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### The Afro-Latino Presence in Late Colonial Spanish San Antonio

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The Afro-Latino Presence in Late Colonial Spanish San Antonio

Diana González Villarreal

Scope and Methods of Historical Research 4301

Spring 2020

## **Introduction**

San Antonio is one of the oldest cities in what is currently the state of Texas. For tens of millennia, Natives have inhabited the entirety of the Americas, and also more specifically the area that is now San Antonio because of its fertile soil and rivers; it is this geographic feature that facilitates the thriving of civilizations. As such, the European Spanish settlers and missionaries established their presence in this very area as early as 1718. Since then, the inevitable miscegenation that resulted has molded the identity of what is now San Antonio, Texas, with over 300 years of documented history of various cultures from around the world coming together. However, there is very little scholarly work regarding demographics in San Antonio before Texas entered the Union, before Texas was an independent republic, and before Texas was a state of Mexico—and more specifically, regarding the Afro-Latino population. The University of Texas at San Antonio does have a “San Antonio Black History Collection” in their library, and currently the collection only goes as far back as 1873. However, black heritage in San Antonio goes back much further than post-Civil War history. I propose the argument that independent Afro-Latinos in what is now present-day San Antonio, although small, were present and established in society during late colonial Spanish rule. The significance of studying the Afro-Latino presence in San Antonio during late colonial New Spain manifests in two different forms. The first of which is the focus of this study; it brings into question the flexibility of the Spanish caste system. And the second is that it substantially adds to the history of black heritage in San Antonio. Additionally, both force us to revisit and question the anglicized narrative of American history

## Overview

This study was centered in late colonial New Spain, and more specifically in San Antonio. The primary source documents used to analyze data were census records of the surrounding Missions that were stored in the Bexar County Spanish Archives building, and more specifically, the census records used were for the year of 1792 for the Missions of San Juan Capistrano, La Purísima Concepción, and El Señor San José. Because the census data for those Missions is only for one year, the limitation of comparison to future years is presented. Be that as it may, because the caste identifier is listed, it still allows for the analyzation of different roles in a pre-anglicized society. For the Mission of San Francisco de la Espada, the census data collected were for the years 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1797. The Mission of San Antonio de Valero, the census data collected were for the years 1792 and 1796. Lastly, for the Villa of San Fernando de Béxar, the census data collected were for the years 1793 and 1796. Because of the availability of different years for the last three mentioned, comparing changes throughout the years was possible, allowing for different conclusions. It must be noted, however, that the census data used for this thesis were English typed translations of the original census records that were handwritten in Spanish. One other primary source used was the set of laws King Alfonso X, The Wise enacted in the 13<sup>th</sup> century known as Las Siete Partidas. This code of law was very important and influential in Hispanic America as it was in effect up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Specifically, the source referenced was published by the Real Academia de la Historia in 1807 in Madrid, Spain.

In what has been the focus of African American studies, according to historian Douglas Richmond, “scholars of slavery have discounted the African presence in Texas during the

colonial era have said that ‘the amount was insignificant.’”<sup>1</sup> And, given their focus and field of study, they were right. “In the year of 1777, Texas’ population was totaled to be at 3,103 persons—only twenty of whom were classified as slaves. However, when factoring in the mulatto population, the Afro-descendant presence in Texas is far more striking. By the year of 1792, Texas had a total of 414 mulattoes, which accounted to about fifteen percent of the entire state of Texas having been of African ancestry, be it mixed or otherwise.”<sup>2</sup>

### **Historiography and Intervention**

Ambiguities found in various historical records regarding caste identifiers have sparked a debate that persists to this day in Mexican academics who specialize in the colonial period in respect to the importance of race and the functionality of two fundamental social processes of that time: the construction of an identity and social stratification. One side of the debate maintains that the person’s race or phenotypes—that is to say, the visible differences based on hereditary features such as skin color, among other things—weighed more than their socioeconomic status. The other side of the debate maintains, however, that due to the continuous process of miscegenation and of capitalism in the late colonial period, economic status eventually surpassed race as a principal factor in the construction of identity and the precision of social rank.<sup>3</sup> Some of the scholars who argue that race was the principal factor in influencing these social processes include Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán in his work, “*La Población Negra de México*,” (1972), and Ben Vinson III in his work, “*Bearing Arms for His Majesty*,” (2001), among others. Conversely, some of the scholars who argue that class was the principal

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas W. Richmond, *Africa’s Initial Encounter with Texas: The Significance of Afro-Tejanos in Colonial Tejas 1528-1821*, (Bulletin of Latin American Research, 2007), 200-221.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Patrick J. Carroll, *El Debate Académico Sobre los Significados Sociales Entre Clase y Raza en el México del Siglo XVIII*, (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 2011), 111-142.

factor that influenced these two processes include María Elisa Velázquez in her work, “*Mujeres de Origen Africano en la Capital Novohispana, Siglos XVII y XVIII*,” (2006), and Herman Bennett in his work, “*Africans in Colonial Mexico*,” (2003), among others.

However, the data in this study has clearly demonstrated that both schools of thought were not mutually exclusive as both phenomena were found to have occurred. It is because of this that there is no concrete distinction which of the two played a more dominant role in the social sphere of identity in late colonial Spanish San Antonio. On one hand, the argument for a person’s race being the principal factor in social stratification can be made; some of the findings in all the census records indicate the changing of castes for the same persons as the years progressed to reflect having a more favored European descent, replacing previous descriptions that constituted having African or native roots. However, the argument that economic status and not race held more weight is applicable to part of this study as well.<sup>4</sup> This analysis demonstrates that either one spouse or both of whose household encountered a change in caste also saw a shift in occupation for the head of household. Because the caste system was initially created to maintain a sort of social order, the changes seen in castes that occurred in official records had social implications. These findings implicate that manipulating one’s own race and navigating the existing social structure during this time was possible, portraying the seemingly rigid caste system in late colonial Spanish San Antonio as a more fluid one.

Another peculiar observation is the number of households with one spouse listed as *español/a* and the other spouse (or children see: widow) listed with any African descent. These household grew from 3% in 1793 to 6% in 1796. And even more curious is the shift in castes

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<sup>4</sup> Specifically, the census data sets for La Villa of San Fernando (years 1793 and 1796), and San Antonio de Valero (years 1792 and 1796).

and sexes in these same households; in 1796 there were more women listed as *españolas* married to men who were listed to have been of African descent than there were in 1793.

