

COURIER

NEWSMAGAZINE OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



SPECIAL ISSUE

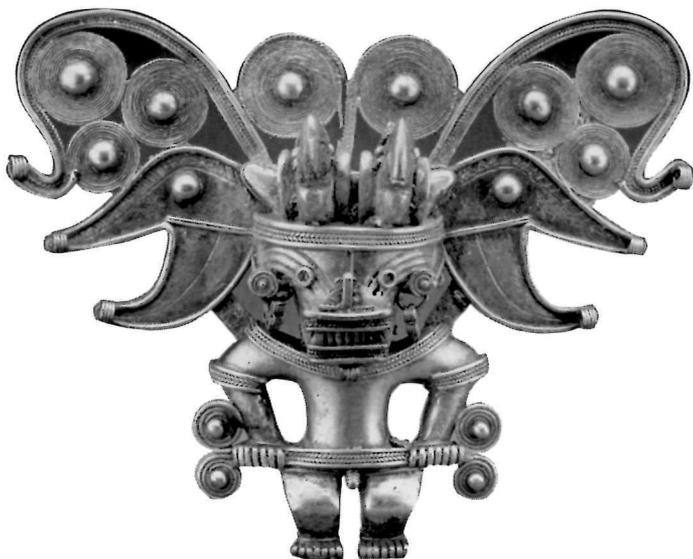
OCTOBER 1991

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COVER

Astronomy, a Flemish tapestry, captures the hypnotic enticements of the sky during the Age of Exploration. Using knowledge gained from the sky, wind and water, daring adventurers set forth into the unknown, following such maps as then existed and creating new ones as they travelled. Battista Agnese's World Map from Portolan Atlas, with a 1543-49 date, represents the way the globe appeared to these early explorers. Both illustrations are on loan from the National Gallery of Art, and are part of the Gallery's "Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration" exhibit.



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LEGACY OF CHANGE



We look at newspaper headlines and are amazed at the dramatic changes taking place in the world community. International boundaries are changing so quickly, it's almost impossible to keep maps current. We are seeing new governments, new countries, and new economies; to say that it's a time of uncertainty in the world is probably an understatement. But, I think it gives us a special perspective on the Columbus Quincentennial. Talk about uncertainty! What an extraordinary and daring adventure Columbus and his crew embarked upon. (Of course, they didn't really find what they were looking for, but then they didn't end up dropping off the edge of a flat earth either!) Anyway, the commemoration of Columbus' birthday in October this year will kick-off the Quincentennial commemoration, with 1992 marking the 500th anniversary of Columbus' landing in the "New World."

Five hundred years—five times since 1492 the world has had the chance to consider what Columbus' voyages meant, but this may be the first time we've really done so. In 1592 and again in 1692, although some exploration had taken place, there was much ahead—much of the continent was still to be explored and mapped by new settlers. What we now know as the United States was divided up into colonies of various European nations. In 1792, 300 years after Columbus' voyages, the American Revolution was over and we had begun work on shaping the country to reflect our national ideals. By 1892, industrialization had expanded our horizons as well as our economic influence. America was benefitting from the expansion of the railroads and exploration westward. The desire to increase shipping and make other internal improvements caused Congress to make its first billion dollar appropriation in peace time. Critics challenged this, but supporters maintained the billion-dollar appropriation was worthy of a "billion-dollar country." (Now, in less than 100 years, the National Park Service has a billion-dollar budget.)

In 1892, we were still a young, brash country, though now extending from coast to coast. It was a time of enthusiasm, commerce and boundless optimism. We had explored new territory much as Columbus did, willingly taking on the risks while recognizing the opportunities that came with them. The Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which didn't open until 1893, probably represented the first real Columbus commemoration; it was exuberant and congratulatory.

On this the 500th anniversary, we take a more realistic, sober, perhaps a more mature, view of that event. We certainly recognize its importance in history, but we no longer talk about "discovering" America. We acknowledge that there were Native Americans here, and

that the Vikings had been here too. While we cannot fail to see the significance of that event, we also must recognize that it resulted in a clash between European and Native American cultures which had devastating consequences for Native Americans. Though this was a painful chapter in our history, we now can appreciate and value what was almost destroyed. Perhaps tempering the commemorative nature of the Columbus Quincentennial, it nevertheless does not diminish the significance of the event in our history.

Columbus dared to discover the unknown, and in doing so he showed great courage, boldness in pursuing an idea, and willingness to confront the anxiety of change. In those ways,

he's no different than many of our heroes today—the astronauts who face the unknowns of space or the scientists who seek the unknown through a microscope.

In a sense, Columbus represents the "explorer" in us all. This year, we have been celebrating the Service's 75th anniversary not only by looking back on the history of this organization, but also by looking ahead. In fact, we're doing some "exploring" of our own. One example of that is the 75th Anniversary Symposium—"Our National Parks: Challenges and Strategies for the 21st Century." This represents an opportunity to determine what the National Park Service needs to do and where it needs to be when it reaches its *first* centennial in 25 years.

Columbus overcame barriers and adversities; his beliefs differed from the prevailing "wisdom" of the time; and his actions led to dramatic results. Certainly he is a good example of how we both make change and experience it. We can see from Columbus, history, and today's newspaper headlines, not to mention our own experience, that change usually isn't based on consensus. That's not to say that change is inherently good—there's change for the better and change for the worst as we all well know. So, we must know when to initiate, adapt to, or oppose change. We also must be open to new ideas, be innovative ourselves, and be prepared to act. If we are to maintain the vitality of the National Park Service, we must continue to be an organization that thrives in a climate of change.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "James M. Ridenour". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a small mark above the 'i' in Ridenour.

James M. Ridenour

THE CHALLENGE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

For those of us lucky enough to grow up in the Southwest, Columbus Day has always had special meaning. And now we are commemorating the 500th anniversary of Columbus' achievement, a special look back at a key event in human history.

When you think about it, the saga of Columbus is a typical American story: a mixture of nationalities and motives, of heading in one direction and winding up some place else, yet in the end succeeding because of inspired leadership, tenacity and self-confidence.

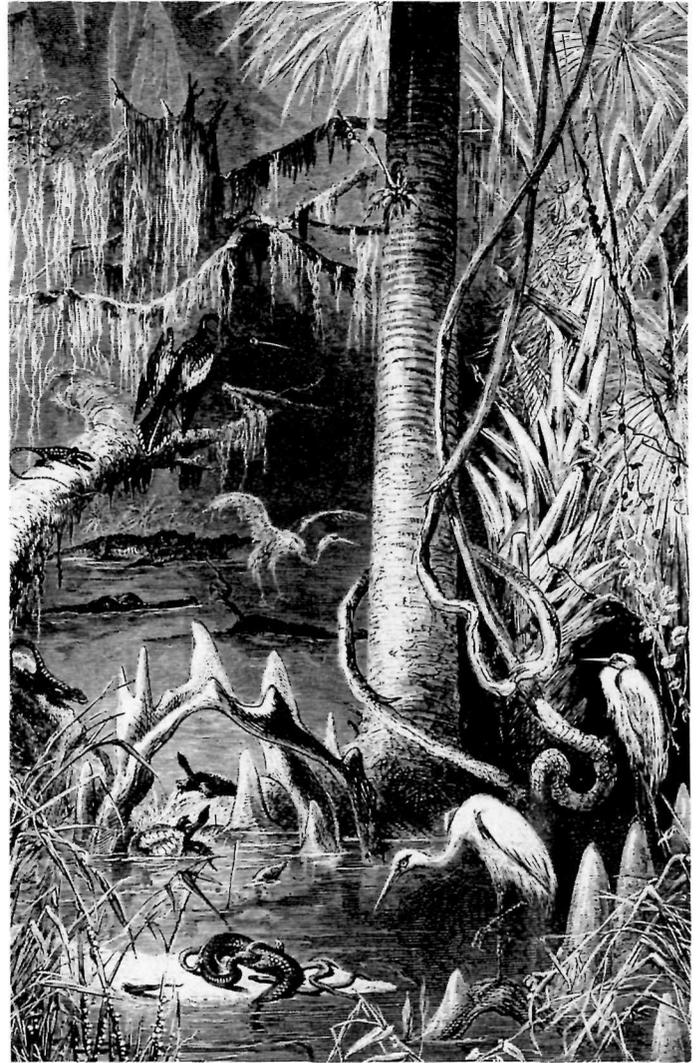
Years ago, when all the American history books seemed to be centered on the achievements of Englishmen, it was a great morale builder for those of us with Hispanic backgrounds to

Circa 1492 see the nation hail the exploits of a small Spanish fleet led by an Italian admiral whose courage had impressed the

Queen of Spain. It was good to know that a culture and language still very much a part of our lives was—in today's phrase—"present at the creation."

I realize that there are those who think it fashionable to criticize Columbus as an exploiter of the defenseless—a judgment that would require him to have had a social conscious five centuries ahead of his time. We don't know much about Columbus as a person—what he believed, how he lived. But we do know that he was a man of conviction, of enterprise, and of courage, who challenged the unknown in an age of fear and superstition and forever changed the course of history.

Those are the human qualities I hope we will emphasize during our commemoration of the Columbus Quincentennial—the courage to work for what we believe in the face of general disbelief, the willingness to take big risks to win big rewards, and the tenacity to keep moving forward when others counsel retreat. It is probable that Columbus, like many people of great conviction and enterprise, failed more often than he succeeded. But he kept his dream alive, and, through perseverance of the highest order, he achieved success.



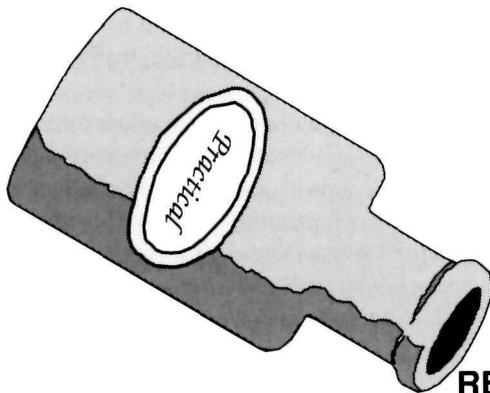
Nineteenth-century interpretation of an unexplored continent.

