

**Standing Building Survey**  
of  
**Mission San Juan de Capistrano Chapel**  
Béxar County, Texas, USA

directed and reported  
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IMR-SAAN-5500-11145

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## Summary

This report describes an archaeological investigation of the chapel of Mission San Juan de Capistrano, a Roman Catholic parish church on the far south side of what is now urban San Antonio, located 29.332°N, 98.455°W and approximately .25 km west of the San Antonio River, in B  xar County, Texas.

Mission San Juan de Capistrano was one of five Spanish missions established near the Presidio de San Antonio de B  xar by the Roman Catholic Franciscan order during the first quarter of C18. The Mission complex today is comprised of a series of C18 and later structures and structural remnants that were renovated during C19 and C20 following or as suggested by earlier Mission designs. The chapel structure is located on the west side of the mission plaza and is designated Historical American Buildings Survey (HABS) site TEX-321, Building 17 (Plate 1).

The empirical purpose of this study is the archaeological study, recording, analysis and reporting of the standing structure. The related research interest is to investigate the use and change of the chapel of Mission San Juan de Capistrano as evidenced in its fabric in relation to the social transformations that have surrounded it, especially during the C18 and C19 period of its existence.



**Plate 1.** San Juan de Capistrano chapel looking southwest from plaza, 1983. *Photograph by J. Lowe. Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. HABS TX-321-A-11 (CT).*

## **Introduction**

San Juan de Capistrano is a Catholic parish church, located 29.332°N, 98.455°W and approximately .25 km west of the San Antonio River, in B  xar County, Texas.

The chapel is the property of the Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio and situated within the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park (SAAN), a unit of the National Park System. SAAN includes four of five originally Franciscan Mission sites that have since the 1840s been principally owned by the Catholic Diocese. Together with the nearby Presidio de San Antonio de B  xar and villa of San Fernando de B  xar, the Missions comprised the key regional settlements of New Spain from the early C18 onward and laid the basis for the present-day city of San Antonio.

The Mission San Juan de Capistrano was founded in 1731 and is the fourth of those original missions. The present chapel building is the second structure in the mission complex to have been used as a church, and was built ca. 1770.

The chapel is constructed of random rubble stonework set in lime mortar, which is covered with plaster on the interior and on three exterior walls with masonry cement, effectively concealing most of the detail. The chapel has a simple, monastic design, comprised of two cells. The exposed masonry in the west wall suggests that the building has been modified or rebuilt at several times since the initial construction. Diocesan records indicate that the chapel has been in continual use as a parish church since a major renovation was completed in 1909. Other documentary records suggest that the chapel was used episodically from the time of complete secularization in 1824 until 1886, when a severe storm destroyed the roof of the building.

Site visits took place during July and August 2011, with principal fieldwork, including measurements and photography, carried out from 8 August until 30 August 2011. Research was performed with permission of the Archdiocese of San Antonio and the Parish of San Juan de Capistrano and survey work was performed under U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service Special Use Permit IMR-SAAN-5500-11145. Measurements were taken using hand held rules, tapes, levels and a Bosch GLR-225 laser range finder. Photographs were made using a Nikon DSLR 3100 camera.

Documentary research included primary historical records obtained from the Center for Mexican American Studies and Research at Our Lady of the Lake University, from the Chancery Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio (ASACA), and from the National Weather Service Austin/San Antonio Field Office. Primary and secondary archaeological research materials were obtained from the Library of the United States Congress, the E. H. Coates Library at Trinity University (San Antonio) and from the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park (SAAN), National Park Service.

Research of the site and of documentary records pertaining to the site was made possible through the helpful cooperation and generous assistance of Sr. Maria Eva Flores, PhD, Professor of History and Mexican American Studies, Our Lady of the Lake University; Fr. James G. Galvin, Administrator, Mission San Juan Capistrano Parish; Br. Edward Loch, Archivist, Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio; John Lujan, Superintendent, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, National Park Service; Susan R. Snow, Archaeologist, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, National Park Service; and Robert Blaha, Climate Program Leader, Austin/San Antonio Field Office, National Weather Service.

## **Research Objectives**

A preliminary investigation demonstrated that Mission San Juan de Capistrano was the subject of Historical American Buildings Surveys [HABS] in 1937 and 1983, and that the San Antonio missions have been discussed at length in historical and ethnological literature. On this basis, the San Juan de Capistrano chapel was chosen as an exemplar structure for examining intersections of New and Old World life-ways as represented by the C18 and C19 built environment.

The chapel design is suggestive of its monastic designers, the Franciscan missionaries who ventured into the Borderlands as zealous agents of the colonial effort to create New Spain during C17 and C18 (Hinojosa 1991). The existing structure has been the subject of several organized archaeological excavations and of amateur excavations during C20. The building has also been significantly rebuilt and repaired during C19 and C20, resulting in major changes to the external and internal fabric. Consequently, the present research project is challenged to decipher the variety of phases of initial construction, deconstruction, reconstruction, and excavation within a highly disturbed site.

The Spanish colonial *misión* underwent a strategic transformation from C15 through C18. By early 1718, the time of the establishment of the Presidio de San Antonio de Béxar and of Mission San Antonio de Valero near the convergence of San Pedro Creek and Río San Antonio, that strategy turned on the economic, ideological and cultural assimilation of the indigenous populations of New Spain enacted through the agency of Franciscan missionaries and Mission life. Along with the related ranchos with which the Missions conducted their economic transformation of people and land, these operations defined the C18 landscape and the culture between the San Antonio and Guadalupe rivers, from San Antonio de Béxar southeast to the Gulf of Mexico.

Mission San Juan de Capistrano, inaugurated in 1731, is the fourth of five missions established within the penumbra of the presidio. Its buildings, particularly its church, were perhaps never as grand as the other San Antonio missions, which may partly explain why many of them were salvaged for stone after the mission was fully secularized in 1824. However, despite some lapses in its use and maintenance during C19, the chapel remains standing and has been actively used as a parish church since a major renovation in 1907-1908.

The San Juan de Capistrano chapel was selected for study for two major reasons: the relative simplicity of its design may represent a distinct ideo-cultural statement; the chapel exhibits multiple phases of building activity and use. A survey of the chapel offered the possibility of further explicating the socio-cultural life of the region as enacted through the construction and use of this Mission building from C18 through to C20.

## Methodology

The chapel is concurrently an active Catholic parish church and a National Historic site, listed with the National Register and the Historical Architectural Buildings Survey. Permission to record the building was requested and given with the condition that study and recording would be non-destructive and would not interfere with the activities of the Parish or Park visitors. The building was open to the public and in use by the Parish congregation during the period of this survey, which affected when and what type of survey activities might be performed.

The masonry cement on exterior walls prevented detailed study of stone on the north, south and east elevations and on the bell tower, nor were scaffolding and ladders available for examining the parapet, roof or bell tower. Building repair work, scheduled to begin 30 August, compelled fieldwork to be completed before that date.

In light of these factors, the recording and analytic methodologies considered for this project included: measurement of the building using hand-held rules, tapes and a laser range finder; photographic recording of elevations, interiors and details; typological comparisons of structural features; and geotechnical comparison of the stonework. Dendrochronology of timber was briefly considered, but extracting wood samples from door and window lintels was rejected as out of scope for this non-invasive study.

As recording progressed, structural details and building elements that displayed specific technological form or temporality such as arches and windows were examined for typology, geotechnology or other qualities that were socio-culturally identifiable.

## Structural Description

The chapel (Plate 2) is of random rubble masonry construction, presumably quarried from local limestone and sandstone deposits and bonded with lime mortar. The walls are approximately 75-85 cm thick. Interior wall surfaces and three exterior wall surfaces are covered with plaster or cement, concealing the stonework underneath. As deduced from photographs and Diocesan correspondence, the masonry cement is a C20 addition. The west elevation of the chapel remains exposed masonry and provides useful structural details about the building (Plate 3).