Some repeating names of people or families that were found in different years were written with spelling variances. This detail is important as it reinforced attentive analysis of all documents, imparting additional scrutiny to the names of married couples, their age, and the sex and age of their children. An example of these variances would be interchanging a “v” with a “b,” and a “c,” with a “z,” or “s,” or vice versa. One other example would be the omission or inclusion of first names. In customary naming practices of New Spain, most children were initially given a very common first name upon their birth; usually, those names would be Juan or José for boys and María or Josefa for girls. Because of traditional Catholic customs, most infants would undergo baptism at just a few days old. And it would be in that baptism where the children would be Christened their second name—the one which they would go by—usually being the name of the respective saint’s feast day in which the child was born. It is in this that in some records, one person may have been recorded as being named Francisca del Valle in 1793, but later seen as having been recorded as María Francisca del Valle in 1796, just as she was in the respective census record datum for San Fernando.<sup>5</sup>

The focus of this study specifically examines people who were considered free and living in their own home and of African ancestry, and because of this, those who were listed as slaves in the census records will be omitted in this research, regardless of what caste was used. This decision was based on slaves being listed as residing in the same household as their masters and not as living in their own homes.

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<sup>5</sup> 1793 and 1796 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando, Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

## Context

### Las Siete Partidas

In the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, Spanish King Don Alfonso X, The Wise, presented to his kingdom a set of laws known as “Las Siete Partidas,” or The Seven Part Code [of Law], completed in 1265.<sup>6</sup> In Part Four of these seven codes, there are a total of nineteen laws under both Titles XXI and XXII that pertain to servitude and freedom respectively—Title XXI has eight laws and Title XXII has eleven laws.

In Title XXI, Law I defined “siervos,” or servants, under three different categories; the first being prisoners of war who were considered enemies of the faith, the second being the children of those in servitude, and the third being the free man who allows himself to be sold.<sup>7</sup> In Law VI outlined protections for servants. Save for their masters finding the servants in bed with their wives or daughters, masters of servants were not allowed to kill, hurt or harm, nor starve their servants. And if a master so happened to have committed any of those acts (and if the servant was not killed), the servant had every right to bring the case before a judge in search of justice. In such cases where the masters were found guilty, the servants were guaranteed by the courts to never serve for those abusive masters again.<sup>8</sup> In this, the laws acknowledge that any mistreated servant had the right to seek justice against their abusive masters, thereby de facto granting servants agency. Title XXI contains other laws as well regarding servitude and the status in which one may have been born into.

In Title XXII, Law I outlines the definition of freedom and how a servant may obtain it. There are more than two Laws in this Title that pertain to protections of a person who was a

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<sup>6</sup> Because this code of law is so broad, the parts worth mentioning will be condensed as best possible without omitting pertinent information.

<sup>7</sup> King Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, Cuarta Partida, Título XXI, Ley I.

<sup>8</sup> King Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, Cuarta Partida, Título XXI, Ley VI.



servant acknowledging that, although they may have been servants, their agency as humans was still respected.<sup>9</sup> Law IV particularly protected women servants who were sexually exploited by their masters, granting them their freedom as well as guaranteeing that those masters never regain possession of said servant(s) in any way.<sup>10</sup> Law V states that if a male servant marries a free woman—without objection from their master—the servant is granted freedom. The same applied to female servants, as well as an additional advantage; if her master were to marry her, she would also be granted freedom.<sup>11</sup> It is with these laws included in *Las Siete Partidas* that rights to servants are outlined, awarded and observed as early as the thirteenth century in Spain. There are other laws in Title XXII that outlined stipulations, limitations, and qualifications for servants attaining freedom as well.

### Language Evolution in Law

Recognizing the complexity of languages and translations means understanding that not everything will translate in the exact same manner from one language to the other, much less the words from over seven hundred and two hundred years ago. The entire code of law was written in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, and as such, the language in the text corresponds to the language spoken at that time which was 13<sup>th</sup> Century Castilian Spanish. It is very likely that the word *siervo*, while used as a term that was written in *Las Siete Partidas*, was given a different meaning as time went on. The word “esclavo,”—or slave—never once appears in the text of *Las Siete Partidas*. The oldest of the two words is *siervo*. *Esclavo* is a word that makes an appearance at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and with more extensive use of the word found in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and afterwards.

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<sup>9</sup> King Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, Cuarta Partida, Título XXII, Ley I

<sup>10</sup> King Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, Cuarta Partida, Título XXII, Ley IV

<sup>11</sup> King Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, Cuarta Partida, Título XXII, Ley V

According to historian José Luis Cortés López, “a servant is not property of the master—even though he [servant] may depend on his master his whole life; whereas slavery constitutes the last degree of submission, and from a legal standpoint, a complete annulment of liberty and human dignities.”<sup>12</sup> It is because of this that “‘esclavitud,’ or slavery, possibly assumed the concepts of ‘servidumbre,’ or servitude...and the term *esclavo* was a word overwhelmingly and almost absolutely used to describe one who was dispossessed of liberty, and therefore, submitted to another.”<sup>13</sup>

### The Caste System and its Terminologies

It is through these laws that allowed for manumission and freedom through marriage that free people of African descent and their children began to constitute a considerable social element in Hispanic America in the New World. In order to achieve the ends of all proletariat subversion to the Spanish crown, viceroyalty authorities assigned the production of paintings known as the “Cuadros de Castas” as a means to establish a social hierarchy in the Americas. These paintings were consistent with depicting and categorizing families and people by race in what is now known as the Spanish caste system.<sup>14</sup> These paintings illustrated phenotypical occurrences that were a result of miscegenation. In essence, these works were little more than catalogues designed to adjust to the social complexities produced by racial mixing. The goal was to make the caste system more functional.<sup>15</sup>

The caste system was a social order implemented in colonial New Spain to safeguard the rights [of the Spaniards] and maintain a social hierarchy, allowing for the European born

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<sup>12</sup> José Luis Cortés López, *La Esclavitud Negra en La España Peninsular del Siglo XVI*, (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1989)

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Jesús de la Teja, “Blacks in Colonial Spanish Texas,” (Texas State Historical Association, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Patrick J. Carroll, *El Debate Académico Sobre los Significados Sociales Entre Clase y Raza en el México del Siglo XVIII*, (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 2011), 111-142.

