

A HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CASTROVILLE, TEXAS

by

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A THESIS

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A HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CASTROVILLE, TEXAS

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DEDICATION

To Barbara. To my teachers. To "Swede."

ABSTRACT

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Purpose

The purpose of this study has been to trace the history of the Catholic Church in Castroville, Texas, from its founding in 1844 to the present. This church is mentioned in numerous primary and secondary works, but no definitive history has previously been attempted. Catholicism has been an institution of prime importance in Castroville, and this thesis is an effort to illuminate the history of St. Louis church as it evolved with the town.

Methods

The methods used to gather material for this study were:

- (1) examination of the newspapers of Medina County, Texas;
- (2) examination of various collections of documents in the University of Texas Archives, the Rosenberg Library in Galveston, the St. Mary's University Archives in San Antonio, and the Trinity University Archives, also in San Antonio;
- (3) examination of records in the parish files of St. Louis church in Castroville, Texas;
- (4) personal interviews with descendants of the early settlers of Medina County and with the pastor of St. Louis church;
- (5) examination of monographs written by early visitors and inhabitants of Medina County;
- (6) examination of Texas history books and journals;
- (7) examination of various secondary sources.

Findings

1. The majority of the early settlers in Castroville were Alsatian Catholics. These people were brought to Texas by the empresario, Henry Castro. The Alsatians brought a distinctive culture to Medina County, as exemplified by their Germanic dialect and staunch Catholicism.

2. The first parish priest of St. Louis Catholic church was John Gregory Pfanner. Chancellor Brands was forced to relieve Pfanner of his duties, for misconduct, in 1845. Rev. Claude Marie Dubuis replaced Pfanner in 1847. Dubuis erected the second St. Louis church in 1850, with the help of his assistant, Rev. Emmanuel Domenech.

3. St. Louis church was staffed by European priests of the Order of Friars Minor Conventual from 1852 until 1858, and by Benedictines from 1858 until 1868. Both orders of priests were withdrawn from the Texas missions because of the excessive mortality rate caused by the unaccustomed climate.

4. Father Peter Richard was pastor of St. Louis from 1868 until 1880. The parishioners, under Richard's guidance, erected a third church of St. Louis in 1870. This building serves as the Catholic church in Castroville today. The Castrovillians also constructed a fine convent building which served as the motherhouse of the Sisters of Divine Providence until the sisters moved their headquarters to San Antonio in 1895. The coming of the railroad during Richard's pastorate marked the passing of the frontier and the end of Indian troubles.

5. The town of Castroville and the church of St. Louis have changed only slightly during the modern period. The parishioners con-

tinue to exhibit cultural traits they inherited from their ancestors,
notably those of language and religion. St. Louis church has played
a significant role in maintaining these links with the past.

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CHAPTER I

THE COLONY AND THE COLONISTS

Castroville is located on the banks of the Medina River, about twenty-five miles west of San Antonio, on the mid-eastern edge of present-day Medina County. The soil of Castroville and the immediate area is Black Prairie, which

is developed in a climate with moderate rainfall upon limy or limy-shale rocks. These break down into heavy, fine-grained soils which discourage trees [excepting, apparently, the mesquite, which in modern times is abundant there, probably because of over-grazing] but favor a luxuriant growth of grass.¹

Henry Castro described the scenery of this as yet unsettled tract of land in mid-1844 in glowing terms, referring to the thick grass, the clear water of the Medina, and the plentiful game, fish, and honey which the region afforded.² The land surface, then as now, is variegated. Prairies, streams, hills, and swales alternate; there is no prettier sight than the valley of the Medina around Castroville--in a wet year. It is a crisped horror in a dry one. The colonists whom Castro brought to Texas were to experience both aspects of their new home more than once.

William Bollaert, the famous British scientist and world travel-

¹Elton M. Scott, Texas Today . . . a geography (Norman: Harlow Publishing Company, 1963), p. 21.

²Henry Castro, Diary, cited in A(ndrew) J(ackson) Sowell, Early Settlers and Indian Fighters of Southwest Texas, 2nd. ed. (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian Ltd., 1964), v. I, pp. 127-128.

ler, saw the Castroville site on May 30, 1844, just prior to Castro's visit. Bollaert's description of the terrain is not fulsome. He reported the soil to be stony and not very good, and said that the Medina River was known hardly to run for two years at a stretch.³ It is not difficult to account for the disparity between these contemporary accounts. A plausible explanation would be that Castro, full of enthusiasm for his enterprise, saw the area after a rain or a series of rains. Medina County may be seared by drought (as it regularly is) and then bloom like the desert after a wet fortnight.

Yet another early description of the geography of the region exists. One of the first Catholic priests to serve the local population was the Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, who arrived on the spot in August or September of 1848, and who has left an extensive account of the climate, the flora and fauna, and the inhabitants of Castroville and its environs.⁴ The good abbé was fairly accurate when he confined himself to general observations, but was prone to exaggerate in true Texas style (although he was a Frenchman) when it came to details.

For geographic facts it is best to stick to authoritative statistical studies: the average annual rainfall in Medina County varies between twenty-five and thirty inches; the average minimum temperature in January is 42°F and the average maximum for July is 96°F; the altitude of Castroville is 650 feet; and the growing season is 263 days.⁵ These

³W. Eugene Hollon and Ruth Lapham Butler (eds.), William Bollaert's Texas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 352.

⁴Abbe Emmanuel Domenech, Missionary Adventures in Texas and Mexico, a Personal Narrative of Six Years' Sojourn in Those Regions, trans. ukn. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858). Hereafter referred to as Domenech, Missionary Adventures.

⁵Texas Almanac, 1970.

facts are true today and probably were essentially true when the town was founded in 1844.

The native inhabitants of Medina County in the 1840's, however, have since disappeared: Indians were very much a part of the scene along the Medina until around 1870. Contemporary accounts mention the presence of Lipan Apaches, who were usually friendly but not to be trusted, and Comanches and Kickapoos, who were almost never friendly and could always be trusted--to make trouble. A. J. Sowell's Early Settlers and Indian Fighters of Southwest Texas contains numerous accounts of Indian raids and killing on both sides during the first twenty-five years of Castro's colony, and the governments of the Republic and, later, the state of Texas found it necessary to station rangers in the area to protect the settlers from savage visitors.⁶ Into this beautiful, harsh environment Castro brought his colonists. It hardly seems necessary now to say that Europeans, freshly delivered to the frontier (there was not a house between San Antonio and the Rio Grande in 1844)⁷, would have difficulty in adapting to conditions so radically foreign to their experience. Anglo-Saxon settlers had at least a tradition of survival on the frontier.

The background of Castro's colony has been sketched sufficiently--though not exhaustively--by Julia Nott Waugh, in Castro-ville and Henry Castro, Empresario. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it will be necessary to establish that a large number--perhaps the majority--of Castro's colonists were Catholics and therefore were directly affected

⁶Thomas Galbreath, "Early Days in West Texas," Castroville Anvil, December 31, 1897.

⁷Ibid.

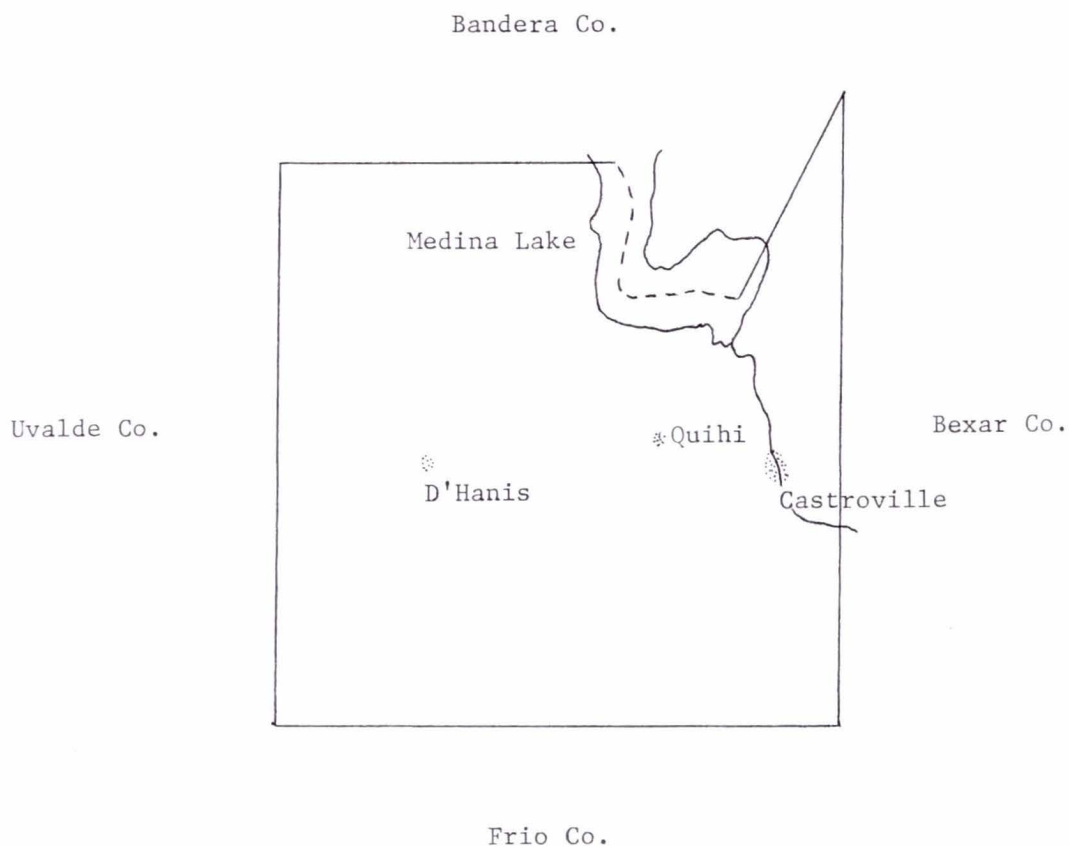
by St. Louis Catholic Church of Castroville. Related to the question of religion in Castroville is the broader topic of the colonists' culture.

Many of the inhabitants of modern Castroville claim, as indeed do many in LaCoste, Hondo, and D'Hanis (see map, p. 5), to be descendants of Castro's original colonists. The claim is further made that most of these colonists were from Alsace, and it was these Alsatians who imparted to Castroville the distinctive culture which the town retains, to a large degree, today. Local Chamber of Commerce brochures describe the town as "The Little Alsace of Texas." Evidence of European culture is growing a bit harder to find in Castroville, it is true, but the old, whitewashed rock houses--unlike any others in Texas--are still in situ, and it is certainly possible to find many citizens who can, if they choose, speak a language which sounds very Germanic but is not German. This lingua franca is in reality a South German dialect, with a smattering of words derived from the French, and including not a few Americanisms.⁸

In historical fact, a majority of Castro's colonists did come from Alsace.⁹ Arriving on the Texas frontier of 1844 must have been

⁸Interview with Milton E. Lutz, December 27, 1971. Mr. Lutz was born in 1899 in D'Hanis, Texas, of Alsatian parentage. He early learned the local Germanic dialect. In 1918 or 1919, Mr. Lutz was in France with the AEF, guarding a contingent of German prisoners. The War was over. Mr. Lutz recalls that he had no trouble conversing with the prisoners, he in the patois of his childhood and the Germans (they were from a Bavarian unit) in their language. On the other hand, Mr. Lutz found the speech of some Prussian prisoners almost unintelligible.

⁹Based on passenger lists of Castro's ships. The most complete collection of copies of ship's passenger lists for Castro's colony is in the possession of Mr. Jim Menke of Baytown, Texas. A copy of his research is on file in the Hondo City Library. Mr. Menke's copies were derived from a variety of sources, including the Haass collection at Baylor University and Miss Ruth Lawler of Castroville.



Relative locations of Castro's surviving colonies in modern Medina County.

Medina Lake did not exist when the colonies were founded.

comparable to a modern landing on the moon for these former inhabitants of one of the oldest, most highly cultivated and civilized provinces of Central Europe.

Technically French territory (Haut and Bas Rhin) since 1648, Alsace had remained in culture a Germanic entity.¹⁰ Roman Catholicism was practically the universal religion among the peasant-farmer-artisan classes. These were precisely the classes who furnished the bulk of the emigration here discussed. Most, if not all, of the Alsatians among Castro's colonists were therefore Catholic, and it is probable that most of the French colonists who came to Castroville were also Catholics. Julia Nott Waugh, writing in 1934, fixed the ratio of Catholics to Protestants in Castroville at five to one.¹¹

It is not enough merely to describe the original Castrovillians as South German Catholics. The notion of a "national character" for any nation has been in a state of disrepute for some time; that is, it is considered wrong or mistaken to equate the Germans with militarism, the English with a lack of humor, the Scots with miserliness, and so on. Despite this objection, it appears that there may be at least a grain of truth in such statements, not because of any hereditary strength or weakness of character, but because of history and environment--what has been called "the cultural complex" of a nation. Thus most Americans admire a hard-working man who achieves success, while in South America the hero is the man who displays machismo, the preeminent male. Without attempt-

¹⁰Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), v. I, p. 363.

¹¹Julia Nott Waugh, Castro-ville and Henry Castro, Empresario (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1934), p. 57. Hereafter referred to as Waugh, Castro-ville.

ing to create a stereotype, the historian might well cite what some observers have had to say regarding "the Alsatian character": according to Marianne Hauser, "He [the Alsatian] is not one who hates excessively; he is too clever and too democratic. However he is extremely critical and ready to complain about everything, sometimes to excess."¹² The Gothic cathedral in Strasbourg, Alsace, while quite beautiful, is something of an oddity in that it has only one steeple in place of the more conventional two.

