

met with a party of Bidais, who directed the Apaches to the lower Trinity River where four Americans had illegally established a temporary trading post. Now well armed, the Lipans headed west of San Antonio for their winter buffalo hunt before retiring to the Atascosa River in the spring of 1793. Finally, in April, Canoso, Chiquito, and Moreno formalized a peace with Governor Muñoz in San Antonio in which they agreed to stop stealing livestock in return for being granted the right to exchange buffalo skins for metal goods at various Spanish settlements. The three chiefs also consented to forsake their trade with the southeastern Texas tribes as long as the Spaniards promised to pressure the Norteños to keep the peace with the Lipans.<sup>26</sup>

Although the Apaches occasionally broke the terms of the treaty over the next few years, the Spaniards also proved incapable of protecting the Lipans from the Norteños. For the most part, however, the April 1793 treaty would successfully maintain the peace between the Lipans and Spaniards for the rest of the eighteenth century. The Lipans continued to conduct buffalo hunts west of San Antonio in the late spring and fall and traveled to Béxar three or four times a year to sell the hides and receive presents from the governor. Nevertheless, Norteño raiders constantly harassed the tribe, forcing the three Lipan chiefs to move their rancherías southward toward the Rio Grande in the late 1790s. In March 1798, Comanche warriors stole most of Canoso's horse herd, inducing his band of Lipans to cross south the Rio Grande, where they settled south of Laredo. The other two Lipan groups joined their fellow tribesmen later in the month. In January 1799, all three Lipan bands chose Chiquito as their spokesman, and he entered into a treaty of peace, similar to the April 1793 agreement, with the governor of Nuevo Santander. Chief Chiquito agreed that the Lipans would establish their rancherías below Laredo, between the Rio Grande and the Salado River. However, they reserved the right to hunt north of the Rio Grande, all the way to the Nueces. Despite these territorial limitations, the Lipan chiefs continued to travel to San Antonio each year to obtain their annual gifts from the governor of Texas. Although the Lipans had been forced to abandon Texas by the end of the 1700s, they would return north of the Rio Grande and play an important role in Texas affairs during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

Just as relations between the Lipan Apaches and the Spaniards stabilized by the end of the century, the Karankawas also ended their hostility to the Euroamerican intruders. At first, however, both sides, mindful of Coapite chief José María's 1778 successful attack on Mission Rosario, maintained their enmity. On July 3, 1786, a detachment of Spanish troops from La Bahía engaged thirteen Karankawas, wounding and apprehending one, whom they took to

the presidial guardhouse, where he died ten days later. Three weeks later, a party of Karankawas retaliated by stealing twenty-three horses from a ranch near San Antonio, killing a Spanish boy as they fled. Captain Luis Cazorla, the longtime commander of La Bahía who detested the Karankawas, sent troops down the San Antonio River to seek the assailants. Near the mouth of the river, a group of Karankawas surprised the Spaniards in their camp, killing one soldier and stealing blankets and other items before safely retreating in their canoes.<sup>28</sup>

Instead of escalating the war, the peace-minded governor of Texas, Martínez Pacheco, sent emissaries to the coast in March 1787 to find José María and begin negotiations. In response, José María arrived in San Antonio on June 26 with nine members of the Coapite, Cujane, and Carancaguase tribes. The governor welcomed the party "with every kindness and attention" before an assembly of the town's presidial officers. The Karankawas remained in San Antonio for two weeks, during which time Martínez Pacheco showered them with gifts and had their weapons repaired. A grateful José María agreed to meet with the parish priest in order to make his confession and receive communion. The Coapite chief also submitted to Martínez Pacheco's request that he try to convince the rest of the Karankawas to abandon the coast and return to the defunct Mission Rosario. Well intentioned, José María and his party left Béxar with an accompanying troop of Spanish soldiers and a Spanish engineer who had orders to map the region.<sup>29</sup>