Many people who hear the story of Columbus today lament the lack of new worlds to discover. I think they just don't know where to look. All around us are challenges and opportunities to change the course of history. We must discover how to protect our environment while providing economic strength and vitality for the entire nation. We must discover how we can channel the energies and abilities of those trapped by ignorance or poverty into productive, enriching directions. We must set a course through the uncharted future that benefits our intellects without losing our souls.

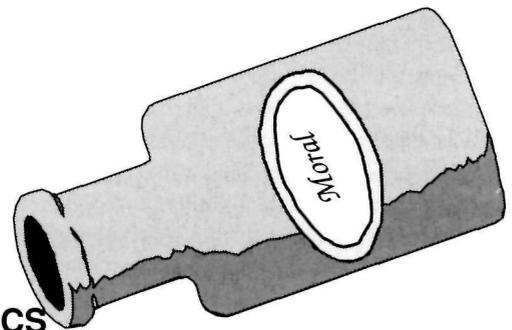
Five hundred years ago, Christopher Columbus set such a course. We all remember how his crew, lacking his faith and courage, threatened to mutiny. I imagine that the sight of land made believers of most of them. Then maybe one crewman—perhaps his name was Lujan—said to the Admiral what I would like to say, "Cristobal Colon, te saludo."

Manuel Lujan, Jr., is the Secretary of the Interior.

SOME NOTIONS ON THE QUINCENTENNIAL



RESOURCES
CREATIVITY
INITIATIVE
FUNDING
TRAINING



HISPANICS
NATIVE AMERICANS
AFRICAN-AMERICANS
ASIANS
COMPARATIVE HISTORIES

LIKE WHAT IS IT REALLY ABOUT? The philosophy guiding National Park Service Quincentennial efforts, as I see it, comes in two bottles: the vintage moral and the vintage practical. Let's start with the practical.

The First Premise is this: what happens to visitors in the parks determines our success or failure. What happens in our offices—park, region, service center, and Washington—has meaning only as it promotes success in the parks. (Success will be defined when we tap the vintage moral.)

Second Premise: big, programmatic bucks can't be counted on. Politically pushed exceptions to this rule will not affect the general program. We all read the papers. Even if a miracle solved budget and deficit problems, any big bucks from this time on would be tied up past 1992 in planning, compliance, contracting, and other outlets. Thus the Quincentennial will not provide overhead largesse for any individual or any office. That means that we as an agency will give at the office because giving is right and good.

Siamese Twin Second Premise: Baling-wire and band-aid funding going directly to the parks, as in FY 91, defines the limits

of external aid—pretty thin gruel for an already over-extended agency.

What are the corollaries of these premises? Here are a few that seem obvious:

1. Managers at all levels of the agency should concentrate their limited resources rather than fritter them away, for there are no reserves. This kind of conservation can be expressed in many ways. At the park level a few things (exhibits, programs, events, outreach) done well are better than a lot of things done poorly. Strategically, higher management should focus major efforts on those parks having a critical mass of tangible resources. These parks provide evocative interpretive settings. This rule of focus applies not only to interpretive efforts, but also to getting our physical house in order. Maintenance- and cosmetic-level improvements to visitor facilities and historic resources, without significant funding, will stretch the supporting regional offices. Massing talents and equipment at prime Quincentennial areas will probably be necessary. Such special and unconventional approaches have a good side. It's called teamwork.

2. People rather than things are the most malleable and adaptable management resources—a good thing to remember when

things can't be bought. Moreover, people have intellects that can be stimulated, and spirits and aspirations that can be enlisted—given proper leadership and training.

From the beginning the Quincentennial has been viewed as a park-centered, park-initiated program. The very lack of funding has prevented formation of high-level staffs that generate and disseminate programs for parks to carry out. Washington and the regional offices have said: Here are a few guidelines, but basically it's your show and your decision about how to orchestrate anniversary events. This creates autonomy at the unit level, something rare in the recent history of the Service, and practically absent from the usual "special program."

To date, Quincentennial training programs have stressed some refreshing principles. They have asked managers to define the programs appropriate for their own areas, commensurate with their resources and capabilities. They also have requested park interpreters to develop their own themes and translate them into personal services programs. Thus empty pockets have returned initiative and creativity to the parks. My experience as a regional coordinator seems to indicate that this has been a good thing. Park staff have told me what they want to do and how I can help. And I am doing my best to keep up with them, rather than the other way around.

This is how people like to work. For the select people of the Service, already idealistic and proprietary of their parks, calling the shots and making things happen *there* is the reward. And they are expanding their minds and realizing their ideals. In this context, the Quincentennial is an opportunity for park people to craft good things for their parks and interpretive programs.

3. Given hard times and the autonomous focus of the NPS Quincentennial program, we should not waste our extended people and thin resources on one-night-stand frivolities. This major principle has generated surprising support from the parks. If we can use the Quincentennial momentum to improve the physical substance and appearance of the parks (as exemplified by the facelift at the Abo Unit of Salinas Pueblo Missions NM), if we can substantially enhance our interpretive programs, not just for the moment but for the long-term (as at San Antonio Missions NHP), then the Quincentennial carries with it not only burden but also payoff. It becomes part of our desired work program, rather than an add-on that we perform grudgingly to avoid pressure from above.

Thus, so long as our major efforts center on our parks and produce long-term improvements in facilities, resources, and visitor services, *which we want anyway*, this program supports our central objectives. In this light, the Quincentennial is an across-the-board management effort, not the dreaded assignment to some poor interpreter given a task that no one else wants.

Almost every Quincentennial park will have community involvement. To the extent that parks become thematic loci for community programs, we strengthen our relationships and make the parks vital cultural properties in the eyes of the community. This too is an objective reflected in our on-going mission.

So it looks like the practical and the moral start to come to-

gether here. It's time to pop the second cork.

The critical moral objective of the Quincentennial must be the inclusion, fully and fairly, of all those people heretofore left out of the historical picture; or, if included, too often caricatured and stereotyped. Much has been written about the anger of American Indians who fear the Quincentennial will glorify the Spanish imperialism that ravaged their indigenous cultures. Hispanics suspect that the Quincentennial will spur revival of the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty. African-Americans, whose ancestors played major roles in Spanish exploration and colonial history, question the Spanish-Indian contact emphasized in Quincentennial research and interpretation. Asians, who very early felt the impact of Europe's world-wide expansion, resent being the forgotten people in the Quincentennial ferment.

As historian Charles Polzer urges, we must surmount these specific fears and resentments with a bigger idea. We must show, through careful study and refined interpretation, that the Columbus episode of 500 years ago is a convenient symbol of a much larger event: the explosive expansion of Europe into every corner of the world. We must do comparative histories to examine critically and present respectfully the world views and cultural values that drove the Europeans and ignited resistance among those affected by European expansion. We can show that the world is still trying to reach workable accommodations that respect diversity and avoid dominance—after 500 years. To do this, we must consult, to the greatest extent possible, with the descendants of all of those peoples caught in that watershed epoch. And we must learn to tell their stories and experiences as they perceive them.

In the redefinition of our history we will redefine our society, showing, among other things, that the glories and adventures of all imperial powers began with cruel freebooting, only later modified by the home governments; that the peoples who took the brunt of imperial ventures devised ingenious methods to save their cultures, which were complex and resilient in their own right; that all of these peoples and cultures marked and contributed then and still to a modern world only now beginning to tap the wisdom disdained by those whose time-bound orthodoxy could not reach beyond their own cultural values.

In this process of redefining our history, of gaining new appreciation for cultural diversity—which, if integrated with that bigger idea, can substitute strength for fragmentation—we aim to make this nation's parklands the shared cultural properties of all those who made our national past and, today, are creating its future. No longer can this stressed country, this ravaged planet, afford the disunity spawned by force-fed dominant history—that brand of history that distorts, discriminates, and rends the social fabric.

This is what the Quincentennial is really about. The parks—the places where people go to recall their history—are ours to improve and enhance, with the help of those whose turn has come, whose true stories we must tell.

Bill Brown retired in March 1991 as Quincentennial Coordinator for the Southwest Region.

HOW TO TELL THE *REAL* STORY OF THE COLUMBUS QUINCENTENNIAL

National parks, monuments, and historic areas in the southwest often commemorate places of contact or conflict among different peoples. They also preserve places of great historic, cultural, or religious significance to one or the other of these groups. Because of such fundamental connections between parks and belief systems, NPS employees regularly deal with cross-cultural differences.

One of their primary jobs involves telling the park story, that is, interpreting the historic events, the archeology, or the natural history of an area. Cross-cultural differences affect not only how NPS employees tell the story, but also how the story is understood by park visitors.

Park interpreters bring more than their professional skills to their jobs. Each of them is a member of one of the cultures involved in the story, primarily the dominant Anglo-American one, and sees and understands things through that culture's particular world view. That world view is different in many fundamental ways from the world view of the people being interpreted, people long absent from the historic or the archeological scene but who comprise an *invisible* audience, nevertheless. Long ago its representatives lived and hunted and worshiped where contemporary visitors stand, but now they can be known only by the mission or ruins or battlefield that is preserved. How would the story park interpreters tell be understood by that invisible audience? Is it told from their perspective, or from another?

The Spanish friars and Indian neophytes at the missions of Salinas Pueblos (NM), or the Anasazi who lived in Canyon de Chelly (AZ) 1,000 years ago, or the Mexican soldiers who fought against the U.S. Army at Palo Alto Battlefield (TX) had their own ideas of the events they lived. Those people, who are so much a part of the story the contemporary interpreter tells, might disagree with us as to what parts of the story are or are



Pecos NHP

not important, as well as what something really *meant*. In other words, they might interpret the story from a very different perspective. Unfortunately, we often are unaware of these cultural differences and how they bias interpretation.

Because so many national park units preserve areas that mark the meeting of Indian and European, the National Park Service will be very much involved in the 1992 quincentennial commemoration of Columbus' discovery of the New World. It is important that the Service and its individual employees consider the cross-cultural implications inherent in their role.

The year 1492 marked a notable historic moment. The events of that year initiated major historic changes in the world—dramatic changes that make it appropriate for us to recognize their 500th anniversary. But 1492 has taken on a significance that it does not deserve. The Quincentennial should de-emphasize 1492 as a focal point of American history, and instead regard it as only one *part* of American history.