According to HABS documentation, masonry buttresses were added to the east and west walls of the building ca. 1968. Archaeological surveys performed in 1968 (Scheutz 1968) and 1983 (HABS 1983) report what are described as remnant footings at some of these locations. Late-C19 documentary photographs (Plate 18) show only one pilaster structure north of the main door on the east elevation.

The chapel is orientated longitudinally [N-S] along the west boundary of the plaza. Extant remnants or recreated rubble stone boundary walls are located immediately north and south of each end of the chapel. A bell tower built of three arched openings and surmounted by a cross rises from the east wall at the north end of the chapel (Plate 4).

The chapel building is comprised of two cells, the major cell includes the nave and sanctuary and is divided from the smaller sacristy cell by an interior wood-framed wall. The sanctuary and altar are elevated and at the south end of the major cell. The interior walls are plastered. A series of four pilasters are spaced across the interior east wall and rise approximately 3m from the present floor. The floor is vitrified terra cotta tile throughout. The ceiling/roof is comprised of wood beams that traverse the width of the building, above those are run longitudinal rafters, which are clad above with wood planks (Plates 5 & 6).

Window openings occur in four locations. Two elliptical/ovoid openings are built into masonry apertures at either end and on opposite sides of the nave; the east aperture lintels are timber and approximately 4m above the floor (Plate 7), the west aperture arch is formed by a straight masonry arch and is approximately 3m above the floor (Plate 8). A rectangular window opening supported by a timber lintel is located in the center of the north wall with its sill approximately 3.1m above the present floor (Plate 10). A larger, 2.55m tall rectangular window supported by a timber lintel is located in the middle bay of the west wall immediately south of the buttress. This window sill is approximately .65m above the interior floor level and nearly at grade externally. A 30cm x 50cm aperture, which currently provides for



**Plate 2.** The east elevation of the chapel with adjacent boundary wall remnants to north and south, as viewed from the center of the Mission plaza. *Photograph by author.*





**Plate 3.** The north and west elevations of the chapel, looking southeast. *Photograph by author.*

electrical and other service connections, is cut through the west wall into the sacristy.

The three external doorways are located in the east elevation. The principal entrance near the north end is framed by ashlar limestone blocks; those across the top are secured with a keystone (Plate 9). The middle door, providing egress near the sanctuary, is wood framed. The third doorway, providing access to the sacristy, is supported under a single timber lintel (Plate 11). Inside, two narrow wood doors flank the altar and pass through the partition that separates the sanctuary from the sacristy (Plate 12).

The east elevation (Plate 2 & Drawing 4) displays five arch details that span six pilasters/buttresses starting from the north end of the building. These arches are covered with cement, but in two areas where cement has fallen away the exposed stone beneath suggests voussoir construction (Plate 13, Plate 9). The façade below each arch is recessed and the arch extends out from the plane of the east face of the building, suggesting that each arch may be constructed to bear the weight of the wall above and/or to span a blocked opening below. Although the interior pilasters approximately align with four of these pilasters/buttresses (Drawing 3: Section E-E), there is no evidence of archway construction inside the chapel; thus, the arches may alternately be ornamental details.

As noted, the bell tower rises above the northeast corner of the building. The bell arches have been completely covered in cement. The bell tower appears to lean to the east and is held in its present position by three iron rods that span the building to a location near the west parapet roof line (Plate 14).

Of special note in the east elevation are the middle and south door apertures and ocular window aperture, each of which is supported by timber lintels or lintel assemblages rather than masonry arches, such as at the main entry and the ocular window in the west elevation. The use of ashlar at the main doorway is also unique.

The north elevation of the chapel (Plate 14) is faced with cement, which conceals the masonry, how-





**Plate 4.** The bell tower is comprised of two tiers of masonry arches now covered with stucco. *Photograph by author.*

ever the adjoining wall remnant and the window aperture concur with phasing suggested in the east and west elevations. The window aperture is wood framed and supported by a compound wood lintel.

Attached to the north corner of the east elevation is a 2.6m high wall remnant that continues east approximately 2.9m from corner (B) of the building (Drawings 1, 6 & 7). This remnant includes a blocked-in arched buttress (Plate 15) that appears to have been built to support the east wall of the chapel building. The material of the buttress arch is consistent with masonry seen in the west elevation and the blocking material is visibly distinguishable below the arch. A later-period buttress has been built on top of this wall remnant.

The west elevation (Plate 3 & Drawing 5), which is not covered with cement, presents exposed masonry construction that exhibits multiple phases of construction and use. These are discussed at greater length in the analysis below. The elevation is comprised mainly of sandstone with limestone with random inclusions of smaller rubble stone across its length from north to south. Buttresses divide the elevation into three bays. The composition of variegated rubble increases greatly to the south end of the building. There is a visible pattern of aggregate cement in the middle and south bays of the building binding the smaller rubble in place.

The elliptical/ocular window described above is located within the northern bay. The large rectangular window described earlier is located within the middle bay. The sacristy is situated within the southern bay.

In addition to the arch-supported ocular window, interesting masonry within the northern bay includes a blocked-in archway, with a 1.25m span and measuring 1.1m from grade to the inside of the crown (Drawings 5 & 8). Visible for the entire length of the elevation is a distinct sandstone parapet extension  $\approx$  .5m high.

The south elevation is plain and completely faced with cement (Plate 16).



**Plate 5.** View from the back of the nave looking south toward the altar, as it appeared in mid-August 2011. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 6.** Interior of church and altar in 1983. *Photo by J. Lowe. Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. HABS TX-321 A-9.*





**Plate 7.** Ocular window at southeast corner of nave. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 8.** Ocular window at northwest corner of nave. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 9.** Main entry to the chapel. The C20 stucco cement was stained ca. 1963 and masonry buttresses were added ca. 1968 to several locations along the west and east elevations to provide 'historic' or 'antique' appearances. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 10.** Window set into north wall. *Photograph by author.*





**Plate 11.** Sacristy door with timber lintel. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 12.** Chapel interior looking south. The sanctuary and sacristy are separated by a wood framed wall; two doors into the sacristy flank the limestone altar. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 13.** Detail above middle door in east elevation revealing arch masonry. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 14.** North elevation of chapel. *Photograph by author.*





**Plate 15.** Buttress (1) at northeast corner of chapel that was blocked (2) and squared off (3) for use as a wall. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 16.** South elevation of chapel. *Photograph by author.*

## Documentary Research

Mission San Juan de Capistrano is the subject of a variety of records, including correspondence by the Franciscans who administered the missions (Leutenegger 1968) and who made official *visitas* to them (Morfi 1935; Forrestal 1931), inventories taken when the missions were secularized (Dabbs 1940), operational records kept by the Archdiocese of San Antonio, and archaeological reports made under the auspices of the Historical Architectural Buildings Survey (HABS 1937, HABS 1983), the Texas Historical Commission Office of the State Archeologist (Scheutz 1974) and the Texas State Building Commission (Scheutz 1968).

The chapel specifically was the subject of excavations during 1967, 1968 and 1969, supervised by Mardith K. Scheutz and published by the Texas State Building Commission (Scheutz 1968, 1969) and by the Texas Historical Commission (Scheutz 1974).

The Mission as a whole was the subject of a Historical Architectural Buildings Survey in 1935, resulting in a photographic record and document set (HABS 1937) to which was added new data in 1983 (HABS 1983) including drawings and photographs of the chapel building. Most recently, the National Park Service produced an addenda comprised of three-dimensional digital scans of the chapel (HABS n.d.).