So before the great War the Germans [the Prussian administration] suggested building a second steeple to the Cathedral in Strasbourg and putting an end to this odd originality. But the Strasbourgeois refused. They declared that they had had their Cathedral this way for five hundred years and that they liked it as it was. The attitude is characteristically Alsatian and did not surprise the Germans.¹³

The Alsatian settlers of Castroville have, to this day, a reputation for thrift (but not to excess), a love of social life, a fondness for an occasional cold bottle of beer, and a firm conservatism which some describe as a hardheaded dislike of innovation and progress.

Henry Castro had not originally set out to found a colony specifically of Alsatians.¹⁴ His declared intent was to found a French colony, at first by way of the Franco-Texienne Bill, and later under his personal auspices as an empresario of the Republic of Texas. Castro was granted an empresario contract on February 15, 1842, to introduce into Texas a colony of 600 families or single men over seventeen years

¹²Marianne Hauser, "The Indomitable Spirit of Alsace," Travel, March, 1936, p. 16.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴For a detailed analysis of Castro's motives and activities in Europe, see Waugh, Castro-ville, pp. 2-12.

of age, within three years of the date of the contract.¹⁵ The French government, however, proved to be less cooperative. For reasons which are irrelevant here, Castro found that he would have to search further than metropolitan France if he were to procure the necessary colonists. Accordingly he spread broadsides across Central Europe, especially in the Rhenish provinces of France and Germany, and these areas proved to be fruitful recruiting grounds.

Castro was not haphazard in selecting colonists for Texas. His intent was to found a flourishing agricultural colony; therefore he set out to engage individuals and families with a rural background, mostly farmers, with an admixture of artisans and educated men in order to guarantee a self-sufficient population. Furthermore, the empresario realized that shiftless or unsuccessful people would only prove to be a burden to themselves and the other colonists in the spartan early days of the colony. To preclude the possibility of introducing such deadwood into the colony, Castro insisted that prospective colonists fulfill several exclusive conditions: each colonist was required to furnish himself and his family with all clothing, farm tools, the price of the passage (\$32.00 for an adult), ten dollars in "earnest money," and sufficient funds to preclude his becoming destitute during the first year.¹⁶

These were rather stringent conditions, considering the times and the fact that the vast majority of the colonists who accepted Castro's terms were farmers--even peasants. Probably the average head of household had to sell all the possessions he could spare and put up his

¹⁵Waugh, Castro-ville, p. 3.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 7.

life's savings before he could comply with the requirements as stated. Of course Castro bent the rules a bit in special cases, especially when it appeared that he might not get enough properly qualified colonists to fulfill his contract as empresario. Nonetheless, most of the emigrants appeared to have come reasonably close to meeting the conditions of acceptance.¹⁷

If Castro's ship lists are accurate, the vast majority of the heads of households coming to Texas were cultivateurs--that is, farmers. This would agree with the empresario's stated intention to found a farming community. Also included on the lists were tradesmen and artisans--butchers, bakers, cobblers, merchants, a few masons, carpenters, mechanics, and coopers. There were also one artist (Theodor Gentilz of Paris), at least one doctor, and several Catholic priests. The above is by no means an exhaustive list of the occupations of the settlers Henry Castro brought to Texas; still, it represented a very fair cross-section of any civilized, rural community in the world during the 1840's, with the possible exception of a California gold-rush camp.

And perhaps even the gold-rush camp of forty-niners had something in common with these Europeans, so soon to settle in Texas. Gold fever was a contagious disease in America. Strong, settled men were known to contract the malady, leave home and family and business, and strike out for the placers of the West in search of a cure. It is no wonder that sturdy Central European farmers, used to tilling tiny fields, perhaps eking out their existence by day-laboring at some craft during the slack season, snatched at the almost unbelievable offer Castro made in his

¹⁷Many of these passenger lists include a statement of the individual passenger's avoir., or personal worth.

advertisements: 320 acres of land to a family and 160 acres to each bachelor. In Alsace it would have been a fiefdom! Thus it was the fever for land that brought the Alsatians to Texas, just as it had brought the Anglo-Saxons of Stephen F. Austin. The government of Mexico had obliged Austin's settlers to declare themselves Catholics, but absolute uniformity of religious belief has not been a pervading characteristic of frontier communities in America. Considering that Castro, notwithstanding the predominance of Alsatians, also brought settlers from Switzerland, Prussia and Westphalia, it would be idle to suppose that any such theological unanimity existed in Castroville at its founding in 1844. Yet there was at least a preponderance of one religion, and that preponderance was Roman Catholic. The cornerstone of the first Catholic church west of San Antonio and east of the Rio Grande was laid in Castroville on September 12, 1844, by the Vicar-General (and soon to be the first Bishop of Texas) Jean Marie Odin,¹⁸ and Castro stated that the whole colony attended the ceremonies.¹⁹ The church was named St. Louis, after the French king who had somehow contrived to be a warrior during his life and a saint afterwards.

Frederick Law Olmstead was impressed by the European aspects of Castroville when he visited the town in 1854. He remarked on the Rhenish architecture of the homes and the semi-Teutonic character of the people, which puzzled him a bit. Olmstead gave the impression that the Castroville population was difficult to classify in terms of national origin;

¹⁸Jean Marie Odin, Diary, entry for September 12, 1844, Catholic Archives of Texas. Hereafter referred to as Odin, Diary, C.A.T.

¹⁹Henry Castro, Diary, cited in Sowell, Early Settlers, p. 135.

he wrote that the town was

a colony of Alsatians who are proud here to call themselves Germans but who speak French, or a mixture of French and German. . . . The enterprise seems to have been under the special patronage of the Roman Church. Every colonist was a Catholic. . . . The village itself contains about six hundred inhabitants and the farms of the neighborhood several hundred more.²⁰

Olmstead was an acute observer, but in this case he was somewhat in error. It would have been more accurate to say that Castroville was an Alsatian colony which included some settlers from France and Germany and that Roman Catholicism was the predominant religion.

But Olmstead first saw the town in 1854. By that time, the first Catholic church in Castroville was nine years old, and it had been already succeeded by a second. The history of Catholicism among the Alsatians of Castroville actually began in 1845, with the arrival of the first parish priests.

²⁰Frederick Law Olmstead, Journey Through Texas, A Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier, ed. James Howard, 2nd. ed. (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Press, 1962), p. 168. Hereafter referred to as Olmstead, Journey Through Texas.

CHAPTER II

THE INFANT CHURCH OF ST. LOUIS

Vicar-General Jean Marie Odin was a pragmatist. Good administrators often are, and frontier conditions usually present problems requiring pragmatic solutions. When Odin was chief administrator of the Catholic Church in Texas in the 1840's, his most pressing problem was one which any Catholic bishop in any age would have recognized: Texas had not enough priests. Odin attacked this dilemma in a typically straightforward manner. He went back to France, where there were priests, and tried to convince some of them to go to Texas.¹ In this venture the Vicar-General enjoyed some success. Among others, he recruited several priests who were to serve at Castroville, including Claude Marie Dubuis, who later succeeded Odin as Bishop of Galveston.²

Odin's special concern was to provide for the numerous German-speaking Catholics in the diocese. Immigrants from Central Europe were literally pouring into Texas; colonies were being founded at New Braunsfels, Fredericksburg, Cat Spring, and of course the various settlements of Castro's colony. Therefore when in early 1845 an Alsatian priest,

¹Odin, Diary, C.A.T. Entries for the spring of 1845.

²Details of Odin's activities in Europe, as well as in Texas, are given in Carlos E. Castañeda, The Church in Texas Since Independence, 1836-1950, v. VII of Our Catholic Heritage in Texas (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1958), pp. 95-107. Hereafter referred to as Castañeda, The Church in Texas.

Father John Gregory Pfanner of Seppols-le-Bas (near the Swiss border), offered to serve as parish priest of Castroville, and was understandably happy to grant him his "faculties." This is comparable to licensing a doctor or lawyer to practice his profession.³

For a priest, Father Pfanner had unusual ambitions. Little is known of his early career. In 1843 or 1844, he probably read one of the Castro colony advertisements, which were then circulating freely in Alsace, or perhaps he heard of the Texas enterprise by word of mouth. Pfanner may also have heard that Castro was having difficulty engaging sufficient colonists. In any case, the priest presented himself, sometime in 1844, to one of Castro's European agents. Pfanner proposed that he act as a sort of sub-agent for Castro: Pfanner would recruit about 300 emigrant families for Castro, and would be paid for this service at a rate of twenty-five acres of land per family. Two other priests, Fathers Lienhard and Roesch, were associated with Pfanner in this enterprise.

What this Catholic priest intended to do with approximately 7500 acres of Texas soil is not clear. Perhaps Pfanner dreamed of establishing a great landowning church in Texas, such as had existed in France until the revolution of 1789, or perhaps he merely wanted to get rich by speculation. It is known that both parties agreed to Pfanner's plan, and that he set out to gather colonists.

On December 6, 1844, the ship Probus departed Anvers for Galveston. Aboard were sixty-one families, including a few bachelors. Nearly

³The discussion of this little-known event is based on Castro's ship lists, and on the Huth Papers, University of Texas Archives. Louis Huth, Sr., was Castro's agent in working out the colonizing agreement with Pfanner.

all were from Alsace. The first entry on the passenger list was Pfanner, Gregoire; age 40; priest of Sop.-le-Bas; Chief of the Expedition. The next entry listed one Lienhard, age 42, also a priest of Sop.-le-Bas and assistant to Pfanner. Thirteen days later, the ship Norwegien departed Anvers for Galveston with a load of Alsatian passengers. The third priest, Jean Roesch of Haut Rhin, age 32, headed the passenger list. Both vessels arrived safely at Galveston, where they were met by Castro, who dispatched the colonists in other boats of shallower draft to Port Lavaca. Thence the immigrants began the arduous overland trek to Castroville.

The three priests arrived in Castroville with their colonists in February, 1845.⁴ They were probably appalled at what they saw. Although the colony had made progress since its founding six months before, it was still in a primitive state. The colonists' huts were mostly constructed of wattle--sticks plastered with mud--and thatched with the long native grass. Only Castro himself had a small stone house and another of adobe ("briquets" was the term he used).⁵ Besides, there was no church.⁶ Work on this edifice had not been continued, despite the promising beginning which was made on the twelfth of the previous September, when Odin had laid the cornerstone. The earlier colonists had been

⁴This date is inferred. We know from the Huth Papers (Castro to Louis Huth, Galveston, February 5, 1845) that these ships had arrived in Texas by that date. Allowing three weeks for the trip to Port Lavaca and then to Castroville would seem to be sufficient.

⁵Castro, Diary, cited in Waugh, Castro-ville, p. 25.

⁶Castro to Huth, New Orleans, February 18, 1845; Huth Papers, University of Texas Archives. Cited in Sister Mary Generosa Callahan, C.D.P., The History of the Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas (Milwaukee: Catholic Life Publications, Bruce Press, 1955), p. 73. Hereafter referred to as Callahan, History.

preoccupied with constructing their own crude dwellings, plowing fields, planting gardens, hunting, and gathering food. More to the point, there had been no priest to push the work. Now that energetic Alsatian priests were on the scene, surely it must have appeared that the work of the Church--both material and spiritual--was about to begin.

Unfortunately for the Catholics of Castroville and for the prestige of the Church, Father Pfanner did not direct his energies into the proper channels. In all of the records of the Catholic Church of Castroville, there are but four entries which affirm that Pfanner and his assistant, Father Lienhard, ever performed any ecclesiastical acts, and these are four baptisms, recorded in the Parish Register by Father Dubuis.⁷ Instead of taking charge of his Alsatian flock, Father Pfanner involved himself in secular activities, some of which were suspect if not downright dishonest. No clear record of Pfanner's activities in Texas exists. He apparently speculated in land, aggravated the colonists in various ways, made himself a thorn in the side of the colonial officials, and was ultimately indicted by grand juries in San Antonio and Victoria for fraud and murder, respectively. Naturally word of this was received at the Vicar-General's headquarters in Galveston. Odin himself was in Europe (hunting more priests), but he had left Chancellor John Brands in charge of ecclesiastic affairs for the Vicariate.⁸

⁷Parish Register, v. I. The entries are: p. 4, no. 36, Genevieve Gautz (Pfanner); p. 12, no. 114, Petrus Droitcourt (Lienhart); p. 14, no. 141, Georges Mangolt(d) (Pfanner); and p. 14, no. 182, Lawrence Bietiger (Lienhart).

⁸Odin, Diary, entries for spring, 1845, and Castañeda, The Church in Texas, p. 90. Castaneda asserts that Brands was a Hollander, forty-six years of age, who had been in America for fifteen years.

