. The eventual census forwarded to Madrid in 1778 supplied the additional datum that the jurisdiction comprised 167 individual households.³⁰

These aggregate tables have survived, but only as *copias* in the collection of Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi.³¹ While research has not uncovered any *minutas* or *originales* of these intermediate efforts, Morfi gathered numerous documents as *copias* for a history of the northern provinces. Currently these papers reside in the Archivo Franciscano of the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico. Morfi, a member of the brown-robed order, accompanied Croix on his initial trip to the frontier as the expedition's chaplain.³² During his travels and later, he gathered numerous documents, mostly *copias* from the various pueblos and villas he visited.

As noted, the La Bahía census was a collection of four tables (See Figure 1). The types of data collected established the standards for later efforts. The first and second tables showed six columns of data: men, women, boy, girls, male slaves, and females slaves. The first table consisted of three lines delineating the three settlements. The second table displayed five lines of *castas* ("racial" categories): the garrison soldiers and their families, Spaniards (a very flexible racial concept),³³ Indians, mestizos, and the *color quebrado* category, a mixture of Indian and African ancestry.³⁴ The

²⁹ "Provincia de Texas. n.º 2. Jurisdicción del R.º Presidio de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Estado que manifiesta el n.º de Vasallos, y Habitantes que tiene el Rey en esta Jurisdicción con distinz.ºn de clases, estados, y Castas de todas las Person.s de ambos sexos sin excluir los Parbulos," Aug. 29, 1777, *copia*, caja/cartapacio 10/152.1, Archivo Franciscano (hereafter cited as "AF"), BN, Mexico City. A complete and exact copy of this document is printed in Appendix II of Juan Agustín de Morfi, *Viaje de Indios y diario de Nuevo Mexico*, ed. Vito Alessio Robles (2nd ed., Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1935), 279–280.

³⁰ "Provincia de los Texas ó Nuevas Filipinas. Plan que Mani.ºfta el Numero de Vassallos que tiene el Rey, en esta Provincia con disticion de clases, Castas, y destinas, Armamento, y Vienes, que posséen, espresandose por Notas lo correondiente al grado, Situacion, y Circunstancias de dicha Provincia," Sept. 23, 1778, *principal*, legajo 3883, Estado, AHN, Madrid.

³¹ At the bottom of the August 29, 1777, appeared "Luis de Cazorla=Con mi intervencion B.º José Félix Ramos" in the hand of the scribe—a clear indication of a *copia*.

³² Morfi, *Viaje de Indios y diario de Nuevo México*, and Juan Agustín de Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673–1779*, ed. Carlos Eduardo Castañeda (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1935), 21–22.

³³ See Lyle N. McAlister, "Social Structure and Social Change in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 43 (August 1963): 349–370, for a discussion of the evolving hierarchical colonial social structure. Texas was on the extreme edge of the viceroyalty, but adhered to the system of classification with perhaps a more lenient view of what constituted a "Spaniard."

³⁴ Oakah L. Jones, *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 51.

third and fourth tables only possessed a single column for men with the third table grouped into secular clergy, regular clergy, married, widowers, and unmarried. The final table showed eight categories of occupation: garrison soldiers, ministers of justice, commercial workers-merchants, traders, farmers, skilled mechanics (such as blacksmiths, harness makers, etc.), servants, day laborers, and the unemployed. This was not a large spreadsheet. The four tables have eighteen, thirty, five, and eight cells and all were derived from the same source. Sixty-one individual cells of data and ten sums comprised the four tables—the male and female slave columns were not totaled. It was a very controllable size even given the non-mechanical or hand calculations of the period.

The population was not so large that many people would have not been included in the census. In fact, the census takers would have known everyone by sight in the settlements. Captain Luis de Cazorla was a thirty-nine-year-old native of Alicante, Spain, who had joined the army at age sixteen. He first served in Spain and North Africa and then transferred to Mexico to secure a promotion to lieutenant in 1764. Then on April 28, 1772, the viceroy of New Spain promoted him to captain and appointed him post commander at La Bahía.³⁵ Thus, Cazorla had been at La Bahía for five years when he undertook the census. We do not know when presidio chaplain José Félix Ramos arrived at the settlement. He had taken university studies, however, as “Bachiller” prefaced his name on the document. Padre Ramos would have been in close contact with the inhabitants for consulting, the sacraments, and daily mass. Both men were literate and would have understood the instructions and what was desired.

Rancher Simón Arocha and parish priest Bachiller Pedro Fuentes y Fernández signed the completed aggregate population report for the Presidio of Béxar/Villa of San Fernando on September 30, 1777.³⁶ Again, this was a *copia* done for Morfi and consisted of Form 2 with its four tables of data (See Figure 2). The first table consisted of thirteen lines, one for each settlement: the Presidio/Villa, the Fort of Santa Cruz, six ranches (Chayopin, Pataguilla, Las Cabras, San Francisco, La Mora, and Las Mulas) and five missions (San Antonio, La Purísima Concepción, Señor San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, San Juan Capistrano, and Nuestro Padre San Francisco de la Espada). Table 2 displayed an additional line for slaves while the last table added a line for *artes liberales* (liberal arts) as a profession. The four tables thus held 78, 36, 5, and 9 cells of data. The Béxar aggregate

³⁵ [Service record for Captain Luis de Cazorla], Dec. 31, 1779, *original*, legajo 283, and *duplicado*, legajo 518, Guadalajara, AGI.

³⁶ “Provincia de Texas. n.o 2. Jurisdic.on del Presidio de Bejar Villa de S.n Fernando. Estado q.e manifiesta el numero de Vasallos, y habitant.s q.e tiene el Rey en esta Jurisdic.on con distin.on de clases, estados y Castas de todas las Person.s de ambos sexos sin excluir los Parvulos,” Sept. 30, 1777, *copia*, caja/cartapacio 10/152.1, AF, BN, Mexico City.