Very importantly, there has been a reinvigorated interest over the past 25+ years in the ethnohistory, ethnography and archaeology of the Near Southwest and of the Borderlands of New Spain that has uncovered information and produced new scholarship about the period framing European contact in the New World (e.g. Weber 1991; Almaráz 1987, 1989; Corbin 1989; Dobyns 1991; Hinojosa, 1990, 1991; Perttula 1991; Poyo & Hinojosa 1988; Smith 1995; Smith 2005). This new scholarship challenges several long-held narratives in popular and academic histories and archaeologies of Hispanic and indigenous peoples as misinformed, and prompts reassessment of previous interpretation of C18 and early C19 Mission life.

Photographs, drawings and paintings of the chapel building also provide comparative information regarding its structural history over the past 150 years. An early image of the chapel comes from a ca. 1870 painting by Théodore Gentilz, which depicts the east and north elevations and a pitched roof (Plate 17).

A photograph by M. E. Jacobson ca. 1890 provides an image of the chapel after the roof and, apparently, a section of the west elevation had been damaged by a severe storm (Plate 18). The masonry of the elevation and bell tower is clearly visible.

A 1936 HABS photograph shows the exterior of the chapel 28 years after renovations by the Diocese, including masonry cement (Plate 19).

Archaeological research conducted in the 1930s and 1980s also suggests a history for the chapel building. In the 1930s, architect and amateur archaeologist Harvey P. Smith, Sr. working with the permission of the Catholic Diocese tested the subsurface of the site and produced drawings that mapped foundations and footings (Plate 20). Smith and his son, Harvey P. Smith, Jr., maintained an active interest in San Antonio Mission architectural history and restoration over several decades.<sup>1</sup> In the 1930s, Smith Sr. advised the Diocese regarding all of the Mission properties and his architectural firm produced extensive building documentation as well as supervised repairs and renovations. According to Archdiocesan records, Smith Jr. had assumed this work by the 1960s.

Smith Sr. and colleagues' work documenting Mission San Juan de Capistrano laid the basis for the Historical Architectural Building Survey (Plate 21). Subsequent HABS documentation of the chapel (HABS 1983)(Plate 22) has provided archaeological analysis regarding the history of the structure.

HABS 1983 addenda propose that the present chapel was built in multiple phases during the C18 and C19, over the footprint of an earlier structure located at the west side of the mission plaza (Appendix C: Sheet 14). HABS documents also propose that the blocked arch in the west elevation represents a



**Plate 17.** Painting of chapel from northeast by Théodore Gentilz, ca. 1870. *Yanaguana Society*, #924.

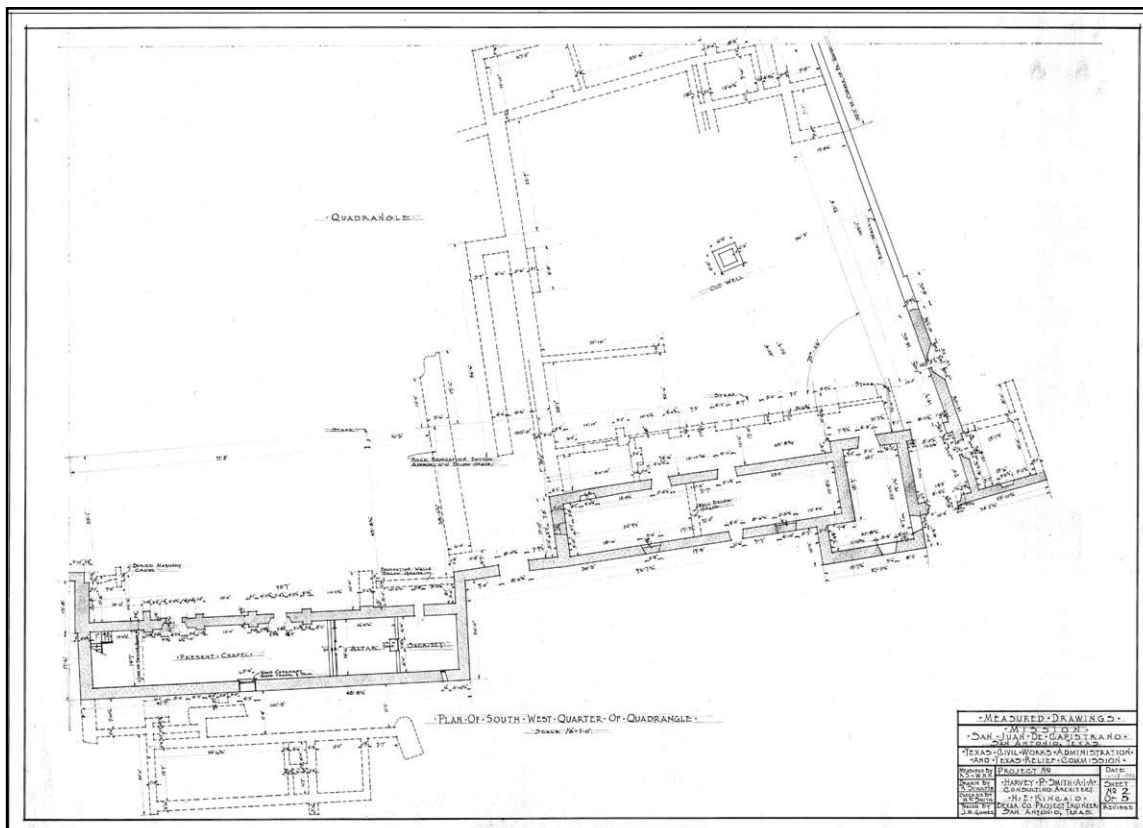


**Plate 18.** Photograph of chapel from northeast by M. Jacobson, ca. 1890. *Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. LC-USZ62-41542.*





**Plate 19.** San Juan de Capistrano Chapel in 1936. Photograph by Arthur W. Stewart. Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. HABS TEX.15-SANT.V3-2.



**Plate 20.** H. P. Smith, Sr. supervised 1935 plot of southwest quarter of Mission San Juan de Capistrano for Texas Civil Works Administration. Courtesy National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