Americans have interpreted the 1492 voyage of Christopher

Columbus as a historic beginning, a point of departure, the *first* of a chain of events that made this continent and country what they are. Interpreted in this way, 1492 becomes a great divide between the pre-historic and the historic, between the savage and the civilized. Before 1492, if interpreted according to this European world view, America was unpopulated and virgin, with its land and resources unused. After 1492, it was discovered, populated, and put to good use. This perspective on the story makes it appear that *we* arrived and things began to happen, an interpretation obviously tainted by racism and ethnocentrism, but one imbedded nevertheless in the dominant American world view.

In reality, Europeans became acquainted with a continent already inhabited for more than 10,000 years by the time they arrived. Here they were permitted a glimpse of the dynamics associated with the manner in which the original settlers lived their lives—early Americans that had been separating from and merging with each other down through the years. These first citizens long had been about the work of settling new land, being expelled from old land, invading and being invaded, trading among each other for objects and ideas. They had organized complex governments, created intricate religions, built cities, studied science, conducted wars, invented agriculture, and killed prisoners. Indeed, one might infer that they had been behaving very much like Europeans long before Europeans arrived.

Here in the Southwest, what one sees and experiences is the result of these 500 years of contact, sometimes peaceful, often violent, between the original inhabitants and two successive waves of Europeans. The resultant cultural layering can be understood by considering a simplified view of American history in reverse.

The most recent arrivals were the English, who colonized the east coast in the early 1600s and elbowed out other Europeans who had preceded them. From there, they rolled west for 300 years, dispossessing the Indians and changing the face of the continent. Along the way they were joined by Asians and non-English speaking Europeans who came to share the bounty, and by Africans who were forced to come. They successfully fought and bought off foreign competitors, and moved inexorably to the Pacific coast. "West" became a compulsion, "westering" a national obligation. In the process, much violence was done, but it could all be rationalized: *we took the continent from the Indians because we could put it to better use; we deserved it, OR Manifest Destiny and God's will chose us to civilize the land and bring Christianity to the heathen.*

Whatever the rationale, the result was *us*, a new nation and a new culture. Ours was a pioneering people, brave and resourceful. We became independent and freedom-loving, but also ruthless, self-righteous, and exploitative. Nevertheless, our three centuries of westering, pioneering, and conquering was a great and impressive accomplishment—so great that we are apt to forget that we weren't the first to do it!

The Spaniards had already done it. They had conquered

Mexico in 1521, but their "westering" took them north. In 80 years they had pioneered and conquered as far north as New Mexico, and had settled it. This, too, was quite an achievement. Consider the geographic and temporal scope of it: Santa Fe is about the same distance from Mexico City (where the Spaniards began) as it is from Jamestown (where the English began), yet New Mexico was settled by 1600, seven years before the English even landed at Jamestown. The Americans wouldn't reach Santa Fe until 200 years later.

Clearly the Spaniards were a brave and resourceful pioneering people, too. And they, too, seem to have been favored by God's will and their own version of Manifest Destiny. Not surprisingly, the Spaniards also became independent and freedom-loving, as well as ruthless, self-righteous, and exploitative.

But the Spaniards weren't the first to reach the Southwest, either. In fact, they were rather late to arrive. The first immigrants had come some 10,000 years before. They had lived on the land and used it the way humans are prone to use land. The landscape we call America was their home, their country. They loved it and told stories about it. It provided them with farms and sacred places and hunting grounds. It was everything to the Indians that a home is supposed to be.

But the newly arrived Europeans came intent on world conquest—intent on extending the power and increasing the wealth of their kings, as well as spreading their national versions of the holy faith. They came with all the authority they needed to take and keep the land they found. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish and English culture had not prepared them to regard the land as the property of the natives they encountered.

Seen from the ethnocentric European perspective, their arrival was a singular event, the start of history in the New World. To them it appeared that Indian land had just been waiting to be "discovered." Thus 1492 became a symbol as much as a date or an event.

To the Indians, what happened in 1492 was probably just another event in a long series of events that comprise a history. While the Europeans saw a new world and a grand beginning, the Indians probably regarded the Europeans as new players in an old scene. To the peoples of this continent, Columbus and his successors didn't start something; they *interrupted* something.

Through time, the Southwest has been a busy place where three layers of peoples and cultures have been superimposed. After 500 years of military conquest, population transfer, religious repression, imprisonment on reservations, and the intentional destruction of cultures, the region's Indian, Hispanic, and Anglo residents have a heavy load of bad cross-cultural baggage to overcome before they can so much as understand one another, much less interpret one another.

The national park areas in the Southwest mirror that 500 years of history and multi-cultural contact, as well as preserve sites representing the thousands of years of Indian history before 1492. Clearly, there are cross-cultural implications to be considered in determining how the Service administers those



parcs and interprets the people who lived there as well as the events that occurred. In telling those parks' stories, things aren't always what they seem. How you perceive the place and the story depends largely on who you are.

A Spanish mission, such as at Pecos National Historical Park (NM) or San Antonio Missions NHP (TX) can represent the spreading of the true faith and the saving of souls, OR the subjugation of the Indians' religion and the destruction of their culture.

U.S. Army posts, like Fort Union (NM) and Fort Davis (TX), can represent a valiant step taken to subdue hostile Indians on the frontier and open the west to settlers, OR the brutal defeat of a people defending its land and way of life.

An Anasazi ruin at Chaco Culture (NM) and Navajo National Monument (AZ) can represent a fascinating form of architecture, OR a place where one's ancestors lived and died, a place that has religious significance and must be treated with respect.

As contradictory as these perspectives may appear, they are all true. Have NPS interpreters tended to recognize that there are two sides to their parks' stories? At some Southwest Region parks, park neighbors are the descendants of those who originally lived in the ruins. How have they felt about the way

F_{ort Davis NHS}

NPS employees interpret these sacred spots? Does NPS interpretation reflect the respect they attach to the place and the events that occurred there, and does it convey their understanding of the story?

NPS interpreters stand at a place where several cultures met, a place that has deep and different meanings to each. When they speak to visitors about the significance of the site, do they speak as participants or as unbiased observers? Does their own culture's historical and ethnic outlook color their perceptions of the story being told?

During the Quincentennial, many units of the national park system will be marvelous resources for sharing mutual and separate histories, BUT ONLY if we as interpreters and park administrators make an effort to step outside our own culture's way of seeing values and history and the people who made it, AND ONLY if we remember that time didn't start in 1492, that 1492 was merely one of the many steps that mark our history, just as the national parks themselves are.

Don Goldman is a park planner in the Southwest Region.



ALL IN THE NAME

The observance of the Columbian Quincentennial offers a special opportunity to recognize American Indian heritage in the national parks. The accurate naming of people, events, and places is basic to understanding their meanings, values, and relationships. Names define us and reveal our origins. Our names give us a place in the world as children; new names come later and tell us where we are going.

For Indian people, names place us in the web of genealogy, sacred places, and environment. Names have great power, and the time of the Quincentennial is a time to claim our names. The Spaniards did not find a tabula rasa in the New World. Pecos Pueblo was a thriving metropolis by 1450—the year before Columbus was born. As we observe this convergence of people, Native American issues will come to the forefront, and it is vital not to let it pass with mythical names for native people and events that changed the course of history.

The sense of place and sacredness of a cultural landscape is conveyed with particular strength by a living people. Parks need to seek out the descendants of the tribes they interpret to discover the people's own names. Often, the name of a tribe is represented to the visitor only in English, Spanish, or other tribal derivation. At Pecos, research into the detailed Spanish historical accounts led to more knowledge about the origins of the name. Finally, elders of the descendant people at nearby Jemez Pueblo revealed their own name—Pe-kula—for the site and other names for surrounding pueblos and landforms. Such names are not merely descriptive, but often refer to significant activities relating the people to their history.

The events of the cultural convergence of 1492 cannot be viewed clearly if they are obscured by the banner of conquest. The Spanish presence and even their military victories were uneven in the vastness of the New World. In fact, the Spaniards employed the techniques of diplomacy in a manner seemingly more suited to the international relations than to conquest when they met with American Indian leaders. Military and economic alliances were forged. Balance of power and trade relations were

At left, "The Strong Man," Lincoln Wallace, 1966, photo courtesy of U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Above, "Man and Woman Dancing," Nicholas Fast Horse, 1969, photo courtesy of U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Arts and Crafts Board.

key concepts as the Spaniards dealt with concerted, organized resistance ranging from direct conflict to well-conceived covert actions in a massive and unprecedented 500-year rejection of cultural absorption.

National parks have an important role to play in educating the world concerning the vital continuance of Indian culture. We have come from warriors to lawyers; our new heroes may be the American Indian historians and anthropologists who will reclaim our history from the American Indian perspective.

Exhibits and films can be designed to show American Indian contributions to art, environment, arid land agriculture, government, and human relations. It is time to move beyond corn-beans-squash interpretation and recognize the contributions from American Indian cultures that changed the European world forever. Not to recognize the names, cultural patterns, and ideas adopted by the Spaniards and other European people is to fail to recognize the complexity and flexibility of Spanish culture. It is an enhancement of the role of the Spaniards to understand their ability to integrate a new cultural tradition into their own. From team sports to architecture, the cultural exchange of American Indian to European was enormous. Now it is

time to name and recognize those contributions.

Parks can play a vital role in interpreting and maintaining cultural traditions measured in cyclic time that may have greater long-term importance than the processes of industrial development. Such interpretation recognizes the contributions of the New World in developing complex environmental relationships. Natural resources can be used in ways compatible with a social environment of freedom, while maintaining the responsibility of managing the land for future generations. The American Indian role of land stewardship shares much in common with the national park philosophy and allows us to connect the Quincentennial with core themes of interpretive programs, including cultural and biological diversity. In this way, the Quincentennial is an opportunity to enrich the interweavings of history and events around the meeting of two worlds, with an accurate tapestry of truth drawn from original sources.

Linda Moon Stumpff, formerly with John Muir NHS, now serves as a recreation officer with the U.S. Forest Service at Los Padres National Forest.