Brands could not know if the more serious charges against Pfanner--fraud and murder--were well founded or not, but he had sufficient evidence from other sources to convince him that Pfanner was an unworthy priest. In a letter to his superior, Brands wrote:

I have been obliged to interdict the priest at Castroville, whose scandalous conduct has not only deserved all the local censure but even the penitentiary; he has set the whole colony of Castro in confusion.⁹

Pfanner's guilt or innocence was never proved. The cases were never brought to trial, since Pfanner left the country for Mexico in August, 1846, and apparently never returned.¹⁰ Of Father Lienhard nothing more is heard. Father Roesch was given permission to leave Texas by the Vicar-General in April, 1845.¹¹

The Catholics of Castroville, meanwhile, were left without a priest. Indeed, they can hardly be said to have had one even before the regrettable Pfanner departed the premises. A bad priest was worse than none. Castro's Alsatians were demoralized, and Castro himself began to worry. If too many colonists already on the Medina became disgusted and left, the empresario would fail to fulfill his contract and would forfeit the lands he had received from the Republic. Castro could be as pragmatically direct as Vicar-General Odin: since the morale of

⁹Brands to Timon, Galveston, June 12, 1845, cited in Callahan, History, pp. 71-72. A priest who is under an interdict is forbidden to celebrate the Mass or dispense any sacraments save Baptism.

¹⁰The summary of Pfanner's activities in Texas is based on the account in Callahan, History, pp. 71-72. She cites the county clerk's records, County Courthouse, Victoria, Texas, for the murder indictment, but gives no source for the other.

¹¹Huth Papers, Castro to Huth, Paris, July, 1845, cited in Callahan, History, p. 74.

the colonists was low, steps were taken which were calculated to bolster their spirits. Castro ordered the church to be completed, adding that colonists who owed him money could work out the debt by laboring on the church.¹² The colonists responded to this offer, laboring on the edifice in their spare time. Vicar-General Odin dedicated the church on November 9, 1846.¹³

For the three months following, the new church at Castroville stood idle. It is possible that a Spanish priest or priests from San Antonio made occasional visits to Castroville; there were two Vincentians stationed there at the church of San Fernando--Fathers Calvo and Estany.¹⁴ However, the main concern of these missionaries was for their own parishioners in San Antonio; moreover, they could not be expected to know the language of the Castrovillians. That fact alone would have greatly hindered their efforts.

St. Louis Church, however, was not to remain priestless forever. In January of 1847, nearly two and one-half years after Castroville was founded, one of the truly remarkable men in the history of the Catholic Church in Texas arrived at the colony. Born and raised in southern France, educated at the Grand Seminaire of Lyons, Claude Marie Dubuis came to Castroville while in the earnest strength and vigor of his twenty-ninth year. He had been recruited by Odin while at the seminary, in 1846. The visiting Vicar-General had made an impassioned appeal to a group of young seminarians and priests. Odin wanted missionaries for

¹²Callahan, History, p. 73.

¹³Waugh, Castro-ville, p. 47.

¹⁴Castañeda, The Church in Texas, pp. 94, 104.

Texas, and, rather than plead, he threw to his listeners a challenge:

In Texas, he said, you will not always have wherewith to satisfy the calls of hunger and thirst. Your journeyings will be incessant, through a country as yet but little known, and boundless in its extent. You will pass nights on the damp ground, and entire days exposed to a burning sun. Perils of every kind you will encounter, which will try your courage and energy at every step.¹⁵

This oration struck a responsive chord in Dubuis. He and several other priests and seminarians volunteered on the spot to serve in the mission of Texas. Even so, Odin lacked the necessary funds to provide the volunteers with passage from France to Texas. Luckily, the Leopoldine Association of Austria learned of Odin's difficulty and donated \$1,406.00 to the cause, and Odin was able to enter in his diary that, on March 20, 1846, "fifteen missionaries left [Havre] aboard the Elizabeth-Ellen."¹⁶ Some of these men were consecrated priests; others, including Emmanuel Domenech, were as yet seminarians and would have to complete their studies before receiving Holy Orders.

The Atlantic crossing of the Elizabeth-Ellen was rough but successful. The ship put in at New Orleans in early May, and the missionaries parted company. Several went directly to Texas, but most continued up the Mississippi to the seminary at St. Mary of-the-Barrens, Missouri, where the seminarians completed their schooling and the priests (including Dubuis) studied English.¹⁷ Dubuis remained at the Barrens until the fall of that year. Then he took passage back down the Mississippi, caught a packet boat for Galveston, another to Houston, and

¹⁵Domenech, Missionary Adventures, p. 2.

¹⁶Odin, Diary, entry for March 20, 1846, and Castañeda, The Church in Texas, p. 103.

¹⁷Domenech, Missionary Adventures, p. 7.

travelled the balance of the distance to Castroville overland, either on foot or by horse and stagecoach.¹⁸

Dubuis arrived in Castroville sometime in January, 1847. His reception by the townsfolk--as well as his description of that reception--was negative. The Castroville Catholics had had experience with priests in Texas before; Father Pfanner had neglected his charges and had then deserted them. Also, frontier life in Castroville was proving to be a constant battle for survival; money was scarce; mules and oxen to plow the fields were wanting. And now a new priest, a Frenchman who could not even speak decent Alsatian, arrived in the middle of the night, banging on doors and asking to be shown to his quarters. The faith of the Catholics was strained, and their hospitality, too. Nonetheless, Dubuis was shown to a tiny hovel in the middle of the settlement and given to understand that it was to be his house.

Some sticks driven into the ground formed the walls; a little grass made the roof. Neither doors nor windows were necessary, for the whole building was open to the day. A few dozen scorpions, together with myriads of insects, were all the furnishing, if one excepts a rawhide which promised the sleep of a Sybarite.¹⁹

Dubuis was not to be daunted by this inauspicious beginning. His first concern was to learn the local dialect sufficiently well to preach sermons; this he accomplished, by his account, in the startlingly

¹⁸This is the route and mode of travel most frequently described by contemporary single travelers. Domenech later took this route. Caravans often sailed first to Lavaca and then proceeded overland to San Antonio.

¹⁹Abbé Jean Perrichon, Vie de Monseigneur Dubuis, l'Apôtre du Texas (Lyon, 1900), cited in Waugh, Castroville, p. 46. Hereafter referred to as Perrichon, Vie de Dubuis. The only biography of Dubuis in English is L. V. Jacks, Claude Dubuis, Bishop of Galveston (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1946); it is inclined to be uncritical.

short time of two or three weeks. About this local dialect Dubuis had nothing good to say; it was, he reported, an "unqualifiable jargon." A problem far more serious was the hostile attitude of the parishioners, a relic of the era of the famous Pfanner. Dubuis reported that "an indifference the most complete reigned in the neighborhood of religion."²⁰

Such a state of affairs could not last. The Catholics of Castroville had been devout before they arrived in Texas. Religion was a part of their lives; they would not renounce it now, frontier conditions or no frontier conditions. All that was wanting to restore things to normal was the presence of a good priest, and Dubuis proved to be equal to the task. He performed his first baptism on February 12, 1847,²¹ and after that date was never idle.

The people of Castroville responded to Dubuis' efforts, and within a few months the priest was able to report to Odin that the mission at Castroville gave him as much pleasure as his former parish in France. He spoke well of the faith of the Castrovillians and their regular attendance at Mass, "even on workdays." He also favorably mentioned the Catholics at the newer settlements of Quihi and D'Hanis.²²

In fact, Dubuis had more than he could do. In addition to serving in Castro's colonies, the missionary was responsible for the Catholics at Fredericksburg, some eighty miles north of San Antonio, and at

²⁰Perrichon, Vie de Dubuis, Chap. 4. Dubuis wrote a long letter to a fellow priest in France on October 25, 1847. His description of Castroville is entertaining and probably accurate.

²¹Parish Register, p. 1, no. 1.

²²Dubuis to Odin, Castroville, April 29, 1847, C.A.T.

New Braunfels, thirty miles east of San Antonio and fifty-five from Castroville. To help Dubuis in this formidable task, Odin sent Father Matthew Chazelle to Castroville as Dubuis' assistant. The two men were both French; both had been seminarians at Lyons, and they got along together excellently, sharing their hardships as missionaries must.²³

The priests' first task was to construct a larger house on the lot which Dubuis had received from Castro.²⁴ The tiny hut which had housed Dubuis would not serve for two. During the summer of 1847, Dubuis and Chazelle labored in their spare time (of which they had little; Dubuis said they often worked in the fields for their bread), putting up a decent stone and timber house. By August 2 the house was deemed livable, and the exhausted missionaries moved in.²⁵ Their troubles were not yet over. Neither could rise from his bed the next day: they had contracted typhoid.

For weeks Dubuis and Chazelle were prostrated.²⁶ After the second day, the villagers missed the priests and came to the new house to inquire. After that, wrote Dubuis, "we were not without visits; they brought us beds; each morning a bucket of water was placed between us, and in the evening not a drop remained; such was our diet." There was not much else that anyone could do except let the illness take its

²³Perrichon, Vie de Dubuis, pp. 79-80.

²⁴State Abstract Books for Medina County; copy discovered in the Vance Papers, St. Mary's University Archives. Headright no. 100 is listed under Dubuis, Rev. Claude.

²⁵The house still stands in Castroville, though much restored.

²⁶The account of the priests' illness is taken from Waugh, Castroville, p. 49.

course. After ten days, Dubuis felt strong enough to get up and say Mass but was so weak that three times he had to sit down and rest during the rite.

By the fifteenth day of their illness, both men believed that death must be near. They tottered out of the house together to select a gravesite; the survivor, they had agreed, would bury the first to die. Dubuis later said that he and Chazelle resembled two walking corpses; nevertheless his own iron constitution pulled him through the crisis. But Father Matthew Chazelle of Lyons, missionary to Texas, died a few days later. Dubuis interred the body in the priests' garden on September 1, 1847.²⁷ Dubuis was alone again, but for a man of his combative nature, there was nothing to do but carry on.

Early priests at Castroville labored under trying conditions. Some of Dubuis' difficulties have already been enumerated; the language problem, which he apparently got around without too much difficulty; and the question of quarters, which had been partly answered, although Dubuis' next assistant, Father Emmanuel Domenech, did not think so. Dubuis was proud of his home; he wrote to his parents: "I am, however, lodged like a Frenchman; my house . . . is worth more than 6,000 francs [\$1,200] I am sheltered from serpents, wolves and panthers."²⁸ Domenech wrote of that same house:

It was constructed of wood, stone, and brick. Here and there, in the angles of the walls, were large fissures, which opened much frequented passages for lizards and serpents, as also for rats, ants, scorpions, and tarantulas. . . . The floor was the bare earth, overgrown with small plants, bearing tiny white

²⁷Parish Register, p. 370, no. 12.

²⁸Cited in Waugh, Castro-ville, p. 49.

flowers. As it had been taken military possession of by . . . formidable republics of ants, I proceeded forthwith to dislodge them. Vain effort! . . . The bed was so rickety, and so badly held together, that I abandoned it altogether."²⁹

The vigorous life led by Domenech and Dubuis quickly wrought havoc with their clothes. As clerical garments were non-existent items in the Texas interior (even if the priests had had money to buy them), the Frenchmen were soon reduced to wearing patched and faded remnants of the clothes they had brought with them. At one time Domenech's black coat, trousers, and hat, having been in constant service for over a year, were "worn to rags." The priests wore anything that came to hand when engaged in manual labor. Once an Irish merchant passed through Castroville. Accosting a workman who was

dressed in a red flannel shirt, trowsers [sic] of blue cotton [these had been made from a donated petticoat], a hat without form or color, and his entire person bespattered with lime and plaster,

the merchant asked for Abbé Dubuis. The workman turned, dipped into a pool of water and washed his face; then turned back to the Irishman and said: "Here he is; what do you want him for?"

It was the food, and sometimes the lack of it, that bothered Domenech and Dubuis more than any other hardship they faced. Perhaps the fact that they were Frenchmen had something to do with their lack of enthusiasm for Castroville fare.³¹ In his early years on the Medina,

²⁹Domenech, Missionary Adventures, pp. 45-46.

³⁰Ibid., p. 192.

³¹Frederick Law Olmstead visited Castroville and the surrounding countryside in 1854, about five years after Domenech's experiences there. Olmstead was full of praise for the Alsatian food, claiming that at Quihi he ate better and had more variety at the table of a humble settler than he had at most rich planters' throughout the South. Perhaps the intervening years had allowed the Alsations more time to develop their gardens. Olmstead, Journey Through Texas, p. 279.

Dubuis related in a letter to a friend that his meals consisted of bacon. When the bacon failed, Dubuis ate dried goat meat. "Imagine the taste. It would be better if it had none." When goat meat was wanting, the priest ate corn, "like the horses."³² This aversion to corn seems peculiar unless it is remembered that in Europe corn was chiefly grown for fodder. Dubuis soon became relatively used to his diet.

Domenech never did. He ate the food, but he did not like it. He was always experimenting with seasonings and concocting new and exotic dishes. He seasoned the wild salad with milk, and tried chafed rattlesnake and fricassee of cat, which last he termed "most delicious." At least once the priests helped the colonists eat an alligator ("a formidable monster," remarked Domenech); during another period before the harvest they had "pumpkin" fourteen times in a week.³³ By "pumpkin" Domenech probably meant the large Mexican squash, or calabazo. Even pumpkins were better than nothing, however. On one occasion Dubuis reminded his parishioners that priests must eat, too. It was a Sunday, and the church was filled with worshipers. When the time came for the priest to turn from the altar to deliver the sermon, Dubuis simply explained that there would be no sermon that day; he had not sufficient strength to preach since he had not eaten for forty-eight hours!³⁴ The hint was not wasted on the people, and the priestly diet improved. It must be conceded that no one else in Castroville was eating very well,

³²Waugh, Castro-ville, p. 48.

³³Domenech, Missionary Adventures, pp. 50, 51, 55.