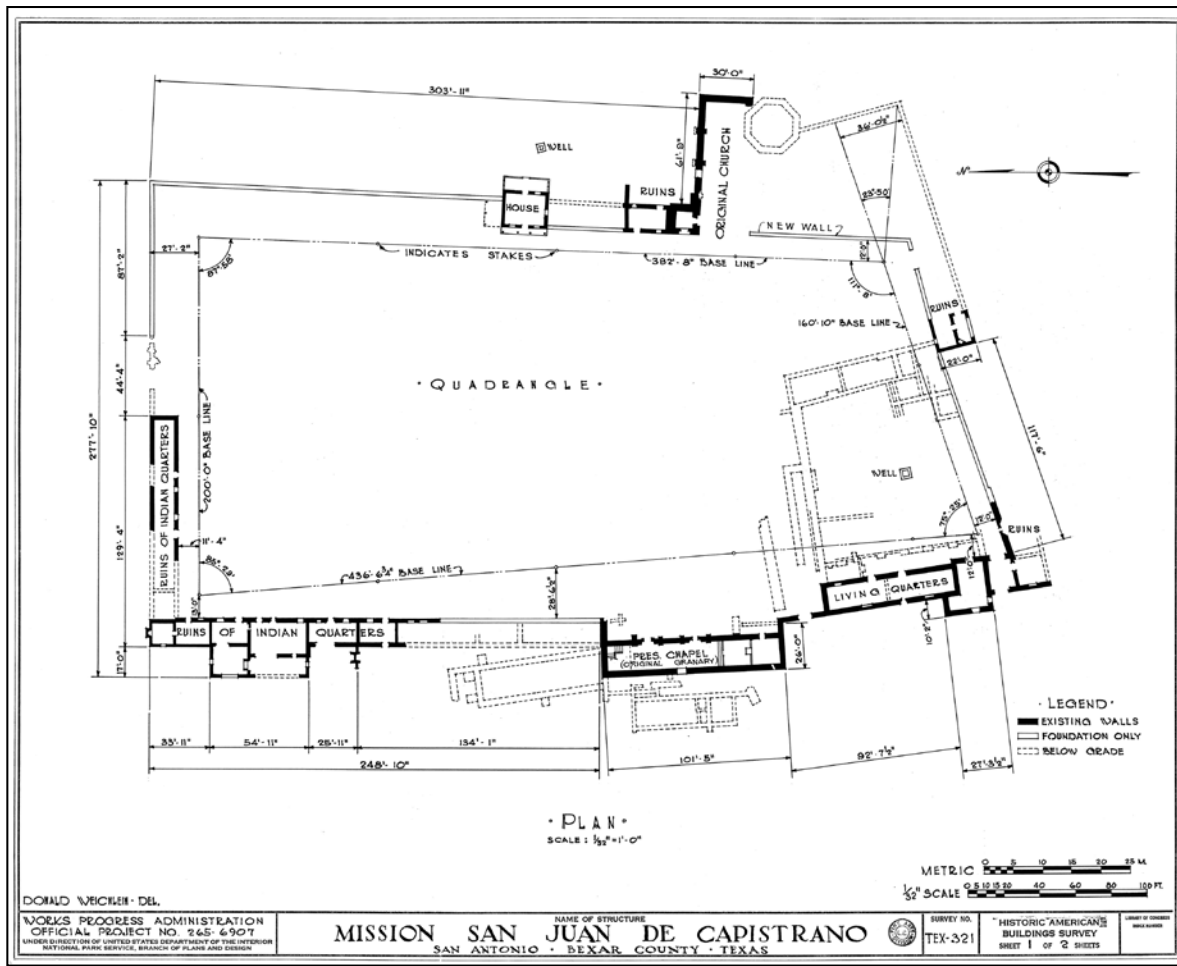


Plate 21. 1937 WPA-sponsored HABS project TEX-321, Sheet 1. Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. HABS TEX-321.

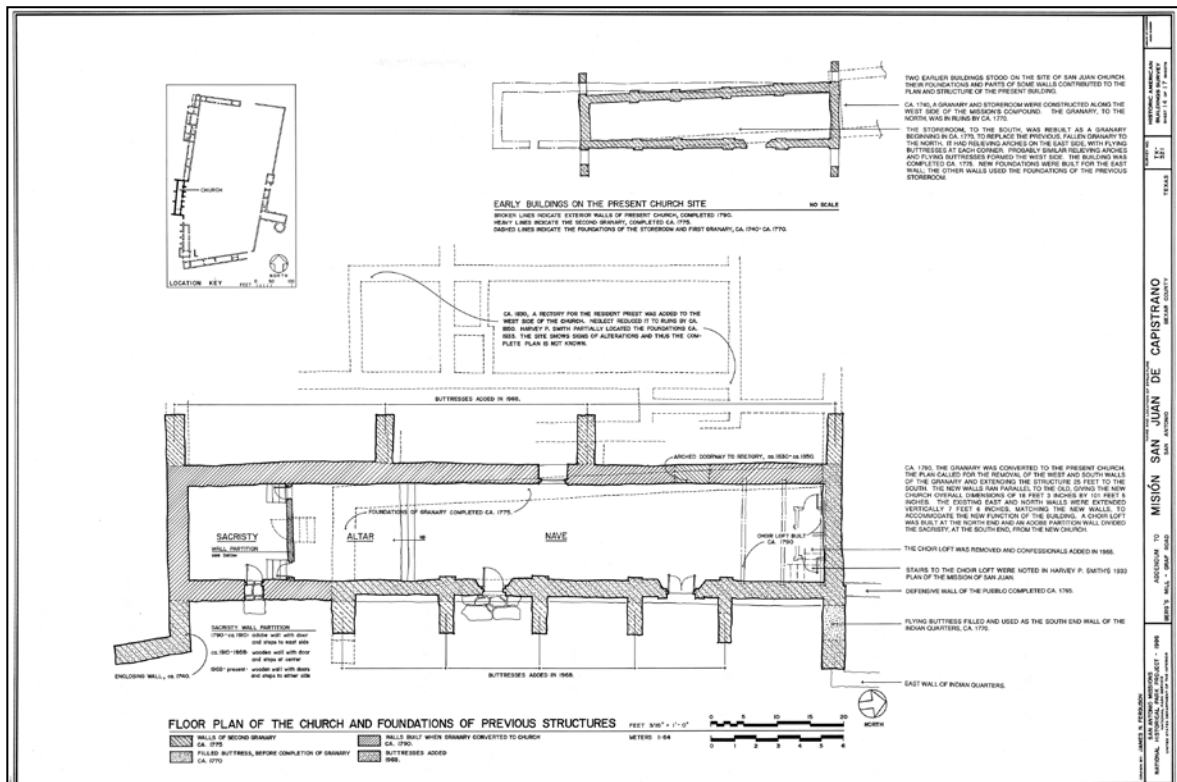


Plate 22. Annotated 1983 HABS drawing with remarks regarding archaeological history of present chapel. Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. HABS TEX-321.

passage to a C18 rectory building located west of the current chapel, although no supporting functional hypothesis is proposed; perhaps based upon the proximity of the adjacent foundations.

Mardith K. Scheutz, working as a curator for the Witte Memorial Museum in San Antonio, received permission and funding from the Archdiocese to supervise several excavations at San Juan de Capistrano from 1968.<sup>2</sup> Scheutz and colleagues' excavations suggest that the chapel floor was at one time at least .45m lower than at present (Scheutz 1974: 8-18), which would support a functional hypothesis for the blocked archway, either as a passageway or as an interior alcove. Scheutz proposed that the east elevation arches were 'non-structural' and possibly added to make the building appear 'more formal' (Scheutz 1968:146). Scheutz also argued that the large window in the east wall was installed during 1907 [-1908?]<sup>3</sup> building renovations by the Archdiocese and cited a pre-1907 photograph as evidence for this argument (Scheutz 1968: 146-147).

Félix Almaráz has studied the cultural history of the region and the New Spain Borderlands extensively and has specifically explored the socio-economics of the San Antonio Missions in the decades leading to secularization (Almaráz 1989). He cites the 1824 *Inventario* which describes the modest San Juan chapel as 'constructed of rock walls [with a] roof of badly maintained beams. Its nave is 25 *varas* long and 6 wide. The principal door is one handspan with its lock. The entrance to the sacristy does not have a door. [It] has a choir loft of beams with a wooden ladder and a banister of the same material. There is a confessional with its armed chair. A copper vessel upon a wooden stand is for holy water. The sanctuary has two graded steps of lumber and a banister of the same material, with a door of twisted dowels in the center. Three wooden pedestals [support] a pair of wooden processional candlesticks and a broken copper crucifix with a wooden handle. Three old wooden chairs, 3 wooden tiers form the throne of the altar. The altar consists of a large wooden table... The belfry has a cross and two bells with iron clappers' (Almaráz 1989: 43-44).

Following the initial acts of secularization in 1794, and finally in 1824, the property of the missions, particularly the highly coveted *labores* (farmlands), were privatized.<sup>4</sup> This privatization process extended through to the stones of the buildings themselves, which were avariciously salvaged by aspiring landowners as 'windfall stockpiles of construction rubble' (Almaráz 1989: 57). The San Antonio de Béxar records regarding San Juan de Capistrano document the sale in 1824 of approximately 126 *varas* (roughly 105m) of wall from the 'broken church walls' to a resident priest and two other landowners<sup>5</sup> (Almaráz 1989: 67). These inventories provide details about some of the stone so that we know the salvaged *convento* on the west side of the plaza included several more valuable 'arched doorways' (Almaráz 1989: 61-62). All of this information is helpful for interpreting the phasing of the present chapel structure.