minority to hold a position of power over the *indios*, *criollos*, *negros/moros*, *mulatos*, and *mestizos* who were the majority.<sup>16</sup> According to historian Jesús de la Teja, “in the socio-racial hierarchy of the Spanish colonial world, Spaniards stood at the top, followed by the various castas, with Indians and Africans at the bottom.”<sup>17</sup>

The term *criollo* was utilized by the Spanish crown to identify Spaniards born in New Spain. The purpose for implementing this term to identify these American born Spaniards was so that the Spanish crown could place limitations of power to those with political influence, which would have debilitated any potential opposition. And although the term *criollo* did exist in colonial New Spain, the term was not found in any of the documents analyzed in this research. In fact, for this study most of those with Spanish ancestry were listed simply as *español* as their caste identifier, even though most of them were not European born. The more basic and well-known terms or classifications used in this system were applied to those who were a product of unions between *españoles*, *negros/moros*, *indios*, as well as any combination of these three. These classifications labeled the biological child of an *español* and an *indio* as a *mestizo*,<sup>18</sup> the biological child of an *español* and a *negro* as a *mulatto*,<sup>19</sup> and the biological child of an *indio* and a *negro/moro* as a *zambo*.<sup>20</sup> The biological children of *mulattos*, *zambos* and *mestizos* were further classified in the caste system as well, with different terms for any and all possibilities.

With time, different terms were born and applied to the increasing variety of miscegenated peoples; Spaniards labelled those of African descent by means of exact descriptions of their skin color or physical characteristics. For example, the term *moreno* was

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<sup>16</sup> Patrick J. Carroll, *El Debate Académico Sobre los Significados Sociales Entre Clase y Raza en el México del Siglo XVIII*, (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 2011), 111-142.

<sup>17</sup> Jesús de la Teja, “Blacks in Colonial Spanish Texas,” (Texas State Historical Association, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Anonymous. *Las Castas*. 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Oil on canvas. 148 x 104 cm. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, México.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Ben Vinson III, *Moriscos y Lobos en la Nueva España*, (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 2011), 159-178.

used to describe a dark-skinned African, while *pardo* was used to describe a light-skinned African, usually also a *mulato*.<sup>21</sup> The terms *lobo/a* and *coyote/a* were both also used as caste descriptors found in some of the census record data analyzed for this research. The term *lobo/a* according to historian Ben Vinson, was used to describe a person “who was of mixed background, either of *indio* and *mulato*, or *indio* and *negro/moro*.”<sup>22</sup> *Coyote* was another term that was utilized in the census record data observed for this research which is referenced only once by psychologist Patrick J. Carroll, citing a note written on the margin of a parochial marriage record written by a priest, as “a racial hybrid of *negro* [with] *ind[io]*.”<sup>23</sup> Both terms denote African descent, thus it is concluded that the census takers utilized this term as needed in congruence with descriptive phenotypical features of people with African descent.

To further add to the deconstruction of different definitions applied to different terms in the same society, so too must the application of deconstruction of definitions respective to their era be applied to current studies and standards. One example is the translation of the word *español* into English—being “Spanish.” The definition that is associated with that word translates to either being a Spaniard or of Spanish descent—of which, both have their own respective definitions in the modern English language. It is because of this that the terminology for all castes will be further presented in their original written language in an attempt to prevent any application of modern definitions or prejudices to the English translations.

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<sup>21</sup> Douglas W. Richmond, *Africa's Initial Encounter with Texas: The Significance of Afro-Tejanos in Colonial Texas 1528-1821*, (Bulletin of Latin American Research, 2007), 200-221.

<sup>22</sup> Ben Vinson III, *Moriscos y Lobos en la Nueva España*, (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 2011), 159-178.

<sup>23</sup> Patrick J. Carroll, *El Debate Académico Sobre los Significados Sociales Entre Clase y Raza en el México del Siglo XVIII*, (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 2011), 111-142.

### Misiones de San Juan, San José y La Purísima Concepción

For each of these three Missions, the census record data was only obtained for the year of 1792. For whatever reason, not everyone's caste was listed. For December 31, 1792, the census records for the Mission of San Juan Capistrano indicate that there were nine out of twenty-nine households that had one or more persons listed as *mulato/a*<sup>24</sup>—which totaled to approximately seven percent of the total population living in San Juan for that year. Of those nine, four different households—all comprising of married couples—had one or more child(ren) living in the home at the time of the census being taken. And of those same nine, three different households had men categorized under of head of household being listed as *mulato*. Two of those three held occupations as farmers, and the third held the occupation of a driver. One of these three men, José Toscano, a *mulato* of Béxar, was recorded to have been living with and married to Trinidad Flores, a *mestiza* from Nacogdoches. Four of the nine aforementioned households had men listed as heads, but without the mention of their caste. Their wives, however, were all each listed as *mulatas*. Another gentleman to note of those nine is Francisco Pérez, an *español* of Béxar, and a farmer, listed as the head of household, was married to Jacinta Martínez, a *mulata* from Los Adaes. Lastly, the ninth household was of Valentín de León, a *mestizo* from Reynosa whose occupation was listed as shepherd, was recorded to have been living with and married to Micaela Monzón, a *mulata* also from Reynosa.<sup>25</sup>

In the census records for the Mission of La Purísima Concepción for December 31, 1792, there was a total of thirty-two households. Of those thirty-two, there were only three in which one or more persons were listed as *mulato/a* or *lobo/a*. This is considerably smaller when comparing it to the Mission of San Juan Capistrano—almost nine percent of the total population

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<sup>24</sup> See Figure 1 in Appendix

<sup>25</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Juan Capistrano. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

living in La Purísima Concepción for that year. Of these three households, one was Angela Pintado, a widow, listed as *loba*; her place of origin and occupation were left blank. José Luis Salazar, a *mulato* of San Francisco de los Patos, whose occupation was listed under farmer, was recorded to have been married to and living with Rosa Pacheco, also *mulata*, whose place of origin was not listed. Lastly, Faustino Garza of Béxar, a *mestizo* whose occupation was also listed under farmer, was recorded to have been married to and living with María de la Garza, who was listed as *mulata*, whose place of origin was not mentioned. None of these three households had children living with them.<sup>26</sup>