HAIL COLUMBIA



It's a matter of months before the nation shall be commemorating the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' voyage of discovery. Even now throughout America all sorts of responses to the event are being planned—and the National Park Service is bound to be included. So perhaps it may be appropriate to consider some aspects of this event that oddly enough have apparently disappeared from the American consciousness.

If you were to approach a group of shoppers in a mall or some visitors to a park and ask them who Christopher Columbus was, you'd probably get a well informed response. But if you phrased your question slightly differently and asked "Who was Columbia?" their confusion would be almost complete. Perhaps if they were reminded that some of the best wind-surfing in America occurs at a place called the Columbia River Gorge, or that if and when the district containing our nation's capital becomes the 51st state it will be most likely called New Columbia, they probably would acknowledge that the name Columbia is fa-

"Columbia Protecting Science and Industry," 1881, located on the Arts and Industries Building in Washington, DC.

miliar. But people of 40 or younger know almost nothing about who Columbia was.

The word *Columbia* as well as the word *America* share something in common. They are the feminization of the names of men, but they are something else as well, something that is perhaps best revealed by two songs—"America the Beautiful," with which we are all familiar, and the other, which most of us have forgotten or never knew, "Columbia, The Gem of the Ocean." Clearly these names serve as metaphors for the feminine element in the lands "dis-covered" by Amerigo Vespucci and Christopher Columbus.

It only requires a short journey into the shadowy but illuminating world of metaphor to find this "female" continent in its

early days described as "virgin" territory. A bit later the history texts speak of intrepid male explorers "penetrating the wilderness," and still later they tell of that particularly American saga that is always referred to as the "opening up of the West."

We would find it hard to imagine language more sexist in tone and implication. So perhaps the important question is not "Who was Columbia?" but "What became of her?"

I was prompted to consider this question by my British friend, Rupert Sheldrake, cell biologist, plant pathologist, author, and commentator on the human condition. In his newspaper column called "Body and Soul," which appeared in the prestigious British newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian*, he wrote about Columbia in this way:

The name of Columbia is obviously derived from Columbus; the *-ia* is a latin feminine form, analogous to Britannia. She is remarkably ubiquitous in the Americas: British Columbia, the Columbia River, the District of Columbia, Columbia University, Columbia Moving Pictures, Columbia Broadcasting System, and so on. So who is she? Is she the female personification of the American continent, the guardian or tutelary spirit of America; or the goddess of the land? Or are these just different ways of thinking of the female spirit of America?

The female spirit of America seems to be more or less unconscious, at least within the immigrant culture. Native Americans, of course, have always recognized a variety of goddesses, including the grandmother spirit of the land. The European migrants in some sense recognized the need to acknowledge her; they named her, and named places after her, including the territory of the capital of the United States. But she is like an empty container; she still has no content. The only well known image of her, shown at the beginning of Columbia movies, has been borrowed from the Statue of Liberty, made in France. She has not yet acquired her own symbolic identity.

The very word, America, is feminine. Europeans have taken possession of this virgin continent by force; they have mined, deforested, ploughed, subjugated and settled on her, and many have been blessed by her abundance. They live on her and off her; but how can they give thanks to her, or honor her? Only by allowing her to come to consciousness.

As the forests of the Amazon are burning, as the pollution of America becomes increasingly evident, and as the tidal waves of cocaine sweep through the cities of America, mostly from Columbia, surely the time has come to bring her to mind. And it is in any case timely to imagine her, to dream her, to become aware of her. In 1991 there will be the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of the District of Columbia. Then in 1992 the Quincentenary will be celebrated by hundreds of millions of people throughout the Americas. This will not only be an opportunity to remember Columbus, and the historical processes he initiated, but also to recognize Columbia.

A little over two years ago I invited Rupert Sheldrake to lecture at the university where I teach. While there, he asked a group of some 60 juniors and seniors if they knew who Colum-

bia was. Not one could provide an answer.

I don't believe this represents some further evidence for the failure of our educational system. Rather it is a revealing illustration, I think, of some of our unconscious attitudes in this country toward gender.

It would be interesting to try a similar test at a British university to see if students there know about Britannia. I believe the results would be different. I believe the students would understand that Britannia represents something of the female spirit of the nation and the land.

Perhaps Americans see the Statue of Liberty as the personification of the feminine spirit of our country. Maybe it is she who has taken on Columbia's role. But even she has a gender problem. We might have been reminded of this, had we been aware of such things, at the time of the protests by Chinese students in Tienamen Square. They had created the symbolic figure of a woman whom they named the goddess of democracy or the goddess of freedom. Interestingly, she was always referred to by them as a "goddess." Our symbol of liberty, standing in New York Harbor, is always referred to as a "Statue." A statue has no gender. Thus, quite unconsciously, we seem to have neutered her.

In a way the feminine spirit of America has gone underground. Certainly our international persona is summed up by the male figure of Uncle Sam, and the words *Yank* and *Yankee* are almost synonyms for *male* and *military*. So looking at us from the outside it is hard to see anything of the female spirit of this country. It is almost as though we feared to reveal that important side of our being as a nation.

So where do we search for the lost spirit of this land, the one we once called Columbia? I would suggest that it is in the land itself, in the land that is most wild and free—or could be anyway. Perhaps if we looked, we could find her in national parks and similar areas. And, furthermore, I would suggest that if we do not find her there, we use the occasion of the Quincentenary to rebuild her image before her shrines have been reduced to nothing but data and before nature has been completely objectified as utility?

One might say that the National Park Service has been entrusted with the stewardship of some particularly extraordinary embodiments of Columbia that we have labeled Yellowstone, Grand Teton, Yosemite, or Glacier. Regarded in this way, these areas are as much symbols of a wonderful spirit as they are physical wonders. What better service to perform while others are commemorating the masculine initiative of Columbus, than for the Park Service to resurrect the faded memory of the lost Columbia: to promote the rebirth of her spirit on the land, to allow her to come to consciousness—first within the parks, which are her shrines, and then throughout the land? The difficulty with this suggestion is that it requires a very different way of looking at our parks, and at ourselves.

Bill Eddy is a professor teaching at the University of Vermont. His impressive credentials includes work with the Peace Corps and the National Park Service.

FREE BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE SPANISH EMPIRE

A QUINCENTENNIAL HERITAGE.

Slavery is not the only heritage of Black America. Long before the American Civil War and the passage of the 13th amendment, a free Afro-American society existed in the Western Hemisphere. It lasted nearly two centuries within the confines of the Spanish Empire.

Under Spain, African slaves could be manumitted by well-intentioned masters. In time, free, Spanish-speaking, black Catholic communities developed in the Caribbean and other colonial areas stretching from Uruguay and Peru in the south all the way to Florida, Louisiana, and California in the north. Indeed, free black frontiersmen were among the founders of Los Angeles, CA, in 1781.

Free blacks in the Spanish empire were called *pardos libres*, if they were of mixed parentage, or *morenos libres*, if they were of pure African stock. In 1759, the Spanish crown decreed that *pardos* and *morenos* would be permitted to enlist in militia units, be trained in the use of firearms and artillery, and, more importantly, participate in the *fuero militar*, a set of military privileges. Between 1759 and 1821, numerous free black units emerged, some with black officers, some with white officers, but almost all with black non-commissioned officers. These units consisted of cavalry, infantry and artillery companies. In 1992, when the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' landing is commemorated, the Americas can also acknowledge the significant participation of black freemen as part of the Afro-American legacy.

As black militia units emerged, so too did questions regarding the *fuero militar*. Traditionally, the *fuero militar* had been granted only to regular army personnel. As Spain reorganized its colonial armies, creation of new militia units complemented the professional, but expensive, regular army. However, incentives

were required to attract and keep men in the militia of the Spanish Empire. The *fuero militar* was first extended to white militia units. Later, in the 1770s, when manpower shortages necessitated the creation of black militia units, the *fuero militar* was offered as an enlistment incentive for *pardos* and *morenos*.

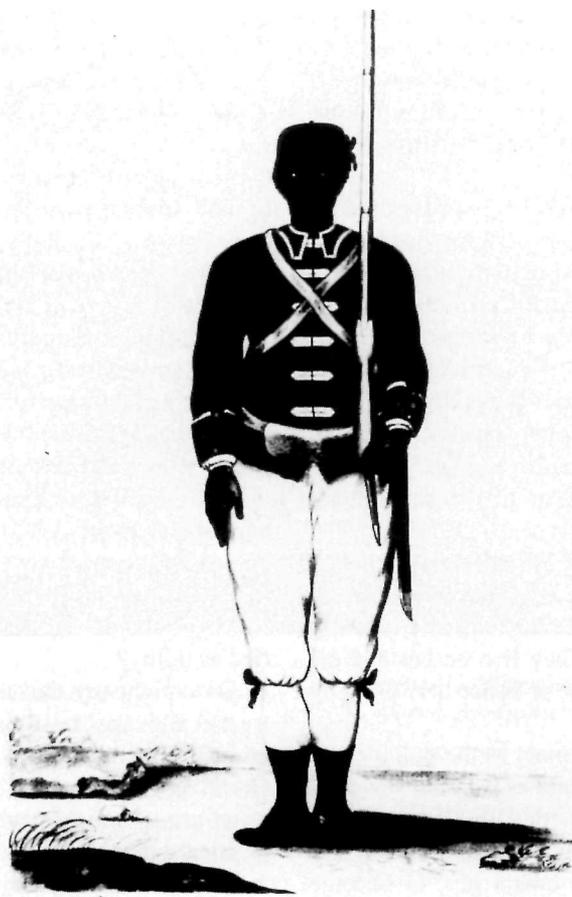
Privileges under the *fuero militar* for these militiamen included certain exemptions from civil prosecution. Immunity from civil courts meant they could be tried only by military tribunals, and, when arrested, they could not be placed in public jails. If they were detained in one, they were exempt from paying jailing costs. Instead, the bearer of the *fuero militar* could be jailed only in a military guard house, barracks or defensive tower. Habitual offenders, however, stood to lose the *fuero militar*, especially if a heinous crime, such as murder, was committed.