The Chancery Archives of the Archdiocese of San Antonio (ASACA) also include informative correspondence regarding the operations and building maintenance of the chapel. These records document the involvement of H. P. Smith, Sr. and Jr. in Mission San Juan de Capistrano from the 1930s through the 1960s, the series of regular renovation and repair programs during the entire last half of C20, as well as other correspondence with the Archdiocese regarding archaeological investigations of the site under the auspices of the State Building Commission.<sup>6</sup> From these we also know of the contractor who applied the stained cement on the east, north and south elevations ca. 1963, and about the installation of the more recent modular steel choir loft.



## Discussion and Analysis

Very few materials in the chapel are suitable for absolute dating methods. As noted above, the architectural woodwork lends itself to dendrochronological analysis and this could likely be performed without serious damage to window or door lintels. Other types of laboratory dating [14C, 40K-40Ar, TL] are either inappropriate for the material and/or time frame considered here. It is possible that samples of lime mortar from elevations could be analyzed and compared for chemical technology.

The typology of building elements presents comparative information that can be useful for interpreting the design, construction and intended use of the structure as well as its modification in practice by subsequent generations. Within this typological approach, the geotechnical quality of the masonry may be considered a signature of the original designer/builders and of those who rebuilt and modified the chapel in subsequent years.

The west elevation, which is not covered by cement, presents exposed masonry construction that exhibits multiple phases of construction (Plate 23, 24 & 25). The first phase is seen in the predominantly sandstone construction that initially extended from grade to above the ocular window opening. This section of the wall appears as a systematically assembled unit rising past the straight arch of the window. The blocked-in archway below the window, the block sizes, assembly and mortar joints are consistent with the early- to mid-C18 construction technique used elsewhere at this site (Plate 27, 15, 8).

The second phase is seen in the blocked-in arch, the intended function of which is obscure. The arch construction, which belongs with the first phase, may have been an entrance to enable passage to an adjacent area of the mission complex. An alternate suggestion is that the archway represents an abandoned interior architectural remnant of the chapel, such as a confessional alcove.<sup>7</sup> The present height of the arch to the inside crown is approximately 1.6m above the interior floor, however, in C18, floor level may have been .45m lower producing an inside crown height >2m. It may have been deemed unnecessary to maintain the doorway or alcove as originally designed, especially from the time that secularization began in 1794.

The third phase of construction is evident in the area higher up in the first buttress bay, approximately 4m above grade, appearing as an aggregate of highly variegated stones mixed with gravel and cement (Plate 26). This section appears as a significant repair to the wall and was perhaps an effort to restore it to a previous height, as it meets what appears to be a pre-existing sandstone section immediately south of it along the west elevation. This type of construction continues south along the west elevation into the middle bay, sloping downward toward grade through to the south bay.

Phase four is represented in this elevation by the insertion of a large window, much larger than other openings in any other elevations, that is supported by a timber lintel and is timber framed.

The fifth phase is presented in the masonry cement that was applied in C20 and significantly repaired ca. 1963.

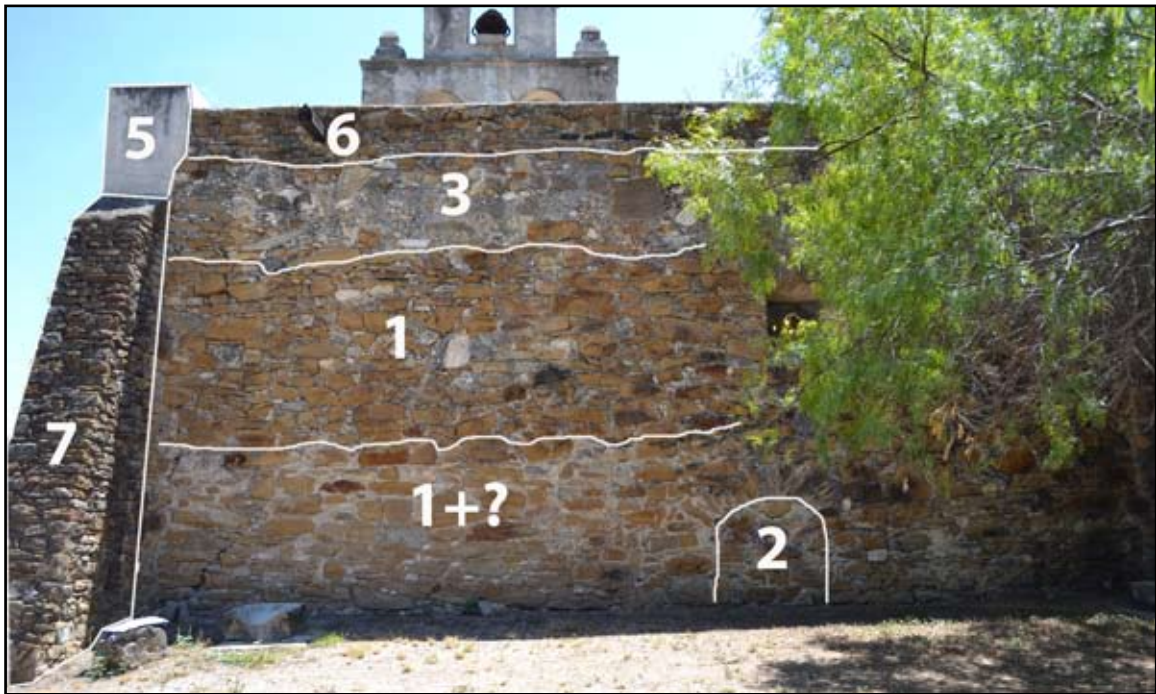
The sixth phase of the building is a visibly coherent line of newer sandstone forming a parapet or parapet extension rising  $\approx$  .5m in height for the length of the elevation and which is a C20 addition.<sup>8</sup>

The seventh phase is shown in the addition of the masonry buttresses, which were installed ca. 1968.

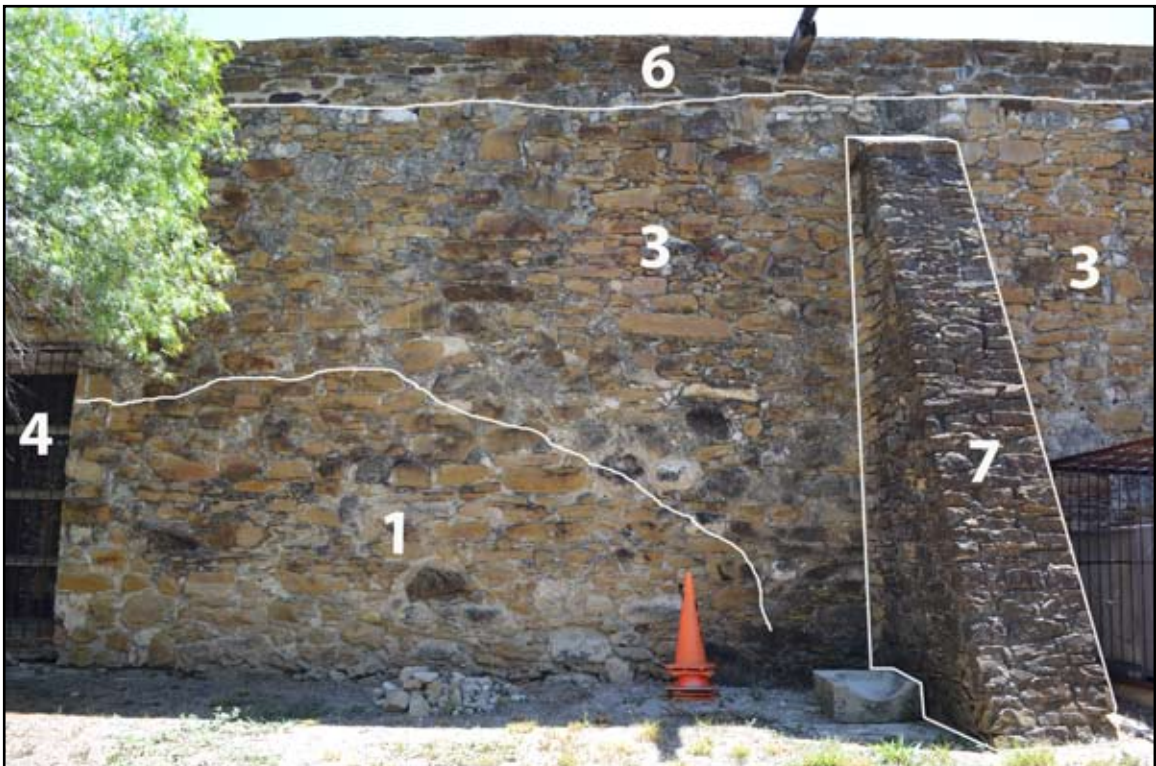
A lower part of the phase one sandstone wall [indicated by '1+?'] immediately north of the blocked archway displays an intermittent and partial application of mortar over the faces of some blocks. This appears to be an incomplete repair effort that was possibly intended to retain loose mortar between the sandstone blocks.