In the census records for the Mission of San José for December 31, 1792, there were a total of sixty-seven households—excluding a household listed as “not valid.” Of these sixty-seven households, only six households each had one or more persons listed as *mulato/a* or *lobo/a*, comprising of almost nine percent of the total population living in the Mission of San José. In these six households, all heads were listed as married and only two households had children listed as living with them. Only three of the six heads did not have their caste or occupation listed, however the wives of those three were all listed as *mulatas*—all of whom had the same last name. Two of those wives were from Los Adaes and one was from Béxar. Felipe Montoya, a *mulato* and a shepherd from Los Pozos de Acosta, was recorded to have been living with and married to María Isabel Larañaga, whose caste and place of origin were not reported. Feliciano Ramírez, a cowherd and native of La Bahía, was listed to have been living with and married to Teresa de la Garza, whose origin was not listed. Both were categorized as *lobos* for their caste. Lastly, a gentleman by the name of José Manzolo, a *mulato* and a farmer from Los Adaes was

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<sup>26</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of La Purísima Concepción. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

listed to have been living with and married to Guadalupe de Sosa, an *española* whose place of origin was not listed.<sup>27</sup>

Of all the mixed marriages resulting in biological children, it is inferred—based on the systematic categorization of the Spanish caste system—that those children would have fallen under other castes such as *lobo/a*, *coyote/a*, or *mulato/a* as previously mentioned. Their existence meant further establishment of people with African descent as well as the expansion of the web that was the Spanish caste system. Also noteworthy is another social occurrence in this time frame; two households contained married couples that comprised of an *español/a* and a *mulato/a* each. In the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, Pérez was an *español* married to Martínez, a *mulata*. And in the Mission of San José, Manzolo and his wife, de Sosa, both had those same castes, but inverted, not only was Manzolo a *mulato*, but he was married to an *española*.

The evidence demonstrates that race distinctions were observed and recorded in these government documents, and—as a default function of the census records—proves that free Afro-Latinos were present in late colonial Spanish San Antonio. The changes that took place in people's caste descriptions for this data, although few, are also significant enough to question how rigidly the hierarchical social structure of the Spanish caste system operated in late colonial Spanish San Antonio. Additionally, the number of mixed households is significant as it challenges the notion that the caste system was used as a tool in maintaining a social and racial hierarchy.

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<sup>27</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of Nuestro Señor de San José. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

## Misión de San Francisco de la Espada

For the Mission of San Francisco de la Espada, the census record data was observed for the years 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795.<sup>28</sup> Because these census records contained fewer people listed under *mulatos/as* compared to the previous set of data, there was a different—yet equally significant—method of analyzation applied to this study. This method comprised of comparing changes made to two specific households, of which were recorded in all the different census records for this Mission—save for one.<sup>29</sup> For the census record data dated for December 31, 1792, there were a total of thirty-eight households, five of which contained one or more persons who were listed as *mulato/a* for their caste descriptor.<sup>30</sup> For the census record data dated for December 31, 1793, there were a total of thirty-six households, five of which contained one or more persons who were listed as *mulato/a* under the caste system. However, three of those five were not recorded in the previous year; the three that were replaced from 1792 were also not mentioned whatsoever in 1793.<sup>31</sup> For the census record data for December 31, 1794, the population was categorized by caste; the mayor (*español*) was listed first, followed by *indios* and their families, followed by *españoles* and their families. The total number of households that year went down to a total of twenty.<sup>32</sup>

For the census record data for December 31, 1797, the records have the castes each uniformly categorized; with the exception of the mayor (*español*) being listed first, both *indios* and *españoles* were each categorized separately. Both *indios* and *españoles* were subcategorized by status—ie: families, single men and widows. For this year, there was a jump in the number of households to a total of forty; the mayor for this census was not counted as a household—a

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<sup>28</sup> See Figure 2 in Appendix

<sup>29</sup> Felix Gutiérrez was not mentioned in the 1794 census for this Mission

<sup>30</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>31</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>32</sup> 1794 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.



particularity that differs from 1794's census data.<sup>33</sup> Neither of the census record data for the years 1794 and 1797 had any person listed as either a *mulato/a*, *lobo/a*, or *coyote/a*.

Because more years were able observed for this Mission, there was ease in analyzing and comparing changes throughout the years for the same families. Crisanto Antonio Martínez was listed to have been married to María Dolores Benitez and were both parents to two sons and one daughter. Crisanto's family is recorded in the four different years observed, and with changes in the census data for each year. In 1792 he described as a *mulato* for his caste and his wife was described as *española*.<sup>34</sup> In 1793, their castes were switched.<sup>35</sup> However, for years 1794 and 1797, not only were Crisanto and Dolores identified as *españoles*, but the entire household had been listed under the section for *Familias españolas*.<sup>36</sup> José Félix Gutiérrez was followed in the census documents for three of the four years listed—1792, 1793, and 1797. Félix was listed to have been married to Bárbara Torres, were both parents to two daughters. In 1792, both Félix and Bárbara were both listed as *mulatos*.<sup>37</sup> For 1793, Félix's caste status had been changed to *español* and Bárbara's caste had remained the same.<sup>38</sup> For 1797, there was an occurrence very similar to what had happened to Crisanto; both Félix and Bárbara were listed as *españoles* for their caste, and their household was also included in the section for *Familias españolas*.<sup>39</sup> José Joaquín de Lerma and his family were only in two of the four census records—for years 1793 and 1794. Joaquín was listed to have been married to and living with Simona Sánchez for both years. In 1793, both are listed with their castes being described as *mulatos*. However, just one year later in 1794, both of their castes were changed to *mestizos*.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> 1797 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>34</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>35</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>36</sup> 1794 and 1797 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada, Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>37</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>38</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>39</sup> 1797 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>40</sup> 1793 and 1794 Spanish Census, Mission of San Francisco de la Espada, Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

These three households all experienced the complete erasure of any official mention of their African descent in these government documents and their castes began to reflect [on paper] more as *españoles*. These changes in people's caste descriptions are significant findings as they further challenge the caste system; it—just like any social construct—seems to have been more flexible and fluid than it was portrayed. It is this flexibility that facilitated people's navigability of their environment, allowing them to manipulate their social stratification.