³⁴Ibid., p. 61.

either, except for a few who had money. The years 1847 and 1848 had been dry--the first drought the colonists had experienced. There had also been a plague of grasshoppers, but in 1849 a worse disaster struck the little colony--cholera.

The first Catholic victim of the dread plague was a young man, Franz Hoffman, who died on April 23, 1849. Then for a month cholera killed someone in Castroville almost every day. Catholic deaths alone totaled sixteen in that time, and this accounts only for those who died in Castroville and were buried by the priests.³⁵ Other deaths on isolated farms undoubtedly were not reported until later and cannot now be definitely identified as having been the result of cholera.

Dubuis and Domenech worked frantically during the epidemic. They nursed the sick and comforted the dying; they buried the dead and consoled the bereaved. The disease was also raging in Fredericksburg and New Braunfels, and both men made similar efforts in those places. But they could not be everywhere at once. Dubuis was forced to record in the Parish Register that twelve persons died of cholera in New Braunfels without the last consolation of religion.³⁶

Either through Providence or plain good fortune, the priests apparently did not contract the highly contagious malady, although Domenech asserts otherwise. According to his account, the Abbé Dubuis, Domenech himself, and their young friend, who is identified only as "Charles M." (probably Charles de Montel, who later became a prominent Texas Ranger and officer of the Confederate Army), all contracted cholera

³⁵Parish Register, pp. 371-373, nos. 31-46.

³⁶Ibid., p. 373, no. 47.

after spending the night tending a patient who later died of the disease. No doctor was available. Left to their own devices, the three men concocted a mixture of camphorated alcohol, laudanum, unground black pepper, and eau-de-cologne. The resultant brew was filtered through a linen cloth, and each sufferer then drank off a third of it.³⁷ "It is not," wrote Domenech, "my intention to recommend this remedy to any person." The combination of laudanum, alcohol, and exhaustion prostrated the three men for twenty-four hours, after which time they returned to their normal duties, "greatly relieved and strengthened."³⁸ The epidemic disappeared as suddenly as it had come, the last death in Castroville being recorded on May 30, 1849.

The drought ended that year, also. Temporarily freed from dealing with emergencies, Dubuis immediately decided upon a new project which promised to keep both men occupied. The little makeshift church had become far too small to accomodate even those parishioners who attended weekday Masses,³⁹ and it was determined that it was necessary to build a larger one. The parishioners were willing to contribute a large share of the labor, and local materials would be used insofar as possible,

³⁷Oddly enough, an almost identical prescription appeared in the Nacogdoches Times on November 4, 1848: "The Board of Health of Liverpool permitted the publication of an infallible cure for cholera submitted to it by an English officer of rank who had resided in India for many years. It consisted of pulverized black pepper mixed with opium and made into pills which were washed down with brandy and water." Cited in J. Villasana Haggard, "Epidemic Cholera in Texas, 1833-1834," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, v. XL, p. 218.

³⁸Domenech, Missionary Adventures, p. 99.

³⁹This church still stands on the grounds of Moyer Academy. Attached to it is a bronze medallion awarded in 1966 by the Texas State Historical Survey Committee.

but some money was essential if such things as glass windows, nails, and other manufactured items were to be used.

Dubuis therefore petitioned Bishop Odin⁴⁰ for permission to conduct a begging tour in Louisiana, and Odin apparently received authorization for this venture from his old friend, Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans. Domenech was elected to make the trip. He left an account of that memorable journey in his previously cited book. The young priest evidently had a terrible time in Louisiana: he was repeatedly soaked by rain; he was shipwrecked and nearly drowned; at times he was faint with hunger and covered with mud, and once he narrowly missed being struck by lightning. He returned to Castroville, after his exhausting efforts, with two hundred dollars and a case of malaria.⁴¹

With this modest sum of money, priests and parishioners began erecting the new church. Domenech drew up the plans. The building was to be of Gothic design, and, according to the architect, "large enough to accomodate the entire population."⁴² The priests were determined to do as much of the work as possible themselves, under the supervision of the artisans among the colonists; thus the two curates had to learn the rudiments of stonemasonry and carpentry. Domenech confesses that he was not very good at this type of labor, but Dubuis was

on the contrary quite indefatigable. . . . Nothing tired him: he rested while going hither and thither in search of everything that could be serviceable to our undertaking. We perceived one day that we were in want of beams for the

⁴⁰Texas became a bishopric (the See of Galveston) on May 4, 1847. Papal Bull Apostolicae sedis fastigo, photostat in C.A.T.

⁴¹Domenech, Missionary Adventures, pp. 140-174.

⁴²Ibid., p. 190.

woodwork of the steeple; the Abbe hunted about until he found some pine [sic] trees . . . by the banks of the river; he hesitated not to plunge to the waist in the river in order to cut these trees at the root; this work took an entire day in the month of January.⁴³

Meanwhile, although the drought was over and the crops had improved, the priests found that their own diet remained as unsatisfactory as it had always been. Their Alsatian parishioners were not entirely to blame for this. As missionaries, Dubuis and Domenech received no salary from their bishop, and had not attempted any regular collections from the townspeople. Could it be possible that the idea of supporting the priests never occurred to many of these immigrants, coming as they had from a country in which the clergy drew a salary from the state? Certainly the fiery and energetic Dubuis did not often evoke emotions of tender charity in the flock that might move them to spontaneous donations of food and money. The pastor finally decided that a forceful reminder that priests do not live on faith alone was required.

Dubuis therefore mounted the pulpit one Sunday and delivered a stinging rebuke to the colonists. The following is Domenech's version of the sermon:

We teach seventy-two of your children, and yet you give nothing, not even for their books. We are about to build a church which will cost you scarcely anything, thanks to our collection, and still you leave us to die of hunger. Call to mind that on one occasion I was not able to preach because I had had no food for forty-eight hours; and that my first colleague, the Abbé Chazelle, died of want still more than of grief.

⁴³Domenech, Missionary Adventures, p. 190. Domenech could not have seen any pine trees near Castroville; there have been no such trees in Medina County in historic times, unless they have been planted by the inhabitants. In the original French edition, the word is beau (beautiful) and it is possible that the English translator read this as fine trees, which the printer mistook for pine trees.

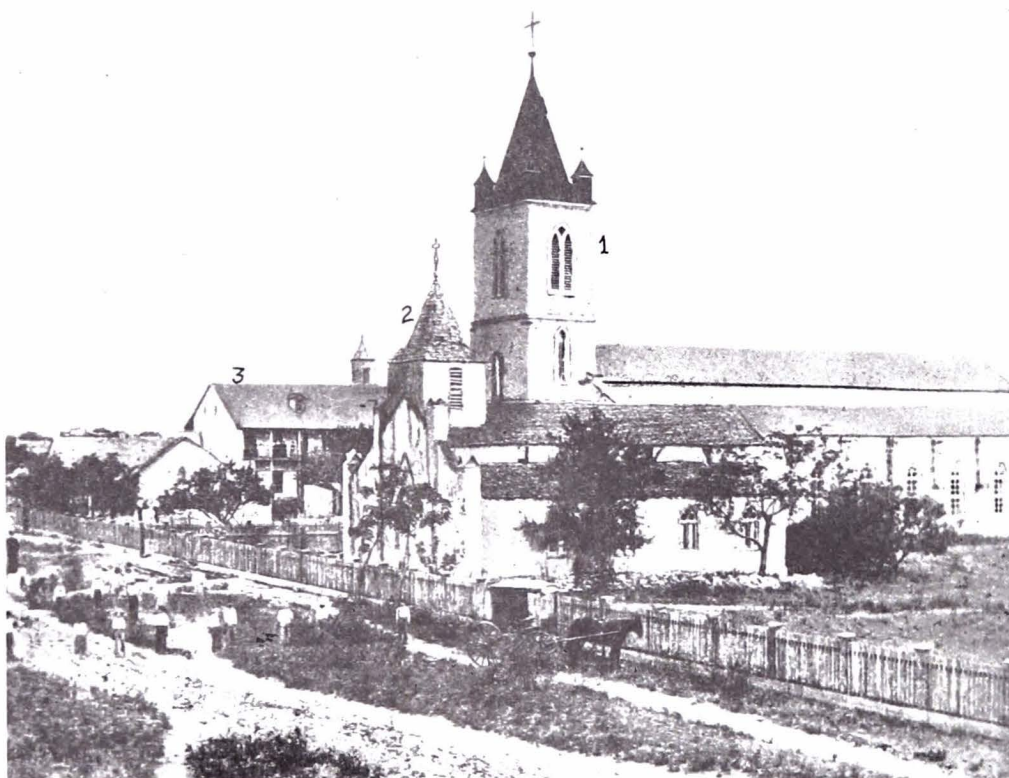
Dubuis demanded that a living be provided for the priests each month in advance, and that some tuition (\$0.50 per month) be paid for school children under the priests' instruction. The children of widows and the poor were exempted from this requirement. If these conditions were not met, Dubuis warned, "tomorrow you will see us no more."⁴⁴ The colonists believed him. His conditions were met. The Catholics of Castroville had undergone a change since the days of Father Pfanner.

The laborious erection of the new church proceeded. After Herculean efforts, it was finished in time for Easter, 1850. Some stained-glass windows were found in Galveston which depicted events in the life of St. Louis. These were procured and installed in the church, which was now described by a contemporary writer as "an elegant stone building . . . [which would be] creditable to a wealthier community."⁴⁵ A picture of this second church is on page 30.

Castroville was still a frontier community at this time, and the priests who served there were missionaries, as has been explained. Yet there exists no evidence that any of these intrepid pioneer clerics, who braved all the other hardships of their profession, ever attempted to proselytize among the native inhabitants of Medina County--that is, the Indians. The explanation for their omission is not difficult to find. In the very early years, Dubuis and Domenech were busy with their German-speaking charges, who were, by order of the bishop, a first concern, yet the subject of the Indians never left the priests' minds for long. Not that there were any raids by the savages; although minor

⁴⁴Domenech, Missionary Adventures, p. 184.

⁴⁵D. E. E. Braman, Braman's Information About Texas (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857), pp. 37-38.



VIEW OF ST. LOUIS CHURCHES, CIRCA 1876

1. Church built by Dubuis and Domenech in 1850, no longer standing.
2. Church built by Richard in 1870, still in use.
3. Convent of the Sisters of Divine Providence, completed in 1873, still in use.

thievery probably did occur from time to time, the Comanches, Kickapoos, and Lipan Apaches were quiescent in the Castroville area during the period 1844-1849.

Domenech and Dubuis considered the conversion of the Indians a duty of the Church but did not believe themselves to be God's instruments in that particular endeavor. In Domenech's opinion,

the civilisation . . . of the Indian is only to be effected by the introduction among them of the Catholic religion. . . Yet it is probable that the priest who would go among the Comanches to convert them, would be scalped in the out-set.

Well-ordered charity begins at home.⁴⁶

In 1844, a treaty of peace had been signed by several Comanche chiefs on Tehuacana Creek, in Limestone County, several hundred miles northeast of Castroville. This treaty was renewed at the same location in 1846, by the Indian agent, Robert S. Neighbors, who also helped with the treaty between the Comanches and the German settlers at Fredericksburg. Neighbors left the government service in 1849. In that same year the southern Comanches suffered epidemics of smallpox and cholera; one of the casualties of these attacks was the old chief who had kept the peace. These events, coupled with the increasing scarcity of game in the area, made raids on settlements much more necessary and attractive to the now uncontrolled young braves.⁴⁷

D'Hanis and Quihi suffered several Indian raids as early as 1847; these appeared to have been the work of renegade bands of Kick-

⁴⁶Domenech, Missionary Adventures, pp. 130-131.

⁴⁷The information concerning the Comanches in this paragraph is taken from Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 297-302, and from W. W. Newcomb, Jr., The Indians of Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), pp. 351-352, 358.

poos and Lipan Apaches.⁴⁸ These events alarmed the Castrovillians, but not so much as the Comanche massacre of four Alsatians, three men and a boy, on San Geronimo Creek, only a few miles north of the village. The badly mangled bodies of the victims were brought to Castroville and buried by Dubuis in the Catholic cemetery.⁴⁹ This was not the first, or the last, of such tragedies among the settlers along the Medina.

By now the work of Dubuis and Domenech in Castroville was nearly done. Dubuis, especially, had labored incessantly under conditions of want and poor diet. He made periodic trips to New Braunfels, D'Hanis, and Fredericksburg, often riding alone at the peril of Indian attacks. As Odin had predicted, both priests were alternately scorched by the sun, drenched with rain, or chilled in an icy "norther." The hard labor of building the new church sapped their last physical strength. Possibly both men had also contracted tuberculosis.⁵⁰ In 1850, they resolved to go to Galveston to request that Bishop Odin give them a rest. The request was granted: Dubuis was sent to New Orleans for a short vacation, and Domenech was allowed to return to France. Although both missionaries later returned to Texas, they remained separated. Domenech was sent to Brownsville; Dubuis returned to Castroville.

⁴⁸Sowell, Early Settlers, p. 349.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 98; Domenech, Missionary Adventures, pp. 128-129, and Parish Register, p. 373, nos. 52, 53, 54, 55. The victim's names were Benedict Weber (age, eleven years), Xavier Galat, Vincent Tschäne, and Joseph Tschäne.

⁵⁰Domenech, Missionary Adventures, p. 194. Domenech reported that he and Dubuis were spitting blood.