Relating the phases shown on the west elevation to the rest of the building is complicated by the cement covering the other elevations, however, several typological observations can be made.

This building and extant C18 remnants on site consist mainly of 15-20cm x 20-30cm x 40-60cm,

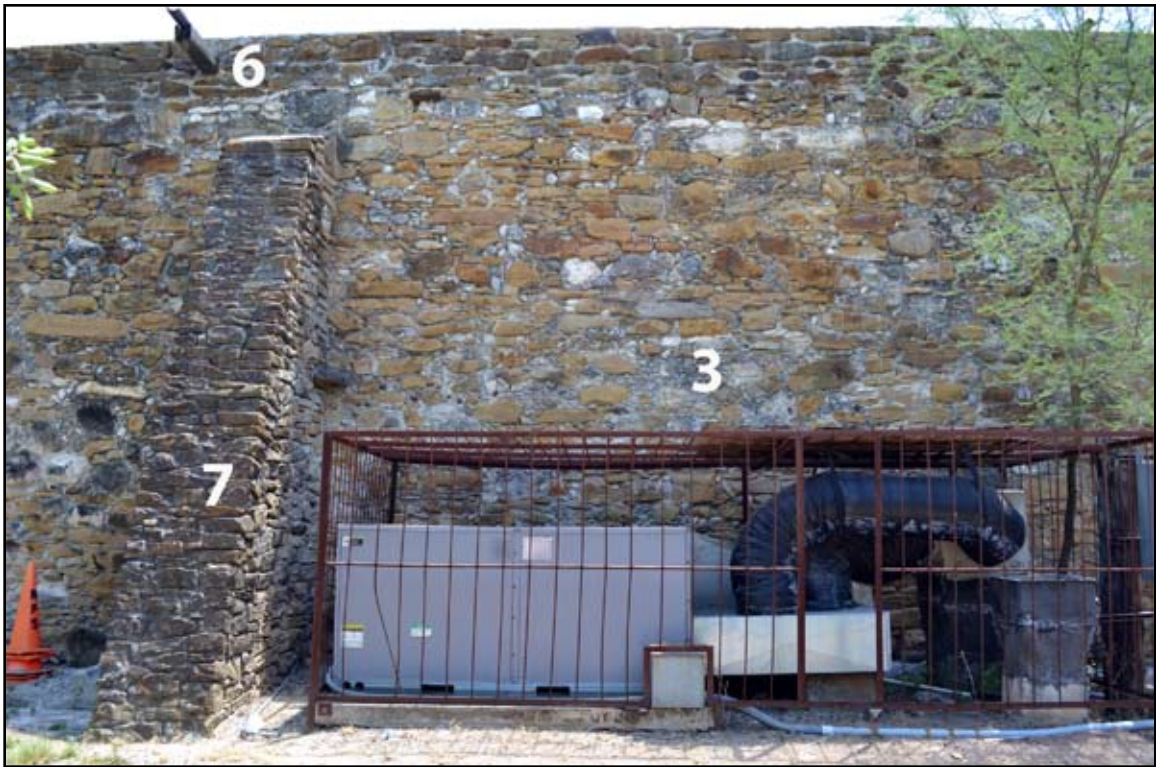


**Plate 23.** Phasing diagram of north bay of west elevation. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 24.** Phasing diagram of middle bay of west elevation. *Photograph by author.*





**Plate 25.** Phasing diagram of south bay of west elevation. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 26.** Highly variegated stone [left] mixed with gravely cement in west elevation. *Photograph by author.*



**Plate 27.** Arched doorway of 'half-finished church' baptistry looking southwest, 1983. Photograph by J. Lowe. Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. HABS TEX.15-SANT.V.3.23.



**Plate 28.** 1936 southwest elevation of chapel. Photograph by Arthur W. Stewart. Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. HABS TEX.15-SANT.V.3-4.



**Plate 29.** View north from middle of nave into choir loft with confessional below.  
*Photograph by author.*



roughly proportioned sandstone and limestone. The geology of the immediate area consists of terrace deposits of sand, silt, clay and gravel in various proportions, but deposits of fine-grained sandstone and limestone lie within a few kilometers (USGS 2011). The local sources of sandstone and limestone together with the dimensions used provided for an economy of construction while likely also being products of the available tools, transport and labor-power. Original mission construction should display this type of masonry and exhibit environmental erosion from  $\approx 250$  years of exposure. The sandstone blocks in the lower area of the west elevation meet these criteria. Sections of the wall that show very diverse combinations of rubble sizes and composition suggest an area of repair or later addition, possibly using rubble that was salvaged rather than quarried.<sup>9</sup> Conversely, the masonry displayed in the buttresses is generally smaller, atypically uniform, and less weathered than C18 construction found elsewhere in the site (c.f. Plate 27).

Although the east elevation is faced with cement, concealing most of the masonry, elements adjoining and penetrating the elevation enable comparison with the west elevation.

Where the cement has fallen off the masonry over the middle doorway some of the stonework underneath is revealed to be an authentic arch. Likewise, cement has fallen away above the main door revealing what appear to be several voussoirs in the arch at that location, suggesting that this construction belongs to phase one.

The timber lintels supporting the apertures for the middle and south doors and the south ocular window have not been cemented over and are also easily inspected. The change from masonry to timber-framed apertures is a design and engineering decision that could have resulted from several different decisions. Changes in technology may reflect distinct building periods, as the chapel was built and rebuilt over the course of C18 and C19. Different engineering solutions might reflect socioeconomic pressures on the original plan, which, for example, respond to constraints on available time or the expertise of the workforce. The use of timber lintels may represent a later period of construction, when quarry labor or transport was unavailable, for example. Alternately, timber may have been employed during an early phase, but to simplify construction and speed completion of parts of the building, especially if complex masonry was proving problematic. C18 missionary diaries describe presidio soldiers being pressed into service to speed the completion of mission churches (Forrestal 1935). C20 chancery records indicate that some of the window lintels may have been replaced with ‘antiqued’ material during C20 (ABB 1962).

During the last half of C18, the *indios bárbaros* workforce did not congregate sufficiently or assimilate to Spanish lifeways as expected (c.f. Leutenegger 1968: 351; Dabbs 1940: 443). Prior to the New Spain mission period and continuing episodically through C18, infectious disease and military repression devastated indigenous populations (Dobyns 1991; Perttula 1991). Many Indians who initially did visit the missions found the European lifestyle and mysterious zoonotic diseases antithetical to their traditional lifeways.