### **Misión de San Antonio de Valero**

For the Mission of San Antonio de Valero, the census record data for the years 1792 and 1796 were observed.<sup>41</sup> The method of analysis & comparison in this Mission reflects that which was applied to the Mission of San Francisco de la Espada—of which, two different census records were analyzed and the same families who appeared in both records were compared for any differences. The census record for the year 1792 denotes a total of thirty-five households, fourteen of which had one or more persons identified as *mulato/a*,<sup>42</sup> making up a total of forty percent of the households in this Mission.<sup>43</sup> Of these fourteen households, seven were also listed in the census record for 1796; six of which had differences in comparison to one another.

Two men, Juan de Dios Cortés and Anselmo Cuevas both were married with children for the year of 1792; these two men's caste descriptors were left blank for this year. Cortés had his occupation listed as a mason and was recorded to have been married to Juana Rodríguez, a *mulata* from Monterrey. Cuevas, whose occupation was left blank, was married to Manuela de Luna, a *mulata* from La Bahía.<sup>44</sup> By 1796, these same two households had changed on the

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<sup>41</sup> See Figure 3 in the Appendix

<sup>42</sup> No other descriptions such as *lobo/a* or *coyote/a* were found for this year.

<sup>43</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>44</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

census records; both men were now listed as *indios*, and Rodríguez–Cortés’ wife–had her caste changed to *mestiza*. De Luna’s caste descriptor was left blank for this year, Cortés’ occupation had changed from mason to farmer, and Cuevas–where his occupation was left blank in the previously mentioned census–had also become a farmer by this time.<sup>45</sup>

Another gentleman, Nepomuceno San Miguel was, for both census records, a farmer who was recorded to have been married to Ana María de Luna with children. In the census record data for 1792, San Miguel’s caste was listed as *mulato* and Ana María de Luna’s was left blank.<sup>46</sup> However, for the census record data for 1796, San Miguel’s caste had changed from *mulato* to *indio*, and Ana María de Luna’s caste was also changed and was listed as *mulata*.<sup>47</sup>

José Antonio Acosta was listed in 1792 as a farmer who was recorded to have been married to María Luisa Rincón with children living in their household; his caste was marked as *mulato*, and Rincón’s caste was left blank.<sup>48</sup> In 1796, neither of Acosta’s marital status nor occupation had changed, however, both he and Rincón’s castes had changed; his caste for this year appeared as *indio*, and his wife’s as *mulata*.<sup>49</sup>

José Joaquín Cuevas and Juan José Cuevas were two men also listed in the 1792 census for the aforementioned Mission, each possessing their own household. Both men were listed with their occupation left blank, and both were also listed as being married with children. In the case of these two households, both men and both of their spouses were listed as *mulato/as*; José Joaquín was married to María Manuela Ramírez and Juan José was married to Juana María Flores.<sup>50</sup> In the census data for 1796, the same anomaly is observed as for the previously

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<sup>45</sup> 1796 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives–translated.

<sup>46</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives–translated.

<sup>47</sup> 1796 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives–translated.

<sup>48</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives–translated.

<sup>49</sup> 1796 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives–translated.

<sup>50</sup> 1792 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives–translated.

mentioned households. Both men's castes had changed to *indio*, and their wives' castes had changed as well; Ramírez's caste had changed to *india* and Flores' caste had changed to *mestiza* by 1796.<sup>51</sup>

Just as in the previous data sets, these households all saw a change in their caste descriptions. And much like the findings for the Mission of San Francisco de la Espada, not only was there a change in people's caste descriptions in this data set, but there was also the dwindling of the Afro-Latino presence. Eight people who were listed as *mulato/as* in 1792 had lost any mention in the census of their African descent by 1796. However, save for Rodríguez and Flores, the changes seen in the caste descriptions reflected no European descent—the opposite of what occurred in the Mission of San Francisco de Espada. One possible way to explain these changes is the confirmation that the caste system had more fluidity and flexibility than what is generally accepted. Also, unlike the data for the Mission of San Francisco de Espada, the data for San Antonio de Valero has more information regarding the occupation for the head of household; four of the six men, along with their caste changes, also saw a change in their occupation.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> 1796 Spanish Census, Mission of San Antonio de Valero. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>52</sup> Correlation does not mean causation.

### Villa de San Fernando [de Béxar]<sup>53</sup>

The census record data sets analyzed for the Villa de San Fernando de Béxar were by far the most substantial regarding the amount of people recorded as residents for both years 1793 and 1796 compared to any of the other census records previously studied in this research. The method of research imparted on this set is the same as that of the methods applied to the Mission of San Francisco de la Espada and San Antonio de Valero; a specific set of families were analyzed and compared for changes from both different census records.

In 1793, the Villa de San Fernando de Béxar had a total of three-hundred and ninety households; sixty-four of which had one or more persons with their castes listed as being either *mulato/a*, *lobo/a*, or *coyote/a*—which accounts to a little over sixteen percent of the total number of households for that year.<sup>54</sup> For 1796, there was a drop in the total number of households from the year of 1793 to a total of two-hundred and fifty-four; forty-five of which had one or more persons with their castes listed as being either *mulato/a*, *lobo/a*, or *coyote/a*.<sup>55</sup> And although there might have been a drop in both totals compared to the year of 1793, the percentage of all households who had one or more persons listed with a caste identifier that denoted African descent rose to almost eighteen percent.

#### Caste Changes

For this specific census record data set,<sup>56</sup> a total of nine, possibly twelve, different households that were mentioned in both years analyzed all had some changes in their caste, be they for either one or both spouses. All the households in this specific focused set all had at least

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<sup>53</sup> In both census records analyzed for this Mission, both were incorrectly (in its original text) written as being the census for San Fernando de Austria, which was a confusion.

<sup>54</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> See Figure 4 in the Appendix

one spouse with a caste identifier that denoted African ancestry. The possible twelfth household in this focus is questionable. The census records for both years indicate a household with a gentleman married to a woman; that woman bore the name of Juliana Farias in which, listed as an *española* for both years. Neither had children, and the head of household held the same occupation also for those two different years. The only two things about this household that put in to question the accuracy of this being the same one is the name of the head of household. In 1793, the head of household was recorded as being Leonardo Guillen, who was noted as a *mulato* in the census record.<sup>57</sup> However, not only did the name of the head of household change in the census record for 1796, the caste description was also different; the name in 1796 was José Leonardo Guillen, who was noted as a *mestizo*.<sup>58</sup> The certainty that these households were the same—while unquestionably interesting—remains unclear; it is because of this uncertainty that the data is deemed unreliable for comparison in this data set.