In the four years that Dubuis and Domenech had been on the frontier, they had officiated at 199 baptisms, sixty-nine funerals, and seventy marriages.⁵¹ Dubuis performed all except a few of these ceremonies. The two priests built a substantial church, taught school, advised the colonists--the immigrants consulted Dubuis on every conceivable matter⁵²--and, in a very real sense, were the true founders of St. Louis Church. They had set an example for those priests who soon followed in their footsteps.

⁵¹Figures derived from the Parish Register.

⁵²Domenech, Missionary Adventures, p. 196.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERREGNUM

Father Dubuis did not see Father Domenech again until years later, when they met in France. During 1851, the older priest labored alone at Castroville. Texas was still without enough priests, and it was only as the year ended that Bishop Odin was able to send another assistant pastor to the Catholics on the Medina.¹

Very little evidence has been found concerning this man who was Dubuis' third helper. The Parish Register contains entries bearing his signature--"Eo. Hug." Dubuis apparently left Hug at Castroville while he visited D'Hanis and the other German settlements in the area. Hug remained in Castroville only nine months, until August, 1852. Then he returned to Galveston, where he died during the epidemic of 1853.²

Dubuis himself left Castroville in 1852. Bishop Odin had once again been scouring Europe for priests, and he had succeeded in per-

¹Parish Register, p. 11, no. 155.

²History of the Diocese of Galveston and St. Mary's Cathedral, compiled by the priests of the seminary, James M. Kirwin, ed., p. 89. Near the entrance of St. Mary's Cathedral in Galveston is a small stone monument, incirbed with the names of six priests who died of yellow fever in 1853. On the south side of the monument are the words: "In memory of E. Hug. Born Nov. 29, 1809. Ordained June 1, 1833. Died Sept. 27, 1853." And on the east side: "Zum Andenken unser geliebten E. Hug. Grunder der Deutschen Congregation. Starb am 27 September, 1853."

suading Minister-General Hyacinth Gualerni, Order of Friars Minor Conventual, to send five of his Franciscans across the Atlantic to Texas.³ Four of these men were eventually to do service at Castroville. Father Dubuis was posted to San Antonio, where he founded yet another church, became Vicar-General, and in 1862 became the second Bishop of Galveston.

It is probable that Dubuis was still at Castroville to greet the first two Franciscans who arrived, Fathers Bonaventura Keller and Dominic Mesens. Father Keller, who was the Superior of the little group, remained at Castroville while Father Mesens left for D'Hanis after a few days.⁴ The other Franciscans, Fathers Leopold Moczygamba, Anthony Müller, and Leopold Bonaventure, scattered to the other German-speaking settlements near San Antonio.

The signatures in the Parish Register for the period 1852-1859 suggest that the Franciscans practiced a system of rotation in assigning their priests to parishes. Father Keller remained at Castroville from September, 1852, until February, 1854; Father Moczygamba then replaced Father Keller and served at St. Louis until January, 1855. After that date, the signatures of Fathers Mesens, Müller, and Moczygamba succeed each other in a pattern which suggests that the priests were stationed at Castroville between tours of duty at the other missions. Father Mesens returned to Castroville in July, 1857, and stayed,

³Taken from the Franciscan file, compiled by Father Constant Klein, O.F.M., C.A.T. These missionaries wore the black habit. The brown-robed Franciscans are the Friars Minor Observant.

⁴"D'Hanis Catholic Church," D'Hanis Star, Friday, February 26, 1915.

apparently alone, until June, 1859.

Mesens was the last Franciscan at St. Louis. The hard work and climate had undermined the European priests' health, especially that of Father Keller, and the decision was made to withdraw the Franciscans from Texas. Most of them were sent to the northeastern states.

Father Moczygamba performed at least two historically important acts while in Texas: he brought the first Polish settlers to the state,⁵ and he conducted a census of the Catholic population in Castroville. Moczygamba's census listed seventy-five Catholic families, totaling 412 persons, in Castroville and the immediate vicinity, exclusive of D'Hanis.⁶ According to the Federal Census of 1850, there were 540 persons in that area; therefore Catholics constituted approximately four-fifths of the population. Olmstead's opinion that "every colonist was a Catholic" was not much mistaken.⁷

The Alsatian pioneers on the Medina had scarcely said goodbye to the Franciscans when a second group of monks arrived at Castroville. Bishop Odin had once again been searching for priests to work among the German-speaking Catholics of Texas. This time he had addressed himself to Father Boniface Wimmer, Order of St. Benedict, Abbott of St. Vincent's Abbey in Pennsylvania:

⁵Rev. Edward J. Dworaczyk, The First Polish Colonies of America in Texas (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1936), pp. 1-5. Moczygamba was born of Polish parents in Prussian Silesia in 1825. After leaving Europe, he became convinced that America held the hope of the future for his oppressed countrymen. Moczygamba persuaded several hundred Silesians to emigrate to Texas in 1854; with them the priest founded the town of Panna Maria on the forks of the Cibolo Creek in Karnes County.

⁶See Appendix.

⁷See p. 11.

For a long time I felt a strong desire to invite you to the vast and extensive State of Texas. . . . Permit me then, to entreat you to do all you can, to establish a branch of St. Vincent in the State of Texas.

I can offer you a most excellent location on the San Antonio River. . . . It is old San Jose Mission. . . . There are . . . in the neighborhood of that mission five German congregations, that I would be happy to place under the direction of your Fathers.⁸

Fearing that he might receive a negative response to this written plea, Bishop Odin decided to present his case to Abbott Wimmer personally. Odin went to St. Vincent Abbey in June, 1859, and persuaded Abbott Wimmer to send three of his Benedictines to Texas; the small group left for the missions of Texas on July 1.⁹ They arrived in Texas in mid-July.¹⁰ Their Prior, Father Alto Hoermann, established himself at San Jose Mission, about five miles from San Antonio, with several lay brothers. Father Aemilian Wendel (or Wendl) went either to Fredericksburg or New Braunfels; the record here is not clear. The third priest, Father Petrus Baunach, was sent to Castroville.¹¹

Father Baunach had been a priest for nineteen years, having studied at the University of Wurzburg, Bavaria, and was ordained at Wurzburg seminary in 1840. He was novice-master at St. Vincent when he volunteered for the Texas missions.¹² Father Baunach remained as

⁸Archives of St. Vincent, Odin to Wimmer, Galveston, March 12, 1859. Cited in Felix Fellner, O.S.B., Abbott Boniface and His Monks (privately published at St. Vincent Archabbey, 1956), v. III, pp. 356-357. Hereafter referred to as Fellner, Abbott Boniface.

⁹Wimmer to King Louis of Bavaria, St. Vincent Abbey, July 25, 1859. Cited in Fellner, Abbott Boniface, pp. 357-358.

¹⁰Odin to Wimmer, Galveston, July 12, 1859. Cited in Ibid., p. 358.

¹¹Father Baunach's first entry in the Parish Register is on p. 88; the date is July 31, 1859.

¹²Fellner, Abbott Boniface, p. 359.

pastor at St. Louis until March, 1861, when he was transferred to Fredericksburg. In terms of material progress, there is nothing to indicate that either Father Baunach or his Benedictine successors accomplished very much. The blame, if there was any, for this lack of visible works must be attributed to forces beyond the priests' control: the Civil War had disrupted all normal activities. Even the work of restoring the priory at San Jose had to be suspended.¹³

Father Gallus Erharz replaced Father Baunach in March, 1861, but Erharz remained at St. Louis Church only three months.¹⁴ Father Aemilian Wendel arrived in June, 1861,¹⁵ and he served as pastor for the remaining years of the Civil War. The Castrovillians had little reason to sympathize with the Rebel government. Having been a pawn between Germany and France for centuries, the Alsatian appreciated order and stability in government. Furthermore, Medina County was not part of the Cotton Kingdom, and the settlers had little use for slaves.¹⁶

Without citing figures, the claim may yet be made that some of the Catholic men of Medina County served in the Confederate forces, or at least were not present in Castroville. Evidence to support this assertion may be found in the Parish Register of St. Louis: during each of the two years preceding the Civil War and the two years after,

¹³Prior Alto Hoermann to the Wahrheitsfreund, San Antonio, October 8, 1862.

¹⁴Parish Register, p. 389.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 100.

¹⁶Although Castro recorded in his diary that the settlers had experimented with cotton, Olmstead asserted in 1855 that not a single bale had been produced in Medina County.

there was in Castroville an annual average of eleven marriages. During the four war years, the average was exactly one half of that figure. Obviously, eligible bachelors were less plentiful during the war than they were during peaceful times.¹⁷

Father Wendel was succeeded at Castroville in December, 1865, by Father Theodore Gründner, who in turn was replaced by Father Eberhard F. Gahr in November, 1866.¹⁸ It was Father Gahr's misfortune to have his name connected, whether justifiably or not, with one of the most bizarre incidents in the history of St. Louis Church, or indeed in that of Castroville and Medina County.¹⁹

Valentine Gully lived on the banks of Francisco Creek, an intermittent stream near Castroville, with a woman who was not his wife. At least two children--one source reported seven--were born of this unsanctified union. In October, 1867, Gully was murdered while he was searching for some strayed or stolen livestock. His body was scalped and otherwise badly mutilated.

¹⁷There is a tradition in the German settlements of Texas that some of the able-bodied men of those communities hid themselves to avoid Confederate service. Such a man was called a busch wächter, from which is derived "bushwhacker."

¹⁸Parish Register, pp. 125, 134.

¹⁹The following account is taken from an unnumbered document in the Haass collection at Baylor University Library, copy in the Vance Papers, St. Mary's University Archives. Haass' sources for the detailed information were, he wrote, ". . . reliable people;" Val Haass, Philip Haass, "and others;" and Vol. B. of District Court Minutes, Cases No. 397, 398, 399. Corroborative evidence may be found in Sowell, Early Settlers, v. I, p. 156; the Parish Register, pp. 85, 98, and the passenger list of the Jeannette Marie, departed Antwerp for Galveston, May 12, 1844.

Several settlers found Gully's remains and brought them to Castroville for burial in the Catholic cemetery. It is not positively known whether or not Gully was a Catholic; in any case, he was not given a Catholic funeral. His body was interred in consecrated ground by anonymous persons. That night, or the next, three or four of the Catholic men of the town decided that the body of a public sinner had no business lying in sacred soil. They dug up the corpse, took it and the coffin back to Francisco Creek, and deposited their grisly burden on Gully's front porch, where it was discovered the next morning by the bereaved mistress. She re-buried the body in the garden near the house. On October 28, three Catholic laymen and Father Eberhard Gahr were indicted by a grand jury for the illegal disinterment of Valentine Gully. The case was eventually dismissed.

Such an event raises more questions than it answers: were those accused guilty or innocent? Why were the charges dropped? Lack of evidence? Political influence? How could pious, presumably democratically-minded frontier farmers perform such an act of unfeeling prejudice? The answer to the last question, and to those preceding it, cannot be found in the records. Sufficient evidence exists, however, to support an hypothesis which explains the psychology of the affair: Castrovillians were to some extent inured to tragedy. Many families had lost members to typhoid, cholera, and savage murderers; loved ones by the score lay in the cemeteries--one for Catholics, another for Lutherans. Some had died in old age; others in their prime; many--far too many--had been children. All had kept the faith. The survivors were determined that Valentine Gully, the father of illegitimate progeny, who died unrepentant and unshriven, should remain an outcast from

their society, even in death. The priest probably shared these sentiments.

Father Gahr was the last Benedictine pastor at St. Louis. The Brothers of St. Benedict in Texas were experiencing the same difficulty which had beset their predecessors, the Franciscans; the combination of hard work and unaccustomed heat was literally killing them. Tuberculosis--the "white plague"--caused the deaths of three priests and one brother between 1862 and 1868. One of the victims was the Prior, Alto Hoermann; another was Petrus Baunach, who had served at Castroville.²⁰

The cost was too great. Abbott Wimmer regretfully notified Bishop Dubuis that the Benedictines would be recalled to Pennsylvania. Dubuis made an effort to keep at least a token force of Benedictines in Texas. He made a plea for the mission in the letter he wrote in answer to the Abbott:

I told you in Rome, when I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance, and I repeat this today: the children of St. Benedict are welcome in my diocese and I will be father to them. Their labors are crowned with fruit. The glory of God and the salvation of souls is promoted by their zeal. Only a few days ago I visited Castroville and Fredericksburg, and was overjoyed, when I saw the good already done by the zeal of your apostolic Fathers. . . . I would not like to see all your Fathers leaving this vast diocese altogether. . . . You must be aware . . . that I was never displeased with any of your good Fathers as long as they remained here; the only difficulty I have is, I cannot keep them. I have been grieved to see them leaving. Three have left the most important German congregations in the diocese. . . . Please, deliberate once more and do not give up a mission that has cost you and us so many valuable men and means.²¹

Perhaps Dubuis was thinking of Father Matthew Chazelle when he penned

²⁰Fellner, Abbott Boniface, pp. 364-366.

²¹Dubuis to Wimmer, Galveston, April 12, 1867. Cited in Ibid., pp. 364-365.

the last line of this letter.

The regular clergy--those that follow a "rule," such as do the Benedictines--had served the Catholics of Castroville for approximately sixteen years. These unselfish men had helped preserve the Roman faith in the wilderness of the Texas frontier in spite of formidable obstacles; an inhospitable climate, sickness, and death. That they endeared themselves to the people of St. Louis is incontestable: Father Gahr, the last Benedictine to leave Castroville, was forced to leave at night in order to avoid a public demonstration protesting his departure.²²

²²Wahrheitsfreund, August 3, 1867, cited in Fellner, Abbott Boniface, p. 365.