\* \* \*

As Almaráz has cogently described (1989:2), the Franciscan missionaries were agents of the Spanish crown whose role was to acculturate and assimilate the indigenous population into that empire. The ideal missionary process was a progression through *misión* (commitment to the plan), *reducción* (congregation at the selected site), *conversion* (religious instruction), *doctrina* (observance of Spanish Christianity) through to *parroquia* and *pueblo* (civil status). In the last stages of *parroquia* and *pueblo*, the resident mission *vecinos* and land would be transformed (secularized or privatized) into a civil community of resident landowners. All of this was assumed to be accomplished in the span of twenty years, a single generation, during which the indigenous populations of the New World would be made into citizens of New Spain.

This scheme coexisted, not always peacefully, with inter-colonial contention among the various European kingdoms and emerging nations, and later with the new Anglo-America polity established in the



eastern part of the continent. Besides that, within New Spain, the mission system contended with settler society and official colonial government, each of which followed orthogonal socioeconomic compulsions regarding territorial claims with the indigenous populations inhabiting the region (c.f. Almaráz 1989: 2-4; Hinojosa 1991: 61-83; Hinojosa 1990: 10-20; Smith 1996).

These contending political and economic agendas affected the activity of the missions, directly and indirectly. For example, the Missions delineated a surrounding complex of agricultural *labores* on which the Franciscans planned to cultivate crops and livestock. Competing demands from settlers regarding water, arable land and, eventually, livestock contributed to diminishing agricultural results in a region of marginal soil quality and episodic drought, and an agriculture based on cultivars transplanted from Iberia.

The antagonistic contention between settler and indigenous populations, whom the former tended to treat with open hostility and whose presence was considered a barrier to European civilization, was understood variously and acted upon by Indian societies (c.f. Gilmore 1989; Smith 2005). From the time of initial contact, European zoonotic diseases swept across the New World in a series of devastating epidemic events. Dobyns (1966, 1980, 1993) has demonstrated the tremendous reduction in Western Hemispheric populations that took place with the span of the first few generations, during which possibly 70 million persons died, raising essential questions about cultural traditions, histories and archaeologies, and very importantly, about Euroamerican observations and interpretations of those civilizations since first contact. The Caddoan civilization, which predominated what is now eastern Texas, and which provided the word *techas* – friend – of which the present name is a transliteration, was a well-established network of towns and villages whose successful agricultural base was described by Spanish and French travellers through the region (c.f. Forrestal 1931: 381-382; Swanton 1942: 153ff). Pre-contact C15 Caddoan population is estimated to have been 200,000, but by the late C17, the Caddoan civilization had been reduced to a confederacy of about 10,000, comprised predominantly of Kaddohadacho, Hasinai and Natchitoches population centers (Perttula 1991: 501ff; Smith 1995: 8). As they continued to face serious pressures, and outright assaults, from incoming settlers, epidemics, conflict with other indigenous populations, and the ongoing series of inter-European wars that spilled into the New World colonies, Indian societies underwent further processes of migration, merger and dissolution. These momentous and traumatic sociocultural changes within different Indian societies no doubt brought about transformations in belief systems and symbolizing practices as well (Dobyns 1991).<sup>10</sup>

\* \* \*

Construction work competed with mission agriculture on the *labores*, which, with limited resources, covering large areas and at a distance from the mission, would always assume fundamental importance. The present chapel rose in significance in part because another church-building project on the east side of the plaza was never completed. That building, begun in the mid-1700s, was abandoned, wrote the Mission President, due to ‘lack of Indians’ (Dabbs 1940: 443).<sup>11</sup>

Those parts of the chapel that feature complex masonry such as the west ocular window, the northeast buttress, the archways along the east elevation and the blocked-in arch on west elevation demonstrate a distinct architectural and engineering concept (Plates 8, 15, 27). The simpler wooden framed windows demonstrate a different construction technique very likely responding to economic pressures and constrained resources, as is the use of random salvaged stone to rebuild collapsed walls. The first approach antedates the second.

A significant historical narrative trend within the United States from the early C20 has been physical re-enactment of major, dominant narratives at historical archaeological sites in the form of simulated environments, such as the re-creation of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia. Re-creating a built environment as simulated narrative was proposed for the San Antonio mission sites, including San Juan de Capistrano, by Harvey P. Smith, Sr. in the 1930s (Plate 30) and eventually carried out at some locations, most notably

at Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo.

The masonry cement was possibly intended to help hold the stonework in place as well as provide a 'historic' appearance to the building. This cement was apparently first applied earlier in C20; stain was applied in the 1960s (Plates 18, 28, 9). Similarly, the buttresses along the west wall and the buttresses along the east wall aligned with the five arches and the end walls are also 'historic' re-creations, but later C20 additions.

Thus there are multiple phases of building activity described in the fabric of the chapel, which in turn represent multiple phases of use for the building, with ramifications for understanding life in New Spain, life during the C19 period of secularization that followed, and for interpreting the chapel site as it is situated within various constructed narratives describing Spanish Colonial and modern Texas history.

Overlaid on these uses is the chapel's life as a church, which throughout C20 has had an active congregation.

## Conclusions

The standing chapel illustrates three major sequences of building events that align with distinct sets of social practices and beliefs.

In founding Mission San Juan de Capistrano, as part of their commitment to *reducción*, *conversión* and *doctrina*, as well as their own obligations, the religious leaders of the Mission put building a place for observing Holy Mass at the center of their attention. According to plan, this was to be achieved through the work of the indigenous population, who were to be attracted to the Mission by the gospel spread by the *padres*.

For this, the missionaries and their escorts from the presidio ventured into the countryside seeking converts among people whose families had lived in the region for dozens of generations and had created traditions based on their own beliefs and practices. Fearful Spanish soldiers compounded difficult interaction by moving to violence at very slight provocation and within a cloud of pathogens that accompanied them. Weighed against successful lifeways – as in the example of the Red River Kaddohadacho – the missionaries could not well compete. Thus, despite episodic influxes, the number of Indians attracted to mission life was comparatively low and their mortality rate was high (Leutenegger 1968: 351; Dabbs 1940: 443). The combination of technologies demonstrated in the chapel fabric suggests this tension. Certainly at one time, the *padres* of Mission San Juan de Capistrano envisioned a more elaborate church than the present chapel, but as noted above, work on that structure was suspended due to 'lack of Indians' to build it (Dabbs 1940: 443).

The third phase exhibited in the west elevation demonstrates a major rebuilding of the chapel wall using random rubble visibly distinguishable from the original sandstone and limestone blocks used earlier. This is interesting for multiple reasons. Apparently, part of the west elevation collapsed or was taken down after the privatization of the Mission in C19. Whole sections of the mission were sold as building supplies promptly in 1824; a process that continued for some time thereafter (c.f. Weber 1981). From at least 1855, San Juan de Capistrano was subsidiary to San Francisco de la Espada with Father Francis Bouchu assigned responsibility for both. Over the next 50 years, Bouchu devoted his attention and personal finances to purchasing property at and renovating the church at San Francisco de la Espada (Almaráz 1989:26-27). In consequence the chapel at San Juan de Capistrano was likely further neglected. Diocese records note that a severe storm destroyed the roof in the 1880s, and the Richardson photograph (Plate 19) suggests not only a missing roof but part of a missing west wall as well.

While attempts to repair the chapel may have been made during the first half of C19, after the roof was destroyed the chapel required a much different type of renovation effort. The extensive random rubble repair along the south half of the west elevation suggests this repair was made using stone gathered from

a variety of sources and bonded with cement in a single organized effort, perhaps by parishioners.

The phase 5 and 6 elements signify the modern historization of the chapel, and specifically the overlaying of a specific narrative regarding the San Antonio Missions. This process began in the 1930s (or post 1918 era) and is not unique to San Juan de Capistrano but describes the broader process of New World colonization and Euroamerican country-building. Harvey P. Smith, Sr. envisioned rescuing the San Antonio Missions from total decay so that current and future generations would learn specific history lessons. Similarly, the Historical American Buildings Survey was established through the National Park Service in 1933-1934 to record 'important antique buildings of the United States' identified with historic events so that those would not pass into 'unrecorded oblivion' (LOC 2011). This enthusiasm involved writing historical narrative on paper and in bricks and mortar. Architectural drawings issued that year from Smith's architecture firm proposed 'restoring' several San Antonio Missions, including building structures that had not existed previously.