The *fuero militar*, furthermore, provided for retirement and death benefits. Those who retired after 20 years of service received a pension and the *fuero militar* for life. Should he be killed in battle, or from wounds received in battle, his wife and children were granted reduced payments for four years based on the deceased's rank.

Officer staffs for *pardo* and *moreno* units included militia company commanders with the rank of captain, and junior officers with the rank of *teniente* and *sub-teniente*. Such ranks could be held by free blacks. Militia companies operated under the supervision of the regular

army commanded by white officers. Within the context of rank, *pardo* and *moreno* militia officers were paid for peace time duty and, after twelve years of service, granted the *fuero militar* for life. They were also given the privilege of wearing their uniforms on a daily basis as a mark of distinction.

The uniforms of free black units prescribed by the *fuero militar* included a felt or leather cap banded with a ribbon for soldiers, great coat, cotton shirt, cravat, pantaloons, woolen stockings, and shoes. Similarly, officer uniforms comprised the same



apparel, with a slight change in style, especially for the hat, typical of the period with its large flowing cockade. The units chose their own colors and designed their own standards.

The *fuero militar* required that free black militia units be trained in military discipline, and use of firearms and artillery. During peace time, free black units were expected to muster before the provincial governor for inspection once a month. Furthermore, during the first three months of the year, they were expected to assemble to be trained by the adjutant of the regular army and the company sergeant in the use of firearms, artillery and marches. Thereafter, captains and adjutant were required to continue the drills twice a month, and, once a month, a regular army artillery officer was to call a special drill in the use of artillery. During the Christmas season, the governor reviewed the troops and made certain that each company was at full strength—80 to 100 men per company during peace time and 160 men per company during wartime. During the review, the governor filled any vacancies suffered by the unit.

The *fuero militar* required that free black militiamen to be distinguished from slaves. On each cap, militiamen wore a ribbon with the company colors to indicate their status. When out of uniform, they wore a red belt 2-1/2 centimeters wide to indicate they were freemen.

During the American Revolution, as thirteen English colonies rebelled against their mother country, Spanish officials decided to support the rebellion by committing troops against Great Britain. While it is known that Crispus Attucks, a mulatto, was killed in the Boston Massacre in 1770, nothing has heretofore been known about the role of Spanish-speaking free black soldiers in attacks against English defenses during the American Revolution. In 1781, General Bernardo de Galvez, for whom Galveston, TX, is named, organized an expedition against the British at Pensacola, FL, and Mobile, AL. During the mobilization of the expedition, two corporals, Jose Urive, a *moreno*, and Pedro Josef de Oporto, a *pardo*, who also served as the company carpenter, proposed the creation of two free black companies to participate in the war against Great Britain. Both men served in free black units of Cuba. Their proposal led to the creation of two free black companies which would drive the British from Pensacola and Mobile, and stop the British use of the Mississippi River Valley against the English American patriots.

The proposals made by Urive and Oporto called for the creation of two companies to serve under a regular army company called the *Compania de Voluntarios de Cataluna* commanded by the Catalonian officer, Captain Victorio de Navia. Their proposals spelled out conditions under which they would organize free blacks to serve against the British. First they proposed that one company be named *Compania de Voluntarios de Morenos Libres* under Urive, who would serve as its captain; and the other company should be named *Compania de Voluntarios de Pardos Libres* with Oporto as its captain. Second, the proposal spelled out that free blacks would serve as lieutenants, first sub-lieutenants and second sub-lieutenants of the units. Third, black officers and soldiers were to be paid the same as white officers and soldiers during the time of active duty; and, fourth, all were



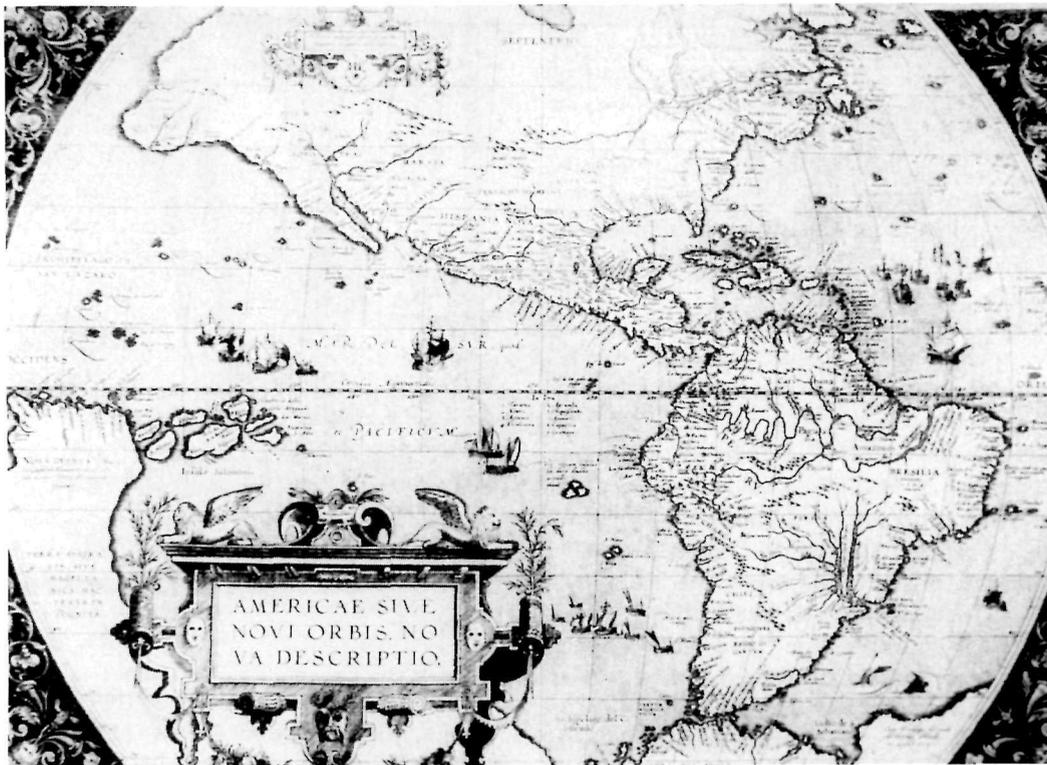
to be accorded the provisions of the *fuero militar* governing wartime duties. The proposal was sent up the military channels to the commandant, thence to the governor of Cuba, who approved the creation of the units.

The two companies served in the successful Spanish attacks against British forces at Pensacola and Mobile, and later, were assigned to the Fixed Regiment of Louisiana at New Orleans, where they patrolled the streets of the present day French Quarter and Jackson Square. It is likely that some of the free blacks under Captain Urive and Captain Oporto served as far north as the Spanish fort at St. Louis, MO, and may have stopped off at Arkansas Post.

The history of free black societies and their contribution to the defense of the Spanish empire is significant. Thousands of free black soldiers served in the many coastal and insular posts of the Americas. Their history and culture points to a significant Afro-American heritage throughout the Americas for the Columbus Quincentennial.

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ALONZO SANCHEZ, MARTIN ALONSO PINZON AND COLUMBUS' DISCOVERY OF AMERICA



For Americans, Christopher Columbus is *the* navigator. As the effective discoverer of America, he is the one who seems to have no peer. Yet, tens of thousands of years ago, Native American pioneers discovered and settled the New World as effectively as Europeans. The European discovery of the Western Hemisphere, however, united the world in significant ways, linking old to new, preparing for our present configuration. But how successful would Columbus have been without his European predecessors—Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Norsemen, Irishmen, and others who had pointed the way? Columbus knew all the details—both the facts and the legends. But there was one contemporary also said to have had a tremendous influence on Columbus—Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, often referred to as the unknown navigator.

The story of Alonso Sanchez became popularly known after the first voyage of Columbus when the sailors of *Nina*, *Pinta*

and *Santa Maria* testified against him in the celebrated inquiry conducted by the Spanish Crown. The result of accusations made by Spanish settlers to the Crown about his mismanagement of the Hispanola colony (1493-1496), lost him privileges granted in the 1492 contract. By his death in 1506, Columbus' petitions to the Crown remained unresolved, and he had fallen into disfavor. Finally, in 1508, Diego Colon, his son, initiated a lawsuit against the Crown that lasted 28 years. The lawsuit ended in a series of compromises that permitted the Columbus family to retain some social, political and economic rights to the Americas.

In the Crown's case against Columbus, known as the famous *Pleitos de Colon*, two trends evolved: first, the Crown's effort to diminish the role of Columbus in the discovery, and second, the claim made by state witnesses that Columbus played only a minor part, having gotten the idea for a westward voyage from others. In the voluminous documentation extant in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, the court transcripts of eye-witnesses' testimony reveal how Columbus could have learned from others about the possibility of sailing west. For the moment, Columbus' life was an open book exploited by both sides during the litigation. Among the many facts learned, for example, was that Columbus had lived in the Azores and at Porto Santo in the Madeiras under Portuguese control, and knew of local stories about a land far to the west. For years, strange cadavers had floated along the ocean currents, washing ashore on the Azores. Doubtless Columbus had seen them, as well as strange pieces of marked wood, and unfamiliar plants and trees.

There was also the story of Alonso Sanchez and his connection with Columbus, as well as the role of Martin Alonso Pinzon. The men from Huelva and Palos, villages near Sevilla, who sailed with Columbus, testified that he was not the true discoverer. Rather, they submitted, the credit should go to Pinzon or Sanchez.

Although Sanchez died in the Azores before Columbus' voyage, oral and written traditions persisting well into the 16th century continued to name him as the discoverer. According to trial testimony, Sanchez was sailing in the Atlantic near the Canary Islands in 1484 when he was blown off course. Pulled out to sea, his ship passed the Sargasso Sea. Everyone aboard was terrified, for no one had crossed that last known stretch of ocean filled with floating seaweed. Many weeks later, they struck an unknown island, later believed to be Hispanola (present day Santo Domingo). The natives there gave them food and water. Sanchez, an experienced navigator, had carefully kept a chart of the voyage.

After endless difficulties, Sanchez and whatever remained of his crew, departed the large island they had stopped at for repairs. When they reached Porto Santo in the Madeiras, only Sanchez and four others had survived. According to Portuguese witnesses, Sanchez heard that Columbus lived there and went to ask him for assistance. Columbus took them in and fed them. But Sanchez and his men, ill and exhausted, died soon after. As several trial witnesses were relatives of Sanchez, they claimed that Columbus had stolen Sanchez's charts and ideas about

crossing the Ocean-Sea. It was said that after 1484 Columbus worked fanatically to persuade the kings of Europe to finance his dream.