CHAPTER IV

FATHER PETER RICHARD: A NEW ERA AT ST. LOUIS

Father Emile Fleury replaced Father Gahr a few days before he left Castroville in October, 1867. Father Fleury was only a temporary pastor, for he left upon the arrival of Father Peter Richard three months later, in February, 1868.¹ Richard was born in Loire, France. The year of his birth is not known, but he was probably a relatively young priest since he was still a seminarian when he came to Texas in 1864.² After his ordination he first served the German Catholics at Victoria, under the pastor, Father August Gardet. In August, 1866, he was made pastor of Coletto, in DeWitt County, where he remained until his transfer to Castroville in 1868.

There was much about Father Richard's pastorate at Castroville which was reminiscent of Bishop Dubuis' earlier efforts there. Richard was a blunt-spoken Frenchman and an energetic priest. He was a builder, an organizer, and an administrator. His energy and candor occasionally brought him into conflict with his more conservative parishioners, as will be shown.

Father Richard was not long in concluding that the church of St. Louis, which had been the pride of Domenech and Dubuis in 1850, was

¹Parish Register, pp. 143-147.

²Biographical details concerning Father Richard are taken from Callahan, History, p. 79.

no longer adequate to the needs of the parish. Father Moczygamba had recorded seventy-five families residing in St. Louis parish in 1854; in 1868 there were 225, an increase of two hundred percent.³ Richard decided that a larger church was necessary.

Bishop Dubuis gave his formal approval to the project when he visited Castroville in June-July of 1868 and blessed the cornerstone of the new church. An anonymous correspondent reported the event to the Wahrheitsfreund:

We hope it will give you pleasure to get some news about the Catholic Church in our distant Texas. After untold troubles and inconveniences our parish celebrated on the 2nd of July a festivity as it had never done since its founding. Through the untiring efforts and sacrifices of our Rev. Pastor Peter Richard it was made possible that a new Catholic Church for our parish could be started. It will be 150 ft. long and 52 ft. wide, and according to the builder's estimate, it will cost \$20,000. This is certainly a good sum, which the parish imposes upon itself, especially since the parish numbers not more than 225 Catholic families. But the parishioners are determined to bring every sacrifice and to carry their project through. The beginning is made; on the 2nd of July we had the pleasure to celebrate the laying of the cornerstone, by the Right Rev. Bishop Dubuis of Galveston, who at the same time administered the Sacrament of Confirmation [to seventy-one persons]. Stimulated and encouraged thereby, we shall continue to labor vigorously on the construction of the House of the Lord; God's blessing will not be wanting.⁴

As with the first and second churches of St. Louis, much of the labor of building this third church was contributed by the parishioners, who gave unstintingly of their efforts. Again in accordance with the traditions established by Dubuis and Domenech, local materials--lime-

³Wahrheitsfreund, July 22, 1868. Copy discovered in the St. Louis Parish files.

⁴Ibid., and Parish Register, p. 546.

stone, mortar, and wood--were used almost exclusively in the construction.⁵

It would have been contrary to frontier history had not some difficulty arisen during the course of the work. Father Richard's difficulty was lack of money. The parishioners were generous enough with their labor but were inclined to balk when it was a question of cash. Money was as scarce as always in Castroville, and these European farmers and first-generation Americans were careful of the little they had. Perhaps some of them questioned the need to contribute hard cash toward the construction of the church; after all, most of the building materials were procured locally at little or no expense by the volunteer laborers.

Father Richard viewed the question from a different perspective. Since he was a dedicated priest, the new church was a labor of love for him. He undoubtedly wanted it to be as grand a structure as it could possibly be, and that meant new stained-glass windows, a trio of mellow-toned bells, elegant stations of the cross, and so on. Such things could not be fashioned from Medina County limestone and cypress; they had to be purchased elsewhere.

Still, Father Richard apparently encountered some opposition from certain parishioners when he attempted to raise the necessary funds. He tried ordinary methods of persuasion, with no success. Several of the recalcitrant parishioners began to murmur among themselves about

⁵Ruth Lawler and Connie Rihn, St. Louis Catholic Church (Castroville: privately published by the St. Louis Centennial Committee, 1970), p. 9. Hereafter referred to as Lawler and Rihn, St. Louis.

Richard and his projected church, and reports of these whisperings were received at the rectory. Richard lost his French temper. His was not the gently proselytizing manner of the missionary; he was the secular pastor of a civilized congregation of Alsatians, and he intended to brook no nonsense concerning so important a matter as the new church.

On October 18, 1868, he addressed the worshipers at Sunday Mass:

According to the expressed opinion of the Most Rev. Bishop of Galveston, who formerly was pastor of this congregation, it is the most degenerate of the whole diocese and since the inhabitants of Texas are admittedly the most immoral in every way, it is useless to look for another parish in America that can surpass Castroville when it comes to wickedness, vulgarity and stupidity. Anything that can rightfully be claimed as "bad" belongs to the ruling party when it comes to matters concerning the parish. The pastor should loaf like they do, otherwise, he is not worth anything. He should not close only one eye but be totally blind, otherwise, he can skidoo. If he doesn't do as this riff-raff machine dictates, they will agitate and stir up strife until he gets out. Especially when it means to do something for the good of the parish will they scheme or agitate, because they fear they will have to open the purse for a change; however, to open the purse and the mouth at the same time would not be fit. Therefore, they leave the purse shut and open the mouth so much wider.

Many excel the old pharisees at the time of Christ and understand exceedingly well how to put on the mask of a hypocrite. Should we attempt to tear away the mask with force, they will howl exactly as the wolves and whimper in between, "We are as innocent as Christ on the Cross."

Much may and can be attributed to stupidity and to the Castroville stupidity everything can be attributed; therefore also this when the wolves howl, "O believe us, we are innocent farmers; we have no wool and ask for nothing more than that you give us some of your wool;" at the same time they growl into their fists ("otherwise you may go to the devil who is our father, therefore we work for him").⁶

It was possible that Father Richard was referring to a project only related to the new church when he spoke of "something for the good of the Parish." In September, 1868, two Sisters of the Congregation of

⁶Original in the files of St. Louis Church. Translated from the German by Rev. Leo Goertz, Pastor of St. Louis from 1954-1970.

Divine Providence arrived in Castroville; it was their intention, approved by Bishop Dubuis and welcomed by Father Richard, to found a permanent convent in Castroville. The Sisters immediately opened a school, and on the first Monday in October thirty-six students were enrolled. Yet another piece of parish construction became necessary-- a four-room stone schoolhouse, which was completed sometime between 1868 and 1870. The arrival of the Sisters at Castroville was a reinforcement ethnically as well as spiritually, for the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Divine Providence was in Saint-Jean-de-Bassel, near Nancy, Alsace-Lorraine.⁷

The building of the schoolhouse probably slowed the erection of the new church somewhat, but in August of 1870 it was decided that the building was sufficiently completed for services to be conducted within. The Wahrheitsfreund ran an account of the first ceremony in new St. Louis Church:

Be so kind to receive the following lines into the columns of the Wahrheitsfreund. It is probably already known to you that the Catholic Parish in Castroville, Medina County, Texas, has built a new grand church, which was erected in Gothic style, 150 ft. long and 50 ft. wide. The Church is finished up to the spire which will also soon be completed, and is a real ornament to the town.

Also the education of the youth in the parish is taken care of to the very best, in that the Sisters of Divine Providence, for whom the parish has built a beautiful house, are striving with untiring efforts to bring them up as pious Christians and useful members of human society.

On August 25, the feast of St. Louis, the church was meantime . . . given over to the services of the Most High, and the altar was consecrated according to regulations. The solemn dedication of the church will only take place when our Right Rev. Bishop Dubuis of Galveston will have returned from Rome; until that time when a beautiful ringing of three bells will have been

⁷Callahan, History, p. 84, and Castaneda, The Church in Texas, pp. 313-314.

procured, and which then will also be blessed. The celebration began with a procession, headed by cross and banner bearers, around the church. First came the school children and adults, then came a long line of girls dressed in white and wearing wreaths on their heads. They carried in their midst a beautiful statue of the Mother of God. . . . After the procession reached the church, the Rev. Peter Richard conducted the ceremonies. . . . Four novices of the Sisters of Divine Providence pronounced, solemnly and distinctly [their annual vows]. Thereupon was offered, for the first time in the new St. Louis Church, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. This Solemn High Mass was offered by Rev. Richard in honor of the patron saint, St. Louis. He was assisted by Rev. Theodor Greyenbuhl and Rev. T. J. Johnston of San Antonio. Rev. Greyenbuhl preached the sermon in German, and Father Johnston addressed the Congregation in English, also a sermon in French was rendered. . . . The celebration was then concluded with Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.⁸

The four girls who entered the convent as novices on this date were daughters of the original pioneers: they were Isabelle Zimmermann, Barbara Keller, Mary Merian, and Mary Pierre Bader.⁹ Thus did the frontier Catholics of Castroville, who had for twenty-six years been dependent on others to furnish their priests and nuns, move toward independence.

The parishioners had reason to celebrate that St. Louis feast day with particular enthusiasm, and from that time began the custom of observing the pastoral holiday of St. Louis with attendance at Mass in the morning, followed by a picnic and dance. Formal planning for this

⁸Wahrheitsfreund, September 7, 1870. Copy discovered in the St. Louis Parish files. According to Father Jacob Lenzen, pastor of St. Louis from 1928 to 1953, the three bells in the church are inscribed: MENEELY'S WEST TROY NY 1870. The bells are of three sizes. The largest is named St. Louis; it was sponsored by Hon. G. H. Noonan, Kate Noonan, A. Carle, A. Schneider, Cath. Carle, and Th. Haby. The middle-sized bell is named Ste. Marie; sponsors were S. J. Meuret, Cath. Wagner, J. B. Wernette, Hy. Keller, El. Meuret, Ma. Kauffman. The smallest bell is named St. Joseph; sponsors were Jos. Sittre, My. Tondre, Geo. Bendele, My. R. Bohl.

⁹Callahan, History, p. 85.

event did not occur for years afterward and will be discussed in another chapter.

For reasons that can only be conjectured, Father Richard's signature did not appear in the Parish Register from April 10 to December 4, 1872. All baptisms, burials, and weddings for that period were entered in the records by Father J. Teitien, concerning whom no information is available. Father Teitien's name disappeared from the Register after December 1. It was replaced again by the familiar "P. Richard," who by now included in his signature the title "D. P. Sup.," that is, Superior of the Sisters of Divine Providence.¹⁰

In 1872 or early 1873, the Sisters petitioned Bishop Dubuis for permission to build a permanent convent in Castroville. The Bishop first considered converting the second church of St. Louis--the one which he and Father Domenech had helped build--to that purpose. But he changed his mind, deciding that a much more elegant structure was indicated. Dubuis gave his permission to build a new convent and donated part of the money and the necessary land on Block Six, near the church and parish school.¹¹

Once again the parishioners joined in, contributing their labor, and the building materials were the local limestone and cypress timber. Only three years after the construction of the third St. Louis Church, the Catholics of Castroville completed the new convent, just in

¹⁰Parish Register, pp. 194-203; 412-414; 737-739.

¹¹Callahan, History, p. 93, and Medina County Records, Land Abstract Office, Hondo, Texas; Bexar Transcript, v. I, p. 455. H. Castro sold to Bishop Odin, on August 21, 1851, Block Five in Range Eight and Block Six in Range Six, for one dollar. The land was to be used for educational purposes.

time for the St. Louis day celebration on August 25, 1873. By contemporary standards, it was an impressive feat. A reporter for the New York Freeman's Journal described the building and the celebration:

They [the Sisters] have put up and nearly finished a fine building, to which they give the modest title of schoolhouse, and which, elsewhere, would be called an academy or Collegiate institute. It is built of stone, two stories high with galleries and verandahs, and constructed with a view to our Texas climate, open to the breeze from the South in summer and closed to the "Norther" in the winter. It is an ornament to the town.¹²

The convent stands today, one of the principal buildings at Moya Academy.

Father Richard's pastorate was marked by a number of notable achievements, several of which have been described. A less ostentatious event occurred on October 7, 1870: it was a simple baptism, but a milestone, nonetheless. The entry in the Parish Register differs from Richard's other notations there in two respects: the recipient's given name is misspelled, and the entry number is underscored three times. It was the 1000th baptism recorded in St. Louis Parish Register.¹³

Six months later another epoch ended on a more solemn note. Emelie Castro, the wife of the founder of the colony, died in San Antonio. Her body was returned to Castroville, where it was interred in the Catholic cemetery¹⁴ on March 1, 1871. Henry Castro had preceded his spouse in death by seventeen years. He died in Mexico during the

¹²"Feast of St. Louis at Castroville, Texas," New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register, September 13, 1873, p. 1. Cited in Callahan, History, p. 93.

¹³Parish Register, p. 170.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 403.