Not all the Karankawas, however, were as eager as José María to establish friendly relations with the Spaniards. After guiding the engineer through the maze of bays and inlets along the coast, the Coapite chief agreed to return with the troops to San Antonio. Other members of his party, including his wife, opposed his decision and the Indians began fighting among themselves. During the struggle, a Karankawa man shot and killed a Spanish sergeant. The other Karankawas then drove off the other soldiers and mutilated the dead man's body, severing his right arm at the elbow and his left at the wrist. They also scalped him, mutilated his testicles, and left the sergeant hanging from a tree by his feet before retreating with José María to a barrier island.<sup>30</sup>

Although the Spaniards discussed exacting revenge upon the attackers, they took no action until early 1789, when a group of Karankawas killed three La Bahía residents and kidnapped a boy while they were stealing cattle. In response, on February 8 a troop of seventy-five Spanish soldiers, along with sixteen Tejanos and four mission Indians, left La Bahía with an artillery piece in search of the Karankawas. A few days later the force found a Karankawa village containing three hundred people near the junction of the Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers. The Spaniards fired their cannon into the camp, killing ten and

wounding many others. The Karankawas hastily abandoned the bloody scene amid "the cries and clamors" of the men and women, leaving behind 8,000 iron-tipped arrows.<sup>31</sup>

By the end of the 1780s the continued warfare with the Spaniards had begun to weigh heavily upon the Karankawan groups. The situation was becoming particularly dangerous now that the innocuous Coahuiltecan had disappeared from the region, thus depriving the Karankawas of a buffer from threatening Apache and Comanche raiders, with whom they had always been at war. Rather than maintaining hostilities on two fronts, a few Karankawan bands began to seek an accommodation with the Spaniards, especially after the Franciscan missionary, José Mariano Reyes, reestablished Mission Rosario in late 1789. Suffering from a recent outbreak of disease that killed Coapite chief José María, in November 1789, Copane and Cujane representatives met with new La Bahía commander, Captain Manuel de Espadas, to inform him of their wish to return to the mission. However, before they could actually reenter Mission Rosario, some Carancaguases wounded a Spanish soldier from La Bahía on December 7. Sixteen Spanish troopers headed down the San Antonio River from the presidio in pursuit of the attackers. The Spaniards encountered a canoe filled with four Carancaguases and convinced the Indians to lead them to their village. The Carancaguases apologized to the Spaniards for wounding the soldier and agreed to send a few tribesmen to La Bahía to further discuss matters with Captain Espadas. On December 28, Capitán Grande, the sixty-year-old chief of the Carancaguases, arrived with sixteen men and asked to meet with Martínez Pacheco. On February 15, 1790, he, along with Copane leaders Manuel Alegre and Balthazar, and Cujane chief José Luis, entered San Antonio and told the governor of their desire to return to Mission Rosario.<sup>32</sup>

Martínez Pacheco happily gave them permission to enter the mission, and by May 1790, fifty-three Karankawas lived at Rosario, including the Carancaguase chief. Hoping to receive food and gifts, the Karankawa population rose to 134 by the beginning of the summer. The Indians were soon disappointed, for the priests had hardly enough food for themselves, much less the neophytes. Due to a prolonged drought, there was no corn and, although plenty of cattle ranged near the mission, constant Apache and Comanche raiding prevented the Karankawas from gathering many for slaughter. Father Reyes was all too aware that the Karankawas only wanted food, for he informed the governor "that for these neophytes the Gospel enters through the mouth, not through the ears," and that it was an "illusion" to think that the Karankawas would come "from the coast to work for a living." The Indians ran afoul of Father Reyes in other ways as well. Manuel Alegre angered the priests by "living licentiously" with the daughter of Capitán Grande, claiming that he "would