The two other households had fewer deviances in the census data that, for this study, they will be assumed that they are the same two households. The first of the two is the home of Clemente Rojo. For both years, he was recorded to have been married without children. In the census data for 1793, his caste description was listed as *mestizo* and his occupation described him as a servant. For this year, his wife was listed as Margarita Carbajal, with her caste description being listed as *mulata*.<sup>59</sup> However, for the year 1796, Clemente's caste had been changed to *indio*. Not only had his caste changed, but so had his occupation; he went from being a servant to a shoemaker. The only slight discrepancy in this household when comparing the two different years is the name of his wife as it appeared on the census record. In 1797 the census

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<sup>57</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>58</sup> 1796 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>59</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

taker recorded only the name Manuela Margarita—not only that, her caste was also changed to *española*.<sup>60</sup> The second of the two households belonged to the married Alejandro Manzano, of which in both years, was listed as being a servant. In 1793, his caste was listed as a *mestizo*, and his wife, Tomasa Montoya, was listed as a *mulata*. In this year, there were also no children recorded to have been living with them.<sup>61</sup> By 1796, both had become parents and peculiarly enough, their castes had been reversed. However, Tomasa in 1796 had her last name written as Montalvo.<sup>62</sup> It is very likely that these two women were the same respective persons in 1796 as in 1793.

For the other nine households, only three of the nine men who were heads of households saw changes in their caste description from 1793 to 1796—José Justo Cardona went from being listed as *indio* to *coyote*, Matías Rocha was first listed as *mulato* then later to *indio*, and Miguel Escobedo was first listed as *mulato* then later as *español*.<sup>63</sup> The other six households saw changes as well, except these changes were noted only for the wives of the heads of households. Five out of the six wives in 1793 were all recorded to have been *mulatas*, and the sixth as a *mestiza*.<sup>64</sup> As for the changes in caste descriptions seen in 1796 of the same five women, two had been changed to *mestizas*, one to *coyota*, another to *india* and the last one to *española*; the sixth wife who was previously listed as *mestiza* had been changed to *española*. Furthermore, three other households—not including José Antonio/Leonardo Guillen—from 1793 had completely lost their caste description that denoted any African ancestry.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> 1796 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>61</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>62</sup> 1796 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>63</sup> 1793 and 1796 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>64</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>65</sup> 1796 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

It is in these findings in “Caste Changes” that the rigidity of the Spanish caste system is again called into question. The findings challenge the notion that the Spanish caste system was even a system; there was seemingly very little adherence to structure. In this, the findings also solidify the analyses for previously mentioned Missions—that it was more fluid and flexible than it was rigid.

### Microstudy

Because the data set [for this Villa] provided for a greater number of total households than the rest of the census records observed, another analysis was made possible. This microstudy analyzes the households that whose marriages constituted of and *español/a* and a *mulato/a* spouse for both years 1793 and 1796.<sup>66</sup>

In the census record data for the Villa de San Fernando [de Béxar] for the year of 1793, out of the sixty-four households noted to have had one or more persons with a caste consistent with African ancestry, only twelve of those households also had a spouse marked as *español/a*—and one gentleman was widowed with his children living with him. Of the total three-hundred and ninety households in the Villa of San Fernando [de Béxar], these thirteen households only constituted about three percent of the total number of households in the census.

Among those thirteen households includes José María Luna, a man who was registered as a *mulato* and a servant, being married to Mariana Piña, an *española*. Francisco Menchaca, the widowed day laborer was registered as an *español* and was had his three of his children living with him, all of whom were described as *coyotes*. And Leonardo Guillen, listed as a *mulato* and a servant, was listed to have been married to Juliana Farias, who was listed as an *española*. All

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<sup>66</sup> See Figure 5 in the Appendix



the other nine men in this set were recorded to have been *españoles*, six of whom were married to *mulatas*, and the remaining three married to *coyotas*. Four of these thirteen households or marriages did not have children for this year.<sup>67</sup>

The census record for the year for 1796 provides an even more unique discovery. Out of the total two-hundred and fifty-four households, sixteen were listed to have had at least one *mulato/a* married to an *español/a*.<sup>68</sup> This totals out to be about six percent of the total population. Peculiarly, none of these sixteen households were the same families mentioned in 1793. Ten of these households had the wife of the head of household listed as *española* for her caste. However, in 1793, four of these women were listed differently; two were previously listed as *mestizas*, one was previously listed as a *mulata*, and the other was listed as *coyota*. Six of these ten women were married to *mulatos*, and four were married to *coyotes*. Lastly, the remaining six households were led by men all listed as *españoles*. One was recorded to have been married to a woman listed as a *loba*, and the other five were recorded to have been married to *coyotas*. None of these six men were listed with a different caste in the previous census from 1793.<sup>69</sup>

In this microstudy, the notion that the Spanish caste system functioned as a hierarchical social system is challenged. This assumption is granted due to the vast difference in castes and sexes observed. Initially, the 1792 census demonstrates that there were more households with men listed as *español* as being married to *mulatas*. However, the subsequent census record demonstrates that there were more households with women listed as *españolas* being married to men listed as *mulatos* or *coyotes*. More importantly, none of the households observed from 1793

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<sup>67</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

<sup>68</sup> See Figure 6 in the Appendix

<sup>69</sup> 1793 Spanish Census, Villa of San Fernando. Bexar County Spanish Archives—translated.

in this microstudy were repeated in 1796, and only two of the sixteen women who were listed as having a caste descriptor that denoted African descent in 1793 “became” *españolas* in 1796. This specific census data observed proves, that although small, there was an increase in miscegenation—and even boldly assumes the normalization of it.

### Conclusion

In analyzing all Missions and comparing differences from one year to another, there are a few conclusions that can be drawn. Of these, the argument to this thesis is confirmed—the Afro-Latino presence, although small, was unmistakably present in San Antonio in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century when it was still considered Spanish territory.

While there needs to be more investigation done on this extensive subject, one other conclusion that can be drawn is that the caste system did not always work as a strict social hierarchical pyramid in late colonial Spanish San Antonio. This conclusion is proven by the existence of households observed with an *español/a* married to either a *lobo/a*, *mulato/a* or *coyote/a*. In these cases, the argument for the existence of a social hierarchical structure or social mobility playing a role in the marriage could be applied. However, any or all mixed marriages observed could have been a case that had much more to do with love than with any social factor, social structure or social mobility. To quote Richmond, “Concluding that [all mixed colonial] relationships were arranged solely to achieve social mobility denigrates the many who came together for reasons of the heart;”<sup>70</sup> we must be cautious so as to not lose the human aspect of history in analyses.