Civil War, and lies buried somewhere near Monterey.¹⁵

As the lives of the earliest Castroville pioneers began to flicker out, a new era was being born in the Southwestern United States. The Reconstruction period officially ended in Texas in 1870. The economy returned to a nearly normal condition and the railroad magnates, whose progress in the Southern states had been arrested by the Civil War, began in Texas to expand toward the western frontier. C. P. Huntington and T. W. Pierce controlled the Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Company (GH & SA), a branch of the Southern Pacific. This line was opened from Houston to San Antonio in 1877. The Southern Pacific in California began a line from the Pacific Coast eastward at about the same time; the plan was to eventually link the two lines somewhere between San Antonio and El Paso.¹⁶ There was little doubt in the minds of Castrovillians that the new railroad would pass through their town, but such was not to be the case. In 1881, the GH & SA bypassed Castroville five miles to the south, effectively isolating the inhabitants until years later, when the completion of U.S. Highway 90 provided a first-class road to San Antonio.

The passing of the railroad coincided with the disappearance of the Indians from Medina County. During the 1870's Castro's colonies continued to be the scenes of frontier style violence, some instances of which were recorded by Father Richard in the Burials section of the Parish Register:

¹⁵Waugh, Castro-ville, p. 67.

¹⁶Charles S. Potts, "Railroad Transportation in Texas," University of Texas Bulletin No. 119 (Austin: University of Texas, March 1, 1909), pp. 25-27.

On the 8th of December A.D. 1870 [I buried] . . . Joseph Riff
about 23 years of age found killed on the 6th. . . .

P. Richard

. . . 25th of December, A.D. 1870 . . . Lawrence Bietiger
about 24 years of age [was] found killed by the Indians on
the 4th. . . .

P. Richard

. . . 31st of August, A.D. 1872 . . . Francisca Iltis [was]
killed the day before in Inken's yard at the age of 78 years.

J. Teitien

. . . 11th of July A.D. 1877 . . . [I buried] Frank Grimsin-
ger who was shot on the Saco [sic] and died on the 10th. . .
. He had received the last sacraments before his death from
the Catholic Priest of D'Hanis and was about 36 years of age.

P. Richard

. . . 19th of April A.D. 1878 . . . [I buried] Nicanor Rubio
who died this morning [as a result of] the operation of [on]
his leg [which was] shot and broken.

P. Richard

. . . 7th of January A.D. 1879 . . . [I buried] Carl Louis
Schweitzer, who was killed about 7 miles above D'Hanis on
the 24th of December A.D. 1878. . . . He was about 36 years
old.

P. Richard

Richard never included the name of the murderer in these entries, except in those few which mentioned Indians as the guilty parties. The other deaths were either accidental or the work of whites. Desperadoes were not unknown in Medina County during this period; the notorious King Fisher was one of the more prominent ones.¹⁷ Indian raids ceased entirely after the Comanches were subdued during the late 1870's.

Father Richard left Castroville in April, 1880. His health had greatly deteriorated, and he returned to his home in southern France in an attempt to recruit his strength. Richard had found Castroville a

¹⁷Walter Prescott Webb, The Texas Rangers, A Century of Frontier Defense, 2nd. ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), p. 286. Webb refers to him as " . . . King Fisher, who ruled the country between Castroville and Eagle Pass."

pioneer town in 1868. He left behind a firmly established community, well on its way to modernity, owing in no small measure to his efforts. The substantial church and convent which he had built, and which are used today, bear testimony to his zeal and energy. During Richard's pastorate, 919 persons were baptized into the Catholic faith in Castroville, 127 couples were married, and 237 persons buried. Richard himself performed the vast majority of these ceremonies; a few of the Register entries were signed by transient missionaries or by Father Teitien.

Richard never returned to St. Louis to enjoy the fruits of his exhausting labors. He joined Fathers Matthew Chazelle and Petrus Bau-nach in the ranks of those missionaries who gave their lives in the service of the Catholic Church. On December 8, 1880, he died, having not yet reached his fortieth birthday.¹⁸

¹⁸Callahan, History, p. 134.

CHAPTER V

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

In 1880, Castroville was thirty-six years old. The town had survived the raids of Indian and white marauders, and the ravages of cholera and typhoid. Castro's colonists had attached themselves to the land so firmly that the state Commissioner of Insurance, Statistics, and History was unable to ascertain real estate prices in Medina County.¹ There was no market for land because there were no sellers.

Then the railroad missed Castroville, and the future of the town was suddenly less bright. The new settlement of Hondo, located on the Southern Pacific about seventeen miles to the west, began to attract population, and Castroville began to lose people to the upstart community. Finally the county seat was moved from Castroville to Hondo in 1892. Three years later, the Sisters of Divine Providence moved their mother-house to Our Lady of the Lake College in San Antonio.² There was little, on the face of it, to prevent Castroville from sharing the fate of the numerous ghost towns which had been promising communities before they were bypassed by the railroad.

The Alsatian settlement did not grow very much after 1881, but it did not wither away either. St. Louis Church shared this static

¹A. W. Spaight, The Resources, Soil, and Climate of Texas: Report of the Commissioner of Insurance, Statistics, and History (Galveston: A. H. Belo, 1882), p. 219.

²"Castroville and the Convent School," Castroville Quill, January 21, 1910, p. 1.

existence with the town it served. There were no more dramatic incidents, with the possible exception of a fire which destroyed the priests' house in 1897. Few visitors passed through Castroville. The only noteworthy events in the town for years were the increasingly popular St. Louis day celebrations.

The previous chapter contains several references to the celebration of St. Louis' feastday. Exactly when this holiday began to assume a more than ordinary importance in Castroville is uncertain, but the festivities of August 25, 1870, which marked both the completion of the third church and the patron's feast, were said to have attracted visitors from the surrounding counties. These tourists probably came to see the new church, a building which was something of a marvel in Texas at that time. The visitors would have been shown the traditional hospitality, and since August is a very hot month in Medina County, with the crush of people adding to the heat, picnics under the cool shade on the riverbanks must have been common. It seems equally likely that toward the end of the day someone would have said, "Let's do this again next year."

From this somewhat impromptu beginning has grown an annual event which is attended by thousands of visitors. The day for the celebration has in modern times been changed to the Sunday nearest the actual feast-day of August 25 in order to make attendance more convenient. By 1894, St. Louis Day had become a more organized affair, as an advertisement in the Hondo Anvil Herald revealed:

Grand Ball and Supper. Wernette's Garden, Castroville . . .
Prof. Artzt's San Antonio Famous orchestra will furnish the music.

Hon. F. H. Burmeister, Democratic nominee of the 91st Representative District, will address the people on the issues of the day. Come hear him expound the principles of

true Democracy.

Cool shade . . . first class refreshments . . . the most pleasant place in the county to spend the afternoon and night and enjoy yourself.³

St. Louis Day at present is an important occasion in Castroville, requiring months of preparation and planning. Old Wernette's Garden remains the site for the merrymaking, but the property was purchased in 1950 by Mrs. Adella Hans Koenig and donated to the church in memory of her husband, August.⁴ One of the noted attractions of the celebration is the food, which is locally prepared:

The word has gone out to each of the women [of St. Louis] to prepare eight pounds of potato salad; five pounds of shredded cabbage and carrots for the cole slaw; one cake, one apron and some sort of prize to be given away.

Such voluntary community co-operation is traditional for this feast day, and it all adds up to the tremendous task of serving tons of food to thousands of hungry people. . . . Cords of well seasoned oak and mesquite are being hauled to the huge barbecue pits where more than 6,000 pounds of prime beef will be prepared. . . . In addition to the barbecued beef they expect to serve about 3,000 pounds of German-style sausage; 4,500 pounds of potato salad; about 2,000 pounds of slaw; 1,000 pounds of ranch-style beans; 13,000 slices of bread; 100 gallons of coffee; 100 gallons of tea; 17,000 bottles of beer and about 6,000 soda pops. . . .

Matheny Brothers Orchestra will strike up a tune at 7 p.m. and there will be dancing and merrymaking in the dance hall in the park until 11 p.m. . . .⁵

The proceeds from the celebration help defray the expenses of the parish. Churches of any denomination are commonly plagued with mortgage payments, but St. Louis of Castroville has had a history remarkably free of debt. All three St. Louis Churches and the convent

³Yancey Russell, "Citizens of Castroville Prepare for Celebration," manuscript copy furnished by Mr. Russell, Chamber of Commerce, Devine, Texas.

⁴Untitled newspaper clipping, furnished by Mr. Jim Menke, Baytown, Texas.

⁵Russell, "Citizens of Castroville."

were built primarily by volunteer labor utilizing local materials. Necessary cash was usually furnished by contribution.

As the nineteenth century ended, this method of erecting and maintaining church buildings was of necessity modified. The Castrovillians who had built the churches of 1850 and 1870 did so in the tradition of the self-sufficient yeoman farmer; every man was a passable carpenter or stonemason; each had some useful skill which he brought to the communal task. Money was used only to purchase those tools and materials which the laborers could not produce themselves. This tradition appeared to have been modified by 1896, as evidenced by this excerpt of a letter written by Father John Kirch, Pastor of St. Louis from 1895 to 1909:

I took charge of the Parish of Castroville, St. Louis Church, on the 15th of December, 1895. My predecessor was the Rev. Jerome Lagleder, who returned to his natal place in Bavaria, where he is in charge of a small Parish. Since my arrival in Castroville we have made the acquisition of a church organ, a beautiful set of stations of the cross, and a rich sanctuary lamp. We have placed a new roof over the sanctuary, and made other improvements.

On the 16th of February, 1896, the Church of Castroville suffered a disastrous calamity. The beautiful Parochial residence became a prey to the flames. I myself had a narrow escape from becoming a victim of the dread element. The parish suffered a loss of \$4,000, and I myself lost over \$1,000 worth of personal property. The three hundred families composing my Parish leagued together and upon the advice of the Rt. Rev. J. A. Forest, another residence was erected at a cost of \$3,000. Today we have not one cent of debt.⁶

The letter implied that a parish debt had existed prior to May 13, 1897. Father Kirch later added a second story to the new rectory, completely redecorated the church interior, installed new stained-glass windows,

⁶ Father John Kirch to an unidentified correspondent, Castroville, May 13, 1897, C.A.T. Copy discovered in the parish files of St. Louis Church.

and replaced the old church steeple. Father Alphonse Heckmann (pastor, 1909-1928) continued to improve the physical facilities of St. Louis. A parish hall and a two-story red brick schoolhouse were completed between 1923 and 1925, at a combined cost of \$26,500. Miss Ruth Lawler, in writing the centennial booklet of the parish, implied that the labor for these projects was donated by the men of St. Louis in lieu of money.⁷ This was probably true in many cases, but some of the larger contributions were undoubtedly made in cash; the St. Louis Society pledged \$500 and Father Heckmann himself gave \$3,500.⁸

The new school was for the primary grades. A high school department was added later by Father Jacob Lenzen, who was pastor from 1928 until 1953. The high school was accredited in 1938. In 1968 a number of difficulties, most of them financial, forced the closing of the Catholic schools in Castroville. The buildings are now used as classrooms by the Medina Valley Independent School District and by the St. Louis Chapter of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine for catechism lessons.⁹

Modern travelers who approach Castroville from San Antonio have for many years noted a large cross atop a steep hill near the town on the left. The hill is officially named Mont Gentilz, after Theodor Gentilz, a young artist and one of Castro's original settlers. It was

⁷Lawler and Rihn, St. Louis, p. 11.

⁸These figures are taken from a list of signatures of parishioners who pledged their contributions to the schoolhouse. The list was discovered in the St. Louis Parish files. Father Heckmann's source of funds in this instance is not known.

⁹Interview with Rev. Lawrence Steubben, May 29, 1971.

Gentilz (pronounced Zhahn-teel) who escorted the first Alsatians to D'Hanis. Today the hill is known simply as Cross Hill, or "Grietz Bearg" in the Alsatian dialect. "Kreutz Berg" would be the German rendition.¹⁰

It is a local tradition that the early settlers erected the first cross on the hill, acting in accordance with an Old World custom. This explanation is plausible, but there was no mention of such a cross in Abbe Domenech's memoirs, which dealt with the period from 1848-1850. Of course this proves nothing one way or the other.

The Franciscan Fathers and the Benedictines who served at Castroville between 1852 and 1868 left few written records; none of them mentioned a cross. The first evidence which ranks above hearsay concerning the history of the cross on Mont Gentilz was found in the Castroville Anvil issue of March 21, 1902. The article began by describing a recent ceremony in which a new cross was erected in place of a "weather-beaten one."

The Cross placed on the hill last Sunday was erected by the St. Louis congregation, but the primary promoters of the movement are the members of the St. Anna Society assisted by a philanthropic family who request their name be withheld. The cross proper is of wood and is sixteen feet high. Attached to it is a Corpus of zinc five feet in height so that the two form a regular Crucifix. The cost of it will be a little over \$100.00.

The Anvil wanted to give an accurate and extensive history of the Cross, but, as the Church has kept no record of the same, we have found it impossible to do so. Col. J. B. Wernette furnishes us from his store of extensive reminiscence enough information to assure us that the history would be an

¹⁰The history of the cross on Mont Gentilz is taken from the research by Miss Ruth Lawler, Landmark Inn, Castroville, except where otherwise noted. Miss Lawler presented the results of her research in an historical sketch at the installation of the current cross on October 3, 1971. The manuscript is in the possession of Mr. & Mrs. Jim Menke of Baytown.

interesting one if properly told. The first Cross was erected by Rev. Father (afterwards Bishop) Dubuis, at that time pastor of St. Louis Church, about 50 years ago. At one time it was chopped down by two miscreants, one a right-handed and the other a left-handed man and the job was neatly done. At another time Mr. Hoog, father of our present Justice Peter Hoog, saw a smoke on top of the hill and, taking his shot gun, climbed to the top to find that an old Mexican, supposed to be crazy, had set the cross afire. When the Mexican saw Mr. Hoog, he made at him with a long knife but got the contents of the gun. The Mexican recovered but Mr. Hoog had a heavy suit to fight in the courts. Judge Wealder, an attorney from Pennsylvania, was his lawyer and finally secured his vindication.