- September 1, 1790, PI 159; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, 5: 19; Carlisle, "Spanish Relations with the Apache Nations East of the Rio Grande," 341-42.
22. Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, March 4, 1790, BA 20; Martínez Pacheco to Espadas, March 21, 1790, BA 20; Espadas to Muñoz, August 17, 1790, BA 20; Muñoz, Report on Indian nations in the province of Texas, November 16, 1790, BA 20; State of the number of deaths, captives, and robberies of livestock . . . executed by the Lipan Apaches in the towns of Laredo, Revilla, and Mier, September 26, 1790, PI 159; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, October 25, 1790, PI 159; Treviño to Muñoz, January 14, 1791, PI 162; Treviño to Muñoz, January 20, 1791, PI 162; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, February 4, 1791, PI 162; Revillagigedo to Miro, March 2, 1791, PI 162.
23. Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, May 21, 1790, BA 20; Martínez Pacheco, Report on measures taken to secure peace with the Lipan Indians, July 3, 1790, BA 20; Martínez Pacheco to Ugalde, July 23, 1790, BA 20; Diary of events at Béxar, August 1790, BA 20; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, September 1, 1790, PI 159; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, December 1790, PI 159.
24. Nava to Revillagigedo, February 8, 1791, PI 224; Nava to Revillagigedo, March 21, 1791, PI 224; Revillagigedo to Nava, March 2, 1791, PI 162.
25. Juan Gutierrez de la Cueva to Muñoz, May 2, 1791, BA 21; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, May 9, 1791, PI 162; Muñoz to de la Cueva, May 18, 1791, BA 21; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, May 10, 1791, NA; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, May 21, 1791, NA; Treviño, Diary . . . of what occurred on the expedition against the Lipans, June 6, 1791, PI 162; Ibarvo to Muñoz, June 13, 1791, BA 21; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, June 20, 1791, PI 162; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, July 31, 1791, PI 162; Ramon Castro to Muñoz, September 14, 1791, BA 21; Courbière to Muñoz, October 27, 1791, BA 21; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, 5: 114.
- Cortés to Condé de Sierra Gorda, July 9, 1792, BA 22; Cortés to Muñoz, October 3, 1792, BA 22; Muñoz to Cortés, October 9, 1792, BA 22; Cortés to Muñoz, October 1792, BA 22; Cordova to Muñoz, November 12, 1792, BA 22; Muñoz to Córdoba, November 17, 1792, BA 22; Revillagigedo to Muñoz, January 16, 1793, BA 23; Muñoz to Nava, January 26, 1793, BA 23; Muñoz to Nava, May 2, 1793, SA; Manuel Merino to Nava, July 5, 1793, SA; Muñoz to Revillagigedo, November 6, 1793, PI 99.
- Lafuente to Felix María Calleja, March 17, 1798, PI 12; Calleja to Lafuente, April 1798, PI 12; Sierra Gorda to Miguel José de Azanza, January 30, 1799, PI 12; Sierra Gorda to Azanza, March 13, 1799, PI 12; Sierra Gorda to Azanza, April 14, 1799, PI 12; Nava to Azanza, July 23, 1799, PI 12; Diary of events at Béxar, May 1799, PI 12; Diary of events at Béxar, April 1800, BA 29; Diary of events at Béxar, July 1801, PI 12.
- Diary of developments that occurred at the presidios of San Antonio de Béxar during the course of the month of July, 1786, BAT I, 139: 106-10; Cazorla to Cabello, December 6, 1786, BAT I, 143: 30-31.
- Martínez Pacheco to Ugalde, September 15, 1787, BAT I, 146: 78-84.
- Martínez Pacheco, August 2, 1787, BAT I, 146: 8; Cazorla to Martínez