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<sup>70</sup> Douglas W. Richmond, *Africa's Initial Encounter with Texas: The Significance of Afro-Tejanos in Colonial Texas 1528-1821*, (Bulletin of Latin American Research, 2007), 200-221.

According to Carroll, all the cases of inconsistencies in racial identification have served to add more wood to the fire that is the debate over the importance of class and race in the construction of identity and social stratification during colonial New Spain. Because of these inconsistencies, scholars have come to the conclusion that by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the caste system had become obsolete as a result of the miscegenation and the development of a capitalist economy—factors that, during the late Bourbon years, displaced the focus from race to that of economic class as a characteristic with the most importance in determining identity.<sup>71</sup> It is in the inconsistencies of identity observed in the documents that this may also have been the case for the families that were compared to different years; while it was not the case for all of the families, it is clear that people’s castes changed and “became” *españoles*.

Carroll argues that what existed was actually a social trinity rather than a hierarchy, comprising of *españoles*, *indios*, and *negros*, concluding that the three different social structures existed amongst each other, each of which exercised a certain degree of authority over the other two.<sup>72</sup> And if this theory of a social trinity is applied to these findings, the removal of the hierarchical element in this social sphere explains the vast miscegenation that occurred in late colonial Spanish San Antonio. With more research needed in this area, and specifically in this community, it would certainly be interesting to put that argument to the test.

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<sup>71</sup> Patrick J. Carroll, *El Debate Académico Sobre los Significados Sociales Entre Clase y Raza en el México del Siglo XVIII*, (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 2011), 111-142.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

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## APPENDIX

Census: Dec 31, 1792	Name of Head of Household	Caste	Occupation	Marital	Spouse Name	Caste of spouse	Children
<b>San Juan Capistrano</b> Fray Joseph Francisco López							
1	Matias Manzano			Married	Jacinta Manzano	Mulata	Y
2	Ventura Quiñones			Married	Candida Suñiga	Mulata	N
3	Jose Toscano	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Trinidad Flores	Mestiza	Y
4	Santos de Nava		Cowherd	Married	Gregoria Maravilla	Mulata	
5	Julian Montenegro	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Tecla Nava	Mulata	N
6	Francisco Perez	Español	Farmer	Married	Jacinta Martinez	Mulata	N
7	Teodoro de Nava	Mulato	Driver	Married	Josefa Arrambides	Mulata	Y
8	Jose Antonio Zuñiga		Cowherd	Married	Juana Mendivia	Mulata	N
9	Valentin de Leon	Mestizo	Shepherd	Married	Micaela Monzon	Mulata	Y
<b>La Purisima Concepción</b> Fray Josef Ma. de Jesús Camarena							
1	Angela Pintado	Loba		Widow			N
2	Jose Luis Salazar	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Rosa Pacheco	Mulata	N
3	Faustino Garza	Mestizo	Farmer	Married	Maria de la Garza	Mulata	N
<b>San José</b> Fray José Manuel Pedrajo							
1	Roque Salazar			Married	Maria Camacho	Mulata	N
2	Fulgencio Bustillos			Married	Barbara Camacho	Mulata	N
3	Francisco de la Garza			Married	Josefa Camacho	Mulata	Y
4	Felipe Montoya	Mulato	Shepherd	Married	Maria Isabel Larañaga		Y
5	Feliciano Ramirez	Loba	Cowherd	Married	Teresa de la Garza	Loba	N
6	Jose Manzano	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Guadalupe de Sosa	Española	N

Figure 1: Partial census data for Missions San Juan Capistrano, La Purísima Concepción and San José, 1792.

Households listed all had at least one person's caste listed with African descendency.

	Name of Head of Household	Caste	Occupation	Marital	Spouse Name	Caste of spouse
<b>1792</b>						
1	Crisanto Antonio Martinez	Mulato		Married	Ma. Dolores Benitez	Española
2	Jose Felix Gutierrez	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Barbara Torres	Mulata
<b>1793</b>						
1	Crisanto Antonio Martinez	Español		Married	Dolores Benitez	Mulata
2	Joaquin Perma	Mulato		Married	Cimona Sánchez	Mulata
3	Felix Gutierrez	Español	Farmer	Married	Barbara Torres	Mulata
<b>1794</b>						
1	José Joaquín de Lerma	Mestizo		Married	Simona Sánchez	Mestiza
2	Antonio Crisanto (Martinez)	Español		Married	Dolores Benitez	Española
<b>1797 (Listed as Spaniards)</b>						
1	Crisanto Martinez	Español		Married	Dolores Benitez	Española
2	Felix Gutierrez	Español		Married	Barbara Torres	Española

Figure 2: Partial census data for Mission San Francisco de la Espada, years 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1797.

	Name of Head of Household	Caste	Occupation	Marital	Spouse Name	Caste
<b>1792</b>						
1	Juan de Dios Cortes		Mason	Married	Juana Rodriguez	Mulata
2	Jose Joaquin Cuevas	Mulato		Married	Maria Manuela Ramirez	Mulata
3	Juan Jose Cuevas	Mulato		Married	Juana Maria Flores	Mulata
4	Anzelmo Cuevas			Married	Manuela de Luna	Mulata
5	Jose Antonio Acosta	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Maria Luisa Rincon	
6	Juana Rosa Gamboa	Mulata		Widow		N/A
7	Nepomuceno San Miguel	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Ana Maria de Luna	
<b>1796</b>						
1	Juan Cortes	Indio	Farmer	Married	Juana Rodriguez	Mestiza
2	Joaquin Cuevas	Indio	Farmer	Married	Maria Manuela Ramirez	India
3	Jose Cuevas	Indio	Farmer	Married	Juana Maria Flores	Mestiza
4	Anselmo Cuevas	Indio	Farmer	Married	Manuela de Luna	
5	Antonio Acosta	Indio	Farmer	Married	Maria Luisa Rincon	Mulata
6	Rosa Gamboa	Mulata		Widow		
7	Juan Nepomuceno San Miguel	Indio	Farmer	Married	Ana Maria de Luna	Mulata

Figure 3

Partial census data for Mission San Antonio de Valero, years 1792 and 1796.