In the case of Pinzon, who commanded *Pinta*, witnesses claimed he had directed Columbus to change course three days before land was sighted. They said the mutiny that Columbus claimed had occurred when the men were afraid to continue the voyage was a false charge, for Pinzon was summoned aboard *Santa Maria* to convince a fearful Columbus that the voyage must continue. It was Columbus, said the witnesses from Huelva and Palos, who wanted to turn back when they reached the Sargasso Sea. Later, to save face, Columbus charged them all with mutiny. Unfortunately, Pinzon, accused by Columbus of leading the mutineers and charged with desertion, never got to testify. He died shortly after returning to Spain. Arriving in Europe before Columbus, Pinzon actually had announced the discovery. Those who testified against Columbus were convinced that Sanchez had discovered the route back to Europe from the Caribbean. Likewise they were quick to note that Pinzon must have had some previous knowledge about how to return to Europe from the Indies. According to the witnesses, Pinzon and Sanchez deserved credit for the discovery, and certain contemporary Spanish officials supported that view. Portions of the historical records reveal resentment, and suggest possible legal manipulation in the case.

The controversy surrounding Columbus' first voyage has been a subject of debate for centuries. With time, facts and emotions known to the generation of 1492 have been all but forgotten. We recollect that "Columbus sailed the ocean blue in fourteen hundred ninety-two," and little else. The story of Alonso Sanchez, known to the crews of *Nina*, *Pinta* and *Santa Maria*, has been reduced to the status of a legend.

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BRONZE HEROES DON'T DANCE

GETTING TO KNOW DON DIEGO DE VARGAS.

Even historians dream. They dream of finding a document that establishes beyond a doubt where Christopher Columbus first set foot in the New World, or the lost map that Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca prepared for Viceroy Antonio Mendoza, or Sir Francis Drake's journal. They dream, too, of getting to know better a remote public figure like don Diego de Vargas.

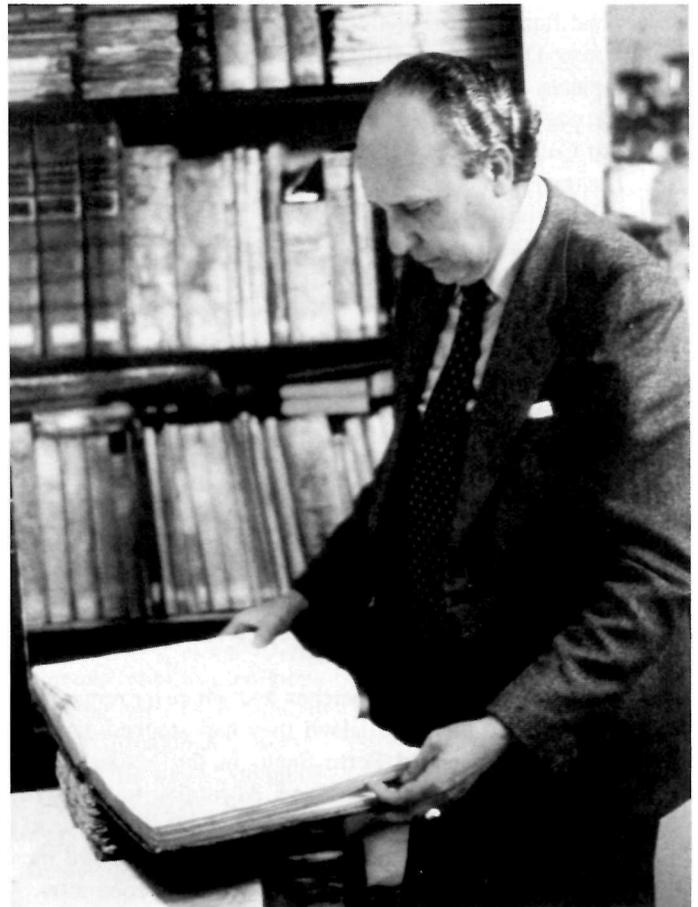
In 1680, the Pueblo Indians drove the Spaniards from New Mexico. It was an astonishing feat. In the 1690s, Diego de Vargas reconquered the colony for Spain. Today, Vargas is the heroic centerpiece of Santa Fe's annual Fiestas. As a human being, however, he has slipped out of focus. Who was Diego de Vargas?

What were the chances ten years ago of discovering something new, something personal, about the recolonizer of New Mexico? Vargas was born in Madrid, capital of the Spanish empire, a city in 1643 of perhaps 125,000 people. Today, Madrid is forty times as populous. Were there still, three centuries later, footprints of don Diego de Vargas?

In October of 1982, as recipient of a four-week travel grant from the Spanish government, I went to see. Three possible sources suggested themselves. First, there was the city's replete notaries' archive, repository of the records of persons of property. Other similar preserves, large, like the Archivo Historico Nacional, and small, like parish archives, held further promise. Last, least likely but most intriguing, was the possibility of living descendants who still had some memory of Diego de Vargas.



Diego de Vargas (1643-1704), only known portrait, private chapel of San Isidro, Madrid.



Joaquín Dorado y Aguilar, twelfth Marques de la Nava de Barcinas, Madrid.



Aunt Juana's balcony at the Plaza Mayor, which she used to rent during bullfights.

A boxy, red-brick building just behind the Prado, the notarial archive holds more than thirty million historical documents. One does not walk in and venture, even boldly, "I should like to see everything you have on Diego de Vargas." One needs a way in, the name of a notary and preferably a date.

Don Diego supplied both on his deathbed in Bernalillo in 1704. Dictating his last will and testament, he made specific reference to a previous will he had executed the year before in Mexico City. Fortunately, the Archivo General de Notarias in that city has survived intact, and Vargas's 1703 will tells of yet an earlier one he made in Madrid in 1672 before notary Mateo Garcia de Malabear.

With that name and year, it took less than an hour to locate the document. Here were details I had never seen before: the names of the four small children don Diego was leaving behind (it was thought that he had only one daughter in Spain) and the date and place of his father's death in Guatemala. Perhaps the family was using the services of this particular notary on a regular basis. It seemed worth the effort to thumb through the fat annual copybooks, or protocolos, for Garcia de Malabear's surviving eight years.

Through him, I met other members of the Vargas family: don Diego's Jesuit Great-uncle Sebastian and his enterprising Aunt Juana, who rented the balconies of her house on the Plaza Mayor during bullfights, a house, incidentally, that Vargas later inherited. At the age of eighteen, don Diego had petitioned the crown for authority to administer his absent father's properties. Included among the requisite documents was a settling-up of accounts with Jose de Castro Castillo, his legal guardian of the previous two years. Garcia de Malabear had copied the routine expenses: schoolbooks, grammar teacher, manservant, a velvet suit, silk shirts, twenty-two pairs of shoes, candy, bullfights and theater, dancing lessons. Diego de Vargas danced?

At other archives, too, I had cause to shout, but of course did not. At the Archivo Historico Nacional, among the records of the military orders, there were revealing files on Vargas's grandfather, his father, his brothers-in-law, and his son-in-law, all knights of the prestigious Order of Santiago. Why don Diego himself, despite his application, was never admitted remains a mystery, although opposition by personal enemies and procrastination by his son-in-law offer partial explanations.

In 1656, when don Diego was twelve, Pedro Texeira drew a remarkably detailed plan of Madrid. At the corner of the Calle del Almendro and the street leading down to the parish church of San Pedro del Real stood the Vargas family complex, complete with fountain in the patio. The streets and church are still there; the house is not. On the site, however, on the third floor of a nineteenth-century building, live don Jose Perez Balsera and his sister, dona Maria Teresa, great-great-great-great-grandson and -granddaughter of Diego de Vargas.

They have in their possession no documents from the seventeenth century. They do have the big iron key to the chapel on the first floor. Here, according to tradition, San Isidro Labrador, St. Isidore the Farmer, patron saint of Madrid, kept his oxen in the twelfth century while working the fields of his employer, Ivan de Vargas. On the east wall today hangs the often-reproduced, only known portrait of Diego de Vargas.

As a reward for his recolonization of New Mexico, don Diego de Vargas received a noble title of Castile, which descended by a different but related lineage. To see if the title was still current, I consulted a registry of the Spanish nobility. It was, and, to my delight, its holder had an address in Madrid. The twelfth Marques de la Nava de Barcinas, don Joaquín Dorado y Aguilar, public relations executive for John Deere Corporation in Spain, agreed to see me.

While we met, I could scarcely keep my eyes off the large,

glass-fronted bookcase behind the marques. It was full of very old, vellum-bound books and what appeared to be bundles of documents. Noting my curiosity, don Joaquín allowed that his library might contain something of interest to me. I was welcome to look. Kindly, the marquesa cleared a nearby table and spread an old sheet to catch the dust. Between five and seven each evening for a week, I examined the contents, dreaming the historian's dream.

I did not expect to find anything bearing directly on New Mexico among the printed works. Eagerly, I began to untie the bundles of unbound papers. The first two contained nineteenth-century financial records of family holdings in Badajoz province. The third looked just like the previous two. But undoing the frayed cord and turning back the end board atop the bundle, I nearly fell off the chair. Across a blank piece of paper, someone had written "Correspondencia de D. Diego de Vargas." I held my breath. Could it really be?

It was. There was no mistaking the messy scrawl. Before this, I had seen only Vargas's closings and his signature in the public record, for the body of such official documents was always written in the studied hand of a scribe. To his daughter, Isabel Maria; to his son-in-law, Ignacio Lopez de Zarate; to his dear friend and brother-in-law, Gregorio Pimentel de Prado—penned in Tlalpujahuá, Mexico City, El Paso, and Santa Fe—here were two dozen letters at least. I could not believe it.

Obviously, there was far too much writing to transcribe on the spot. Would the family consent to have the collection microfilmed? The marques explained that other members of the family might have reservations. He would arrange a gathering. With everyone in attendance, I could present my case.

The appointed evening came. I was on time, but no one else was. Nearly an hour passed. Finally, they arrived, led by the marques's bent, twinkly eyed mother in her eighties, then sisters, brothers-in-law, and curious teenagers. I tried to explain what don Diego de Vargas meant to us in New Mexico and that I was a serious scholar.

Everyone was enormously gracious. The unspoken consensus seemed favorable. I offered to come in a taxi next morning and, accompanied by one of the marques's sons, see the precious documents into the hands of the professionals at the government's historical microfilming section. Why not take the letters now, they insisted, along with the several hundred pages of family papers that also interested me? Someone brought a plastic grocery bag. In very little time, I was back in the streets of Madrid. Who would have guessed that instead of artichokes, bread, and cheese, I carried in the bag quantities of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century manuscripts.

The next spring, it happened again: another unforgettable four weeks. The notaries' archive yielded numerous documents to explode the myth that Diego de Vargas was rich. A noble and landed gentleman to be sure, Vargas, like so many of his class, found himself beset by debts. Everything was mortgaged. Royal service in the Indies offered an honorable way out and the hope of rising above the family's indebtedness; besides, he

stood to gain a sizeable share of his father's Guatemala estate. In June of 1672, just before he left, don Diego had an instrument drawn up certifying that he was the legitimate son and heir of the deceased Capt. Alonso de Vargas. Amid the legal verbiage was another gem, a brief physical description.

Four witnesses had testified. Diego de Vargas was, they swore, "a young man of medium stature, straight hair, and broad face, who lisps somewhat and cannot pronounce certain words." Diego de Vargas lisped?

About 50 kilometers north of Madrid stands the once-walled, medieval town of Torrelaguna, seat in the seventeenth century of the scattered Vargas properties. Here, the family had owned a great house, today a barracks of the Guardia Civil. Here, too, in the soaring Gothic church of Santa Maria Magdalena, twenty-year-old Diego took Beatriz Pimentel de Prado, twenty-two, as his wife. Uncle Sebastian performed the ceremony. It was 1664. Three hundred and twenty years later, in the snug notarial archive, the signatures on the marriage contract of Diego and Beatriz still looked young.

Long-removed from labor pains and family toasts, entries in the Torrelaguna baptismal register testify to the close birth of the couple's children—five in six years. A baby girl had died in infancy. By mid-1674, only two years after dona Beatriz had bid her husband farewell, she was dead. According to the burial entry, silent about the cause, she had died suddenly. She was thirty-two.

Back in Madrid, clues led to another branch of the family and, unbelievably, to another collection of original Vargas letters. The second collection brought the total to nearly sixty, most written by Vargas, the rest by relatives or associates. Together, they cast the recolonizer of New Mexico in a more human light.

A lonely grandfather, "exiled" to the kingdom of New Mexico, "last on earth and remote beyond compare," sends hugs and kisses to the grandchildren he has never seen. He begs his elder daughter to have pictures made. He appeals repeatedly to his son-in-law at court to press for his promotion: to the Philippines, Guatemala, Buenos Aires, Chile, or Cuba. He anguishes over the family's reduced circumstances and his inability to better their lot. He longs for his "beloved homeland, that delightful villa of Madrid, crown of all the world."

When, after twenty-eight years of separation, he sees his grown son and heir, now a handsome cavalry captain who has come to the Indies to know his father, for a long while Diego de Vargas cannot speak. And when the tragic news of the young man's death on the voyage home reaches him, Vargas cries out in agony.

We are just beginning to learn who Diego de Vargas was, to glimpse the man of flesh and blood inside the bronzed image. Surely there are more leads, more documents, more letters.

Even historians dream.

John L. Kessel is a professor of history at the University of New Mexico, and editor of the Vargas project.



IN SEARCH OF CORONADO

In his last movie epic, Indiana Jones spent the early portion of the film searching for the mythical cross of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. Since 1988, the National Park Service has been making its own search for Coronado, at least for the historic route taken by his 1540-1542 expedition through the American West. This study, legislated by Congress, is evaluating the eligibility and the desirability of designating all or part of Coronado's 1,400 miles through Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas as a national historic or scenic trail.

To place the Coronado expedition in historical context, it must be remembered that long before the English landed on the shores of Virginia, Spanish explorers had transversed the Atlantic coast from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan, and determined the extent of North America from Florida to California. Between 1539 and 1543, three Spanish expeditions explored the interior and western coast of the United States. These expeditions—one led by Hernando de Soto from Florida to the Mississippi River and beyond; another by Coronado from the west Mexican coast to central Kansas; and the last by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo from Matanchel on the west Mexican coast to possibly the Rogue River in Oregon—collectively determined the size of North America and assessed its copious natural resources. Within the area these men explored lived many Native American cultural groups, described by them for the first time in print.

Coronado led the first fully documented European undertaking to explore what became the greater American Southwest.

Within 48 years after Columbus' landing, Coronado's people stood on the edge of Arizona's Grand Canyon, and visited the Indian pueblos at Zuni, Hopi, Acoma, Pecos, and the villages along the Rio Grande. They transversed a series of routes from Campostela in western Mexico through portions of the present-day states of Arizona and New Mexico. Indeed, one contingent explored westward and crossed the Colorado River into California. From New Mexico, they went east toward the Great Plains where they explored parts of Texas and described the large buffalo herds. Moving north, the expedition crossed Oklahoma, and traversed southern Kansas as far as the Great Bend of the Arkansas River before reaching Indian villages in central Kansas. Thus, the expedition provided one of the great epic stories of the Age of European Exploration.

But this is also the story of how a study of this amazing period evolved. Early on, NPS staffers searched Spanish colonial archives and library collections in Spain, Mexico, and the United States for new primary sources that might reveal the identities of those who went on the expedition and what route they took. New translations were made of early documents, and errors in previous translations noted, to reconcile the scanty, vague, and sometimes contradictory information in existing documents. A bibliographic analysis of place names connected with the expedition was compiled, as was a historical dictionary. But nothing new emerged.

Published ethnographic data related to the expedition are also

meager and inconclusive. Over the centuries, American Indian groups encountered by Coronado's expedition have been decimated by warfare or disease. Villages have been abandoned and new ones built, place names changed or forgotten. Scholars do not agree on the names or the cultures of the groups Coronado's expedition encountered.

Researchers also frequented major Southwestern libraries in search of secondary sources describing and evaluating potential expedition routes. Various permutations of topography, botany, ethnohistory, archeology, place names, prehistoric Indian trails, and regional "boosterism" were compared, analyzed, and used to focus the archeological research on the most likely route.

The archeological research began with the development of a

To vary our past tribulations, we found no grass during the first days and encountered more dangerous passages than we had previously experienced. The horses were so exhausted they could not endure it, and, in this last desert, we lost more than previously. The way is very bad for at least thirty leagues or more through impassable mountains. But, when we had covered these thirty leagues, we found fresh rivers and grass like that of Castile.

Coronado

"profile" of site and artifact characteristics indicative of the 1540 exploration. State and university files and archives helped researchers identify sites showing the Spanish presence during the 16th century: American Indian sites that may have been occupied during Coronado's expedition; sites or landmarks mentioned in Spanish accounts; and 16th-century Spanish artifacts held by institutions and individuals.

The next step required that potential sites and artifacts be mapped and studied in conjunction with the Coronado narratives and secondary sources to try more precisely to define a potential route. Results of NPS research were distributed to 60 Coronado experts and their comments were used to refine the product.

Several factors frustrated archeological research. With the notable exception of the winters in New Mexico's Rio Grande valley, the Coronado expedition spent very little time in any one place. These explorers brought along only necessities, procuring much of their food, clothing, and forage along the route. Few traces of their passing remained, and later Spanish activities helped obscure the archeological record.

In most cases, the archeological site and artifact records do not provide the detail needed to identify metal, beads, glass, ceramics, or other artifacts that may remain from the 1540 exploration. Too often, 16th century artifacts lack provenience to a specific site or group. There is no incontrovertible archeological evidence of Coronado's expedition within the present-day United States. However, when 16th century artifacts like glass beads

and crossbow bolts from Zuni and Pecos are examined within the historical context of the expedition narratives, and ethnographic accounts by Zuni people, scholars agree that Coronado's expedition visited these areas. Substantial evidence further indicates that Coronado and his soldiers wintered near present day Bernalillo, New Mexico. Kansas sites also can be correlated with the historic narratives..

Unfortunately definition of other route features is less clear. Ambiguities and gaps in the narratives leave the route through Arizona, Texas, or eastern New Mexico in doubt. Arguments for routes in these areas and between key sites in New Mexico are based on a complex series of variables: specific geographic features, fauna and flora descriptions, the presence of aboriginal trails; the use of Indian guides; topographic limitations; measurements of time, distance, and direction described in the narratives; ease of travel for a mounted army driving livestock; the presence of wood, water, and forage; and descriptions of the American Indian groups. Thus, the historical, ethnographic, and archeological evidence is at present too fragmentary and vague to allow scholars to identify Coronado's route between known sites.

The national and international significance of the Coronado expedition indicates that something should be done to commemorate this important event in our history. The NPS study concluded that the "trail" is not eligible due to uncertainty about the expedition route and the possibility that options more appropriate than a national historic or scenic trail may exist to commemorate the expedition. The alternatives range from establishing a

As far as I can judge, it does not appear to me that there is any hope of getting gold or silver, but I trust in God, that, if there is any, we shall get our share of it, and it shall not escape us through any lack of diligence in the search.

Coronado

commission to focus in-depth field investigations on the Coronado expedition, to increasing interpretation in existing NPS units associated with the expedition. Yet another option involves the establishment of a new NPS unit in Kansas to supplement the existing Coronado NMem in Arizona. Congress will use the NPS study and public response to determine the best route to take to commemorate Coronado's contribution to our national heritage.

John C. Paige is Coronado study team captain for the Central Team at DSC. Diane Rhodes is an archeologist for the Western Team. Richard Alesch is a supervisor planner on the Central Team. Their article synthesizes the work of DSC and SWRO

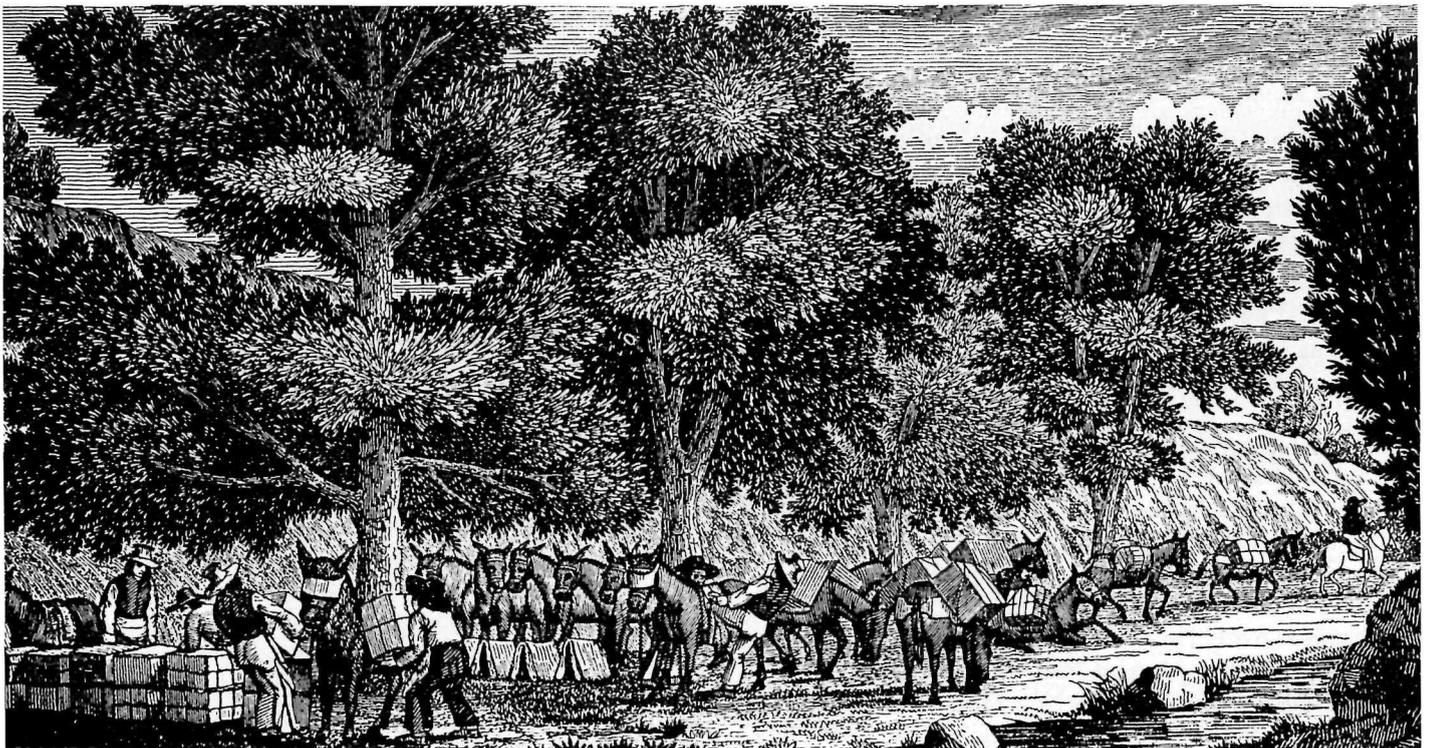


HISPANIC INFLUENCE ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

The American story has long been shaped by multi-cultural influences. One thread of the story is the historic trail that once linked regions and nations together. For better or worse, the Santa Fe Trail introduced Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans to each other.

This designated national historic trail was the first major trans-Mississippi route between the eastern United States and the present-day American Southwest. Portions of it had been es-

tablished earlier by American Indians, then by Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans. As the trail developed, it played a critical role in westward expansion as well as trade relations with Mexico. For a quarter century, from 1821 to 1846, international trade followed this route, bringing needed manufactured goods from Missouri to northern Mexico and beyond. Traders brought silver, furs, mules, and wool back to Missouri. At the same time the trail fostered cultural exchange. After the United States con-



Mexican packtrain, from Josiah Gregg's *The Commerce of the Prairies*. The photo above shows a section of Autograph Rock, Cimarron County, OK, photo by Jere Krakow.

quered Mexico's northern provinces in 1848, the trail continued to link regions together.

Origins of the Santa Fe Trail lie with the earliest Indian routes which became avenues of access for Spanish exploration and settlement in the northern provinces of Mexico. The route northward from Mexico City came into use soon after the Spanish conquest in 1521, and by 1580 linked several silver mining areas along what became known as the Camino Real. Following the routes of earlier expeditions, Don Juan de Onate, in 1598, led an expedition northward from Zacatecas into New Mexico for purposes of colonization, and pacifying the pueblos. In the course of the journey, Onate laid out the route of the Chihuahua Trail, through Paso del Norte, and up the Rio Grande Valley to Santo Domingo Pueblo (Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail*, p. 7).

After the settlement of Santa Fe in 1610, the Camino Real reached its northern terminus at the foot of the Sangre de Cristo mountains. The 1,500-mile route became the lifeline of supply and communication. For the first 100 years it was used by the annual caravan. Thereafter, throughout most of the nineteenth century, numerous caravans traveled this major route of trade and commerce each year. Of the settlements along the trail, Chihuahua developed as the city whose merchants dominated commercial enterprise in New Mexico until the overthrow of Spanish rule in 1821 (*ibid*, p. 29). Thus a network of trade connecting communities along the Camino Real had been laid before a new nation to the northeast declared its independence from Great Britain.

During the 18th century Indian trade fairs at Pecos and Taos among the Pueblo and Plains Indians introduced Spanish residents to native products, and the Spanish began to participate in the fairs. Using packtrains of mules, New Mexicans traded along the southern routes from Santa Fe to Chihuahua, and became increasingly familiar with the numerous Indian trails on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains and the western Great Plains. Merchants in Chihuahua, however, continued to dominate the trade, including the larger trade fairs along the Camino Real. In due course French and American traders defied Spain's closed door policy in her northern Mexican provinces and searched for ways to trade with Santa Fe and the areas beyond Santa Fe. This resulted in patrols by Spanish and Pueblo soldiers in the late 1700s and early 1800s to search for contraband.

After independence from Spain in 1821, Mexican administrators removed many legal barriers to commercial exchange on the New Mexican frontier. That same year William Becknell and a small party from Missouri arrived in New Mexico to trade. In 1822 Becknell opened a wagon route from Franklin, Missouri, to Santa Fe, following what later became known as the Cimarron route. The Santa Fe Trail therefore linked with the Camino Real to provide an international trails network.

The decade of the 1820s saw New Mexican officials encourage merchants to trade with Mexico. Beginning in 1824 Chihuahuan and New Mexican merchants appeared along the trail from Santa Fe to Missouri, and from 1823 to 1825 a delegation of



Mexican trader, photo courtesy of George D. Brewerton, *Overland With Kit Carson*.

Mexican merchants, sent by the New Mexican governor, spent time in Washington, DC, negotiating commercial agreements for New Mexico. Simultaneously Missouri traders headed toward Santa Fe with trade goods. Encouraged by Mexican officials, this legal commerce began the decades-long exchange across the plains.

The Santa Fe Trail, with Santa Fe as the hub, quickly became a lucrative trade route far into Mexico, aiding both Mexico's northern provinces and the depressed economy of Missouri. By the early 1840s Mexican merchants, such as Don Antonio Jose Chavez, his brother Don Jose Chavez y Castillo, Juan Perea, and Juan Otero, dominated the trade moving in both directions along the route of commerce (David A. Sandoval, "Gnats, Goods, and Greasers: Mexican Merchants on the Santa Fe Trail," in *Journal of the West*, April 1989, p. 22-31). Several traders (Mateo De Luna, Jesus M. Pacheco, T. Romero) inscribed their names on rock formations along the trail, and the R. G. Dun and Company records contain numerous entries for Mexican merchants (i.e., Delgado Brothers, Santiago Armijo, Romaldo Baca) detailing their credit reports: assets (real estate, livestock, personal income, loans outstanding, type of business, financial backing, method of payment), and personal character.

In 1846 the United States invaded Mexico. The U.S. Army used the Santa Fe Trail as one of the major routes into Mexican territory, and continued down the Camino Real deep into Mexico, and west to California. Almost half of Mexico became part



Del Vado de las Piedras (rock crossing) of Canadian River, NM, photo by Jere Krakow.

of the United States with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Thereafter military supplies formed a large part of freighting on the trail, provisioning several southwestern army posts.

Despite the increase of American traders following the war, Mexican traders still figured prominently. Newspaper reports for June and July of 1859 note trail traffic through Council Grove, Kansas, and the preponderance are travelers with Spanish surnames. Though diminishing in numbers, the Hispanic presence continued to be significant in the trade.

The influence of the Hispanic culture on the Santa Fe Trail is identifiable in several ways. Besides interaction among individuals, it includes freighting, place names, foodways and architecture. Many techniques associated with frontier freighting began with Hispanics on the Camino Real. Perhaps most notable were the mule and pack trains loaded by *arrieros* (muleteers) whose reputations were unparalleled in the freighting community. Beginning during the 17th century, wagon use consisted of heavy-duty wagons with iron-clad wheels that carried about 4,000 pounds pulled by teams of eight mules. A caravan's military-like organization also influenced American freighting.

Place names have endured as another testimony to Spanish influence. They are prominent labels for routes, landmarks, crossings, and communities along the Santa Fe Trail. So named are San Miguel del Vado and San Jose del Vado on the Pecos River, El Vado de las Piedras (rock crossing) of the Canadian

River, and the Sapello and Ocate crossings in New Mexico; Raton (Fishers) Peak, in Colorado; and Chavez Creek (now Jarvis), and the La Jornada (Cimarron desert route) in Kansas.

Hispanic foodways extended from the southwest along corridors of the trail. The use of chilies and tortillas in a variety of edibles added diversity to the diets of Americans. Many travelers commented on Mexican food, including the luxury of chile verde, and the use of chocolate in "...which Mexicans surely excel every other people." (Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, Milo Milton Quaife ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967, p. 147).

A final influence is felt in the architectural style. The low, flat roofed