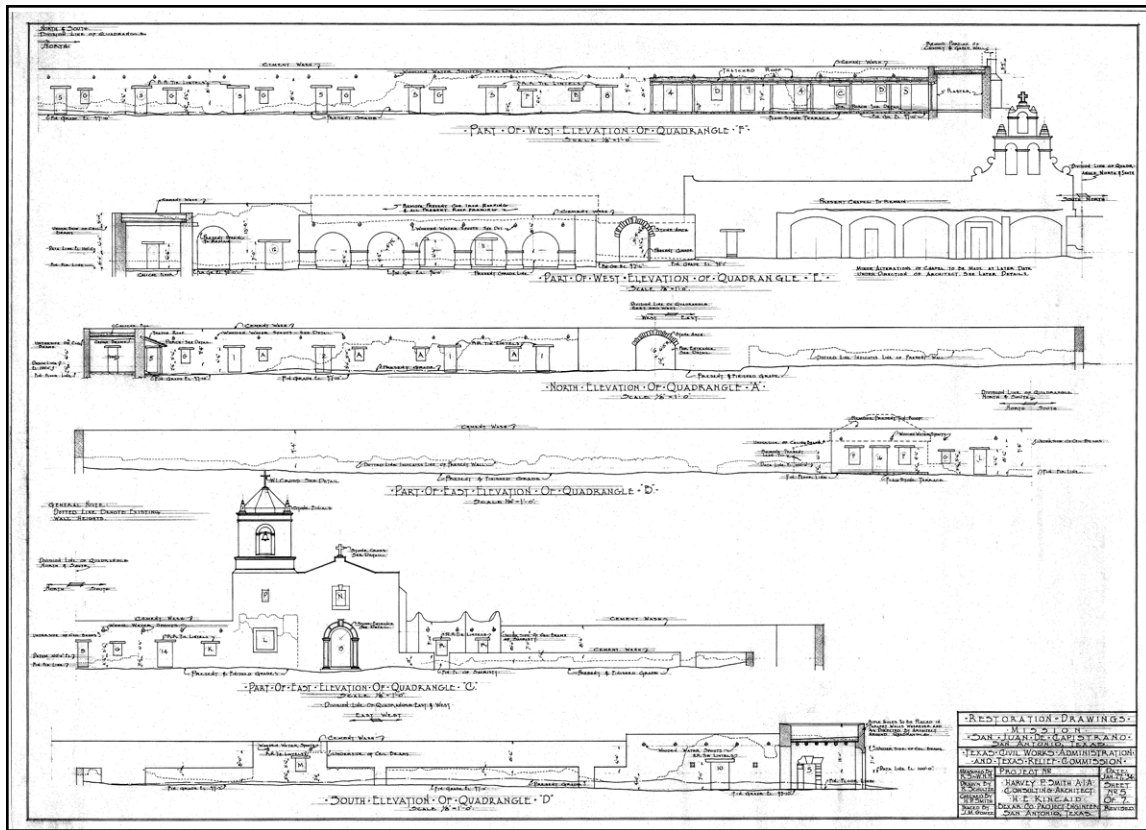
The present buttresses along the west elevation and most of the pilaster/buttresses along the east elevation of the chapel were built in this type of activity in later C20, as was the stained stucco, which attempted to 'achieve a patina that blends the old work with the new' (Walker 1963). Regardless of whether the chapel wall was externally reinforced at an earlier date, the current stonework is inauthentic. Smith's proposals however are more extensively inaccurate because the 'unfinished' nature of the missions is an important part of their lived history. The stained cement will only ever be a modern addition to C18 masonry. The narrative being constructed describes how the New World was 'settled' by Euroamericans, who approached the Borderlands as an unclaimed space over which, through their *acto de posesión* (Almaráz 1989: 8), they could establish dominion. Within this narrative, the indigenous populations were a nearly cultureless, nomadic *tabula rasa* to which the Spanish zealots would bring advanced civilization (c.f. Leutenegger & Perry 1976: 23). The reconstruction imagined by Harvey Smith enacted just such a fictional narrative, where the unfinished church was finished, when finally there was no 'lack of Indians.'

The chapel building displays a different and more complex historical narrative altogether. In its original designs, it is elegantly engineered to reflect a monastic view of religious life and was probably well adapted to the harsh climate of the region. The travails visited upon the building during C19 parallel socioeconomic transformations in the region during this same period. The restoration and stewardship of the chapel by its parish and the Archdiocese during C20 have provided stability and ensured its survival into the next century.

#### *Recommendations for Further Work*

Tree ring dating of the wood lintels and any other structural wood elements of the building might help to establish the temporal sequence of construction.

A stone-by stone analysis of the building is no longer possible and probably not useful, but a more precise geochemical analysis of the west elevation might establish the sources for and sequence used in its construction.



**Plate 30.** Harvey P. Smith, Sr. Restoration Drawing of Mission San Juan de Capistrano buildings. Second row from bottom depicts 'unfinished church' as new construction. Texas Civil Works Administration / Texas Relief Commission. Courtesy National Park Service.

## Endnotes

1. See for example the April 25, 1966 letter from Archbishop Lucey to Curtis Tunnell, State Archeologist, discussing proposed excavations by unnamed archaeologists and prior work by Smith Sr. and Smith Jr. (Lucey 1966).
2. Scheutz first approached the Archdiocese of San Antonio for permission to excavate San Juan Capistrano Mission in Spring 1959 (Herzig 1959).
3. Scheutz (1968) refers to renovations taking place in 1907; documents in the Chancery Archives announce that the chapel was officially blessed and rededicated on January 31, 1909 (Southern Messenger 1909a; Southern Messenger 1909b).
4. In this process of privatization, the *vecinos* who had been the intended beneficiaries of the original C18 mission system, were overwhelmingly expropriated (Almaráz 1989: 18-24).
5. Padre Francisco Maynes: 23 pesos, 1/2 reales; Lt. Col. Juan Castañeda: 30 pesos, 6 reales; Cresencio Montes: 10 pesos; at a rate of 10 pesos per 20 *varas* of wall.
6. Mardith Scheutz corresponded with the Archdiocese as Curator for the Texas Archeological Society and as Curator for the Witte Memorial Museum, and was apparently also operating under the auspices of the State Archeologist, State Building Commission (Tunnell 1966; Scheutz 1966; Herzig 1959).
7. Br. Edward Loch, Archivist for the Archdiocese of San Antonio, suggested this possibility to me, noting the historical proximity of the Council of Trent and its canons and decrees regarding the Sacraments.
8. Note that this parapet extension is not in place in the 1936 HABS photo of the elevation, Plate 28.
9. Plate 18 shows a wall running north from the chapel which indicates that the wall was salvaged for stone after 1890. The photograph also shows the arched buttress without a squared shoulder.
10. Smith suggests that the Kaddohadacho *xinsei* – line of hereditary religious leader – may have died out or at least was no longer esteemed by the mid-C18 (Smith 1995: 55).
11. In his 1785 report to the Bishop of Nuevo León regarding San Juan de Capistrano, Fr. Fray Jose Francisco López describes ‘the penury into which this mission has fallen’ and the half-finished church construction – referring to the chapel on the east side of the plaza – due to ‘lack of Indians’ (Dabbs 1940: 443).

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**Appendix A**  
**Location Key to Site Photographs**

## **Appendix B**

### **Measured Drawings**

## **Appendix C**

### **Supplemental Photographs**

## **Appendix D**

### **HABS Drawings of Chapel**