The households shown all displayed changes in caste the year 1796.

	Name of Head of Household	Caste 1793	Occupation 1793	Marital	Spouse Name	Caste 1793
<b>1793</b>						
1	Jose Faustino Garcia	Mulato	Servant	Married	Antonia Barnu	Mulata
2	Jose Antonio Barron	Coyote	Servant	Single		
3	Jose Justo Cardona	Indio	Day Laborer	Married	Juana Gusman	Coyota
4	Juan de Almaguey	Mulato	Day Laborer	Married	Josefa de la Garza	Mestiza
5	Christoval Guerra	Español	Farmer	Married	Juana de Almaguey	Mulata
6	Clemente Rojo	Mestizo	Servant	Married	Margarita Carbajal	Mulata
7	Alejandro Manzolo	Mestizo	Servant	Married	Tomasa Montoya	Mulata
8	Francisco Villegas	Mulato	Day Laborer	Married	Gertrudis de Leon	Mulata
9	Francisco Sanchez	Español	Day Laborer	Married	Francisca del Valle	Mulata
10	Alberto Morales	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Gertrudis Orasca	Mulata
11	Matias Rocha	Mulato	Servant	Married	Manuela del Rio	Mulata
12	Miguel Escobedo	Mulato	Day Laborer	Married	Josefa Flores	Mestiza
13	Leonardo Guillen	Mulato	Servant	Married	Juliana Farias	Española
<b>1796</b>						
1	Faustino Garcia	Mulato	Servant	Married	Antonia (Barnu?)	Mestiza
2	Jose Antonio Barron	Mulato	Servant	Married	Antonia Hernandez	Española
3	Justo Cardona	Coyote	Servant	Married	Juana Gusman	Española
4	Juan de Almaguey	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Maria Josefa de la Garza	Española
5	Christoval Guerra	Español	Cowherd	Married	Juana Almaguey	Mestiza
6	Clemente Rojo	Indio	Shoemaker	Married	Manuela Margarita(Carbajal?)	Española
7	Alejandro Manzolo	Mulato	Servant	Married	Tomasa Montalvo(Montoya?)	Mestiza
8	Francisco Villegas	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Gertrudis de Leon	Coyota
9	Francisco Sanchez	Español	Farmer	Married	Maria Francisca del Valle	India
10	Alberto Morales	Mulato	Mason	Married	Maria Gertrudis Orozco	Española
11	Matias Rocha	Indio	Servant	Married	Manuela del Rio	Mulata
12	Miguel Escobedo	Español	Day Laborer	Married	Maria Josefa Flores	Coyota
13	Jose Antonio Guillen (Leonardo?)	Mestizo	Servant	Married	Juliana Farias	Española

Figure 4: Partial census data for the Villa of San Fernando [de Béxar], years 1793 and 1796.

All households shown experienced caste changes in 1796.



	Name of Head of Household	Caste	Occupation	Marital	Spouse Name	Caste of spouse	Children
1793							
1	Leonardo Guillen	Mulato	Servant	Married	Juliana Farias	Española	N
2	Pedro Cantu	Español	Servant	Married	Guadalupe Sambrano	Mulata	N
3	Pedro García	Español	Servant	Married	Rafaela Alvino	Mulata	Y
4	José María Luna	Mulato	Servant	Married	Mariana Pina	Española	N
5	Miguel Xaime	Español	Day Laborer	Married	Francisca Enriquez	Coyota	Y
6	Juan Francisco del Toro	Español	Day Laborer	Married	Rafaela Montoya	Mulata	Y
7	Francisco Sánchez	Español	Day Laborer	Married	Francisca del Valle	Mulata	N
8	Diego Herrera	Español	Day Laborer	Married	Gertrudis Villegas	Mulata	Y
9	Antonio del Toro	Español	Farmer	Married	Maria San Miguel	Mulata	Y
10	Bonifacio Hernández	Español	Day Laborer	Married	Maria Velasco	Coyota	N
11	Christoval Guerra	Español	Farmer	Married	Juana de Almaguey	Mulata	Y
12	Pedro Guisar	Español	Carpenter	Married	Trinidad Enriquez	Coyota	Y
13	Francisco Menchaca	Español	Day Laborer	Widow			Y - All Coyotes

Figure 5: Partial census data for the Villa of San Fernando [de Béxar], 1793.

All households shown constituted of mixed marriages, consisting of Europeans being married to someone with African descendancy.

	Name of Head of Household	Caste	Occupation	Marital	Spouse Name	Caste of spouse	Children
1796							
1	José Antonio Barrón	Mulato	Servant	Married	Antonia Hernández	Española	Y
2	Bernardo Soto	Español	Farmer	Married	Magdalena Guerra	Loba	Y
3	Francisco Perea	Coyote	Farmer	Married	Anna Leal	Española	N
4	Felix Ramón	Español	Cowherd	Married	Juana Barrón	Coyota	Y
5	Hermenegildo de Sierra	Mulato	Shoemaker	Married	Nicolasa de Flores	Española	N
6	Juan de Almaguey	Mulato	Farmer	Married	Maria Josefa de la Garza	Española	Y
7	Victorino Lozoya	Español	Carpenter	Married	Barbara Múzquiz	Coyota	Y
8	Miguel Escobedo	Español	Day Laborer	Married	María Josefa Flores	Coyota	Y
9	Juan Pablo Velázquez	Coyote	Farmer	Married	Antonia Esparza	Española	Y
10	Alberto Morales	Mulato	Mason	Married	María Gertrudis Orozco	Española	Y
11	Ascencio Rodríguez	Español	Day Laborer	Married	Juana María Pacheco	Coyota	Y
12	Carlos Martínez	Mulato	Cowherd	Married	María Gregoria Leal	Española	Y
13	José de los Santos	Español	Farmer	Married	María Josefa Urrutia	Coyota	Y
14	Gregorio Zapata	Mulato	Cowherd	Married	María Gertrudis del Río	Española	Y
15	Justo Cardona	Coyote	Servant	Married	Juana Guzmán	Española	N
16	Juan Manuel Enriquez	Coyote	Cowherd	Married	María Gertrudis Curbelo	Española	Y

Figure 6: Partial census data for the Villa of San Fernando [de Béxar], 1796.

All households shown constituted of mixed marriages, consisting of Europeans being married to someone with African descendancy.