The cross was torn down to give place to the new one [which] was erected about 27 years ago by Rev. Father Jiesen, a Missionary, who gave the first Mission at the St. Louis Church. It had weathered the storms for all these years undisturbed, and ever stood as a mute reminder of the Christ whose love changes not with the times or the seasons.

Colonel Wernette's account was correct in at least one respect: a priest whose signature was "P. Giesen, Temporary Missionary," recorded a baptism in the St. Louis Parish Register on January 30, 1875. Father Richard afterwards made an entry in the Register in reference to "Father Giesen, a Redemptorist Missionary."¹¹ If the rest of Colonel Wernette's testimony is accurate, the cross erected by the "Rev. Father Jiesen" was either the second or third to overlook Castroville from the summit of Mont Gentilz.

Miss Lawler, co-author of St. Louis Catholic Church and the proprietor of the Landmark Inn in Castroville, recalled the fate of the 1902 Crucifix and the background of the present cross:

In the early 1920's, when our country was shaken by bigotry and turmoil, the 1902 Cross was mutilated. About 1929 or 1930 a new cross was dedicated on a Good Friday. This occurred shortly after Dean Lenzen came to Castroville. (The wood for the Cross was made from 2 electric light poles, donated by Jordan T. Lawler.)

In August 1968, a young couple from San Antonio brought a jug

¹¹Parish Register, pp. 242, 423.

full of pennies, the amount was \$75.58, and asked the local law officer to give the money to the pastor of St. Louis Church with the request [that] the money would be used to beautify Cross Hill.

A committee was appointed which represented the entire community, but nothing definite was accomplished.

The last person to inspire action was Mike Perales of Castroville, who with his family decorated the Cross for Christmas 1970. The committee was reactivated, and you see the result: a cross 13 ft. high with a cross piece of 7 ft. made in Piedras Negras, Mexico, in the shop of Jesus Norato.

Miss Lawler also recalled that

parishioners of St. Louis church in the more fervent days made pilgrimages to the cross on Rogation days, and on Fridays in Lent, and in times of drought. The procession was led by the pastor and altar boys, followed by the parochial school children and pious adults. The rosary was recited in German, and hymns were sung as the group slowly wound its way up the steep graveled footpath.

The latest cross was installed in keeping with the ecumenical spirit of the times; the ceremony was jointly conducted by members of St. Louis church, the Zion Lutheran church, and the Castroville Baptist chapel. The cross which originated as an expression of Catholicism has become a symbol of the corporate community.

The same parishioners who have maintained such links with the past as the cross on the hill are, at this writing, planning to apply twentieth-century technology to their church. A Restoration Board has been formed, consisting entirely of descendants of pioneer colonists, for the purpose of planning and supervising an extensive refurbishing of the 1870 church. Plans include providing the 102 year-old building with a new roof and floor, renovating the sanctuary, replacing all interior plaster, refinishing the pews, and hanging new doors. All work will be done with a view toward restoring and preserving the original features of the church. A single concession to modern convenience will be the installation of central heating and air conditioning. The cost

of the entire project is estimated at \$145,000. A local tradition is being observed in this undertaking: the contractor has agreed to use local volunteer labor wherever possible.¹²

¹²Interview with Rev. Lawrence Steubben, August 1, 1972.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Henry Castro brought several hundred Alsatian families to the wilderness of West Texas in 1844. These European immigrants brought with them their agriculture, their Alsatian dialect, and their Catholic religion. This study has been primarily concerned with that religion, but it was inevitable that other topics touching Castroville would be briefly discussed, if only to demonstrate how such factors as economics and environment have affected Catholicism in Castroville.

After an unfortunate beginning involving an unworthy priest, the church of St. Louis was served by a succession of self-sacrificing clerics, who were themselves mostly Europeans. The first of these was Claude Marie Dubuis, who, after burying his first confrere, built the second Catholic Church in Castroville in 1850. The Rev. Emmanuel Domenech assisted Dubuis in this work, and wrote a colorful, if not overly accurate, account of the early years on the Medina.

Dubuis and Domenech experienced all the hardships and sacrifices that missionaries on the frontier are heir to, except death. Indians raided the settlements and killed parishioners. Typhoid and cholera epidemics necessitated more funerals, but the colonists had one consolation in those dangerous days: they would not die without the last offices of the church. Even those who perished without warning knew that their bones would rest in consecrated ground.

Father Leopold Moczygamba's Franciscans, most of them Germans,

helped preserve the faith in Castroville between 1852 and 1859; the Benedictines, themselves German, performed the same duty from 1859 until 1868. These two religious orders finally left their posts only under obedience, after it had become apparent that the monks could not survive in the Texas climate. It is possible that Castroville would today be the site of a thriving monastery if tuberculosis had not taken its toll among these men. Such an institution might have been a powerful civilizing influence on the frontier. Perhaps the Plains Indians, who had so forcefully rejected the missionary efforts of the Spaniards a century before, would have been more amenable to such efforts by the Franciscans and Benedictines in the 1850's and 1860's.

The fiery and dedicated Rev. Peter Richard assumed the pastorate of St. Louis in 1868. Richard found Castroville a frontier village, and twelve years later left a thriving town with a bright future--a grand new stone church and convent, and a parochial schoolhouse.

Such substantial institutions as these enabled the Alsatian settlers to perpetuate many of the unique cultural traits which they possessed, such as those of language and religion. Castroville's failure to get the railroad in 1881 probably helped the town preserve its unique features by prolonging the period of isolation.

The descendants of the original pioneer families are at present much in evidence in Castroville. Their town has undergone many changes since the early days: the Indians no longer threaten, and cholera and typhoid have been conquered. A new super-highway connects Castroville to metropolitan San Antonio. Irrigation has partly alleviated the recurrent droughts. St. Louis parishioners are progressive; nevertheless they remain conscious of their past, and are exerting efforts to

insure that their religious heritage will be preserved for future generations.

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APPENDIX

CENSUS OF CATHOLICS IN CASTROVILLE, TEXAS, 1854

This list of St. Louis parishioners was compiled by Father Leopold Moczygemba, who took the census family by family in 1854. Married women were listed by their maiden names, and bachelors living alone were counted as a family. The original spelling of names has been preserved.

Family Number	Parents	Origin (by Diocese)	No. of Children
1.	Josephus Bader	Strassburg	
	a. Maria Anna Schott (deceased)		Four
	b. Theresia Burger		One
2.	Jacobus Wenz Elizabeth Peter	Speyer	Eight
3.	Josephus Burger Magdalena Schott	Strassburg	Seven
4.	Michaelis Selscher Claria Anna Burger	Strassburg	None
5.	Sebastianus Bader Josephina Burger	Strassburg	One
6.	Josephus Schmerber Catharina Schlinger	Strassburg	One (deceased)
	Jacobus Schmerger (deceased) Maria Anna Weiss	Strassburg	Two
7.	Johannes Dietemann Justina Mure	Strassburg	One
8.	Ignatius Woelz Anna Maria Tschen (deceased)	Frieburg	One
9.	Josephus Halty Catharina Haller (deceased)	Strassburg	Four

Family Number	Parents	Origin (by Diocese)	No. of Children
10.	Leonhard Hans Elizabeth Arnold	Strassburg	Three
11.	Laurentius Ahr Anna Bischoff	Strassburg	None
12.	Johannes Cordier Magdalena Roth (children of Magdalena Roth's first marriage to Antonio Desalm, deceased)	Strassburg	None Three
13.	Ludovicus Mann Magdalena Ahr	Strassburg	None
14.	Stephanus Ahr Anna Maria Bilharz	Strassburg	Three
15.	Johannes Bapt. Wernet Catharina Wilhelm	Strassburg	Eight
16.	Jacobus Biry Maria Anna Bilharz	Strassburg	Two
*	Josephus Bilharz (deceased) Maria Anna Reitzer (deceased)		Six
17.	Johannes Preissler Catharina Beck	Strassburg	One
18.	Victor Tarde Clara Lourme	Calais	None
19.	Josephus Meier Catharina Schott	Strassburg	Seven
20.	Ludovicus Peter Philipina Bauer	Speyer	One
21.	Franciscus Xavierius Jung Josephina Plattner	Strassburg	None
22.	Johannes Bischoff (deceased) Theresia Beck	Strassburg	Three

* Maria Anna Bilharz was probably the aunt or older sister of these six children.

Family Number	Parents	Origin (by Diocese)	No. of Children
	Andrea Schwendermann Theresia Beck [2nd marriage]		Five
23.	Johannes Bietiger Agatha Martina	Strassburg	Seven
24.	Johannes Merian Brigita Konig	Strassburg	Two
25.	Johannes Rohrbach Catharina Fries	Strassburg	Two
26.	Dominicus Miesch Catharina Schott	Strassburg	None
27.	Michael Groff Maria Anna Gsell	Strassburg	Two
28.	Jacobus Monnier Margaritha Tihs	Strassburg	Eleven
29.	Nicolaus Hoffman Maria Agatha Bendele	Frevinensis	Two
30.	Johannes Bapt. Brauch None	Luxemburg	None
31.	Josephus Haby Maria Anna Meier	Strassburg	Eight
32.	Jacobus Haby Catharina Mann	Strassburg	Two
33.	Johannes Ludovicus Mann Magdalena Birle	Strassburg	None
34.	Bartholomaeus Mann Agatha Trawalder	Strassburg	Ten
35.	Johannes Bapt. Spettel Maria Anna Haby	Strassburg	One
36.	Franciscus Josephus Haby Catharina Konig	Strassburg	Two
37.	Nicolaus Haby Theresia Bischoff	Strassburg	One

Family Number	Parents	Origin (by Diocese)	No. of Children
38.	Jacobus Haby Maria Martha Kempf	Strassburg	Three
39.	Josephus Beck Theresia Roth (deceased)	Strassburg	Eight
40.	Petrus Hagele Maria Anna Lieber	Strassburg	Four
41.	Franciscus Forst Catharina Mathes	Strassburg	Five
42.	Laurentius Rihn Catharina Kley	Strassburg	One
43.	Josephus Kempf Theresia Wolf	Strassburg	Six
44.	Michael Schott Maria Anna Sourre (deceased)	Strassburg	Three
45.	Josephus Meyer Catharina Koos	Strassburg	Nine
46.	Johannes Iltis Francisca Koehler	Strassburg	Four
47.	Josephus Notter Francisca Broklin	Strassburg	Three
48.	Jacobus Frei Brigida Schott	Strassburg	Four
49.	Josephus Hock Catharina Schlinger	Strassburg	Five
50.	Adam Bartz Caroline Zimmermann	Strassburg	Two
51.	Josephus Zimmermann Catharina Jaegly	Strassburg	Two
*	Josephus Zimmermann (deceased) Maria Anna Leherr	Strassburg	Eight

* It is possible that the first Josephus Zimmermann was the son of the second, and was caring for his brothers and sisters.

Family Number	Parents	Origin (by Diocese)	No. of Children
52.	Georgius Mangold Francisca Forst	Strassburg	Five
53.	Josephus Keller Anna Mann	Strassburg	Seven
54.	Josephus Franciscus Kempf Maria Anna Weber	Strassburg	None
55.	Ambrosius Zimmermann Maria Anna Bietiger	Strassburg	None
56.	Nicolaus Tondre Maria Anna [Lerc?]	Strassburg	Five
	Victoria Ackermann (apparently single, staying with the Tondre family)	Strassburg	None
57.	Georgius Christilles Maria Salomea Forst	Strassburg	Five
58.	Josephus Pohl Maria Agatha Zurcher	Strassburg	Nine
59.	Laurentius Rihn Maria Anna Grimsinger	Strassburg	One
60.	Josephus Birle a. [no name given] b. Maria Anna Hettinger [2nd marriage]	Strassburg Baden	Eight One
61.	Josephus Krust a. Armanda Saederich (deceased) b. Catharina Burger [2nd marriage]	Strassburg	One None
62.	Josephus Konig Catharina Deck	Strassburg	Eight
63.	Josephus Soldner Rosina Schott	Strassburg	Four
64.	Jacobus Scherer Anna Maria Tschen	Strassburg	Two
65.	Johannes Bapt. Halbardier Maria Anna Choisy	Vurdun [sic]	Seven

Family Number	Parents	Origin (by Diocese)	No. of Children
66.	Nicolaus Tschirhard Catharina Mejer [sic]	Strassburg	Four
67.	Petrus Fricker Barbara Singer	Strassburg	None
68.	Antonius Schneider Catharina Ahr	Strassburg	One
69.	Aloisius Walter Theresia Hutzler	Freiburg	None
70.	Andreas Steinle Maria Anna Dreyer	Freiburg	Five
	Franciscus Zaverius Gallat None	Strassburg	None
71.	Antonius Haller (deceased) Francisca Sperisser	Strassburg	Three
72.	[Adolphus?] Schneider [Dorothea?] Frank	Speyer	None
73.	Jacobus Bendele Sibilla Haass	Strassburg & Speyer	None
74.	Laurentius Quintle Theresia Moglin	[?]	One
75.	Laurentius Haby Francisca Hutzler	Strassburg	None

Vita was removed during scanning