- Pacheco, August 5, 1787, BAT I, 146: 13; Martínez Pacheco to Ugalde, September 15, 1787, BAT I, 146: 78-84.
31. Manuel Espadas to Ugalde, February 12, 1789, PI 159; Diary of events of campaign, Athanase de Mézières, February 13, 1789, PI 159; Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, February 12, 1789, BA 19; Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, February 22, 1789, BA 19; Martínez Pacheco to Ugalde, March 2, 1789, BA 19.
32. Ricklis, Karankawa Indians of Texas, 155-56; Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, November 10, 1789, BA 20; Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, November 13, 1789, BA 20; Antonio Treviño, Diary of Expedition against the Carancaguases, December 12, 1789, BA 20; Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, December 12, 1789, BA 20; Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, January 29, 1790, BA 20; Martínez Pacheco to Revillagigedo, March 1, 1790, NA.
33. Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, April 9, 1790, BA 20; Father José Mariano Reyes to Revillagigedo, May 1, 1790, BA 20; List of inhabitants of Mission Rosario, May 1, 1790, BA 20; Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, May 6, 1790, BA 20; Espadas to Martínez Pacheco, May 20, 1790, BA 20; List of inhabitants of Mission Rosario, July 2, 1790, NA; Espadas to Muñoz, September 10, 1790, BA 20; Fray José Mariano Reyes to Muñoz, November 18, 1790, BA 20.
34. Silva to Muñoz, April 26, 1791, BA 21.
35. Garza to Muñoz, June 13, 1791, BA 21.
36. Oberste, History of Refugio Mission, 21-60.
37. Diary of Mariano Rodríguez, March 13-May 23, 1793, BA 23; Garza to Muñoz, July 21, 1793, BA 23; José Antonio Cadena to Muñoz, June 8, 1794, BA 23; Muñoz to Juan Cortés, June 10, 1794, BA 23; Oberste, History of Refugio Mission, 131-36.
38. Muñoz to Cortés, May 31, 1794, BA 24; Muñoz to Cortés, August 4, 1794, BA 24; Muñoz to Nava, November 7, 1794, BA 25; Muñoz to Nava, November 30, 1794, BA 25; Silva to Muñoz, January 12, 1795, BA 25; Cortés to Muñoz, January 16, 1795, BA 25; Muñoz to Nava, January 26, 1795, BA 25.
39. Oberste, History of Refugio Mission, 163-64; Census report of Indians at Mission Refugio, October 23, 1795, BA 25; Ricklis, Karankawa Indians of Texas, 159-68.
40. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 5: 190-92; Elguézabal to Muñoz, July 3, 1797, BA 27; Census of Indians at Refugio, June 30, 1797, BA 27.
41. Father Antonio de Jesús Garavito to José Miguel del Moral, October 13, 1798, BA 27; Juan Bautista de Elguézabal to Muñoz, January 17, 1798, BA 28; Garavito to Elguézabal, March 25, 1798, BA 28; Elguézabal to Muñoz, March 28, 1798, BA 28; Father Bernardino Vallejo, Report on Texas Missions, August 26, 1803, BA 31; Oberste, History of Refugio Mission, 230-53.
42. Nava to Muñoz, April 4, 1797, BA 27; Antonio Cordero to Muñoz, April 28, 1798, BA 28. Nava to Muñoz, May 24, 1798, BA 28; Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 5: 118-20.
43. Diary of events at Béxar, March 1799, NA; Diary of events at Béxar, April 1799, NA; Bustamante, Diary of campaign against Comanches, April 2, 1799, PI 12; José Menchaca to Cordero, April 26, 1799, PI 12; Muñoz to Nava, June 5, 1799, PI 12;

Historical Sketches,  
BA 29; Moral to Elguézabal,  
1800, BA 29; Nava to  
and Jackson, Philip Nolan a  
BA 30.  
Elguézabal, July 7, 1801,  
Masquiza to Elguézabal, Nov  
Kavanaugh, Comanche P  
"Nurturing the Peace,"  
Ignacio Arrambide to  
Elguézabal, February 24, 18  
John, "Nurturing the  
of events at Béxar, M  
BA 31; N. Salcedo t  
Béxar, July 1803, BA 31; N  
N. Salcedo to Elguézaba  
October 11, 1803, BA 3  
Political History, 149-50  
José de la Peña to Miró  
July 26, 1791, PC 213  
Miró, December 28,  
proces múbetween  
24; de Blanc to Car  
de Lemos, August  
Rousseau to Miró  
1786, SMV 2: 171-  
Gálvez, August  
1786, PC 199; R  
Osages, 157-76  
Rousseau to M  
Miró, Septe  
55. De Blanc to  
2: 316-17.  
56. De Blanc  
1790, SM  
August  
Carone  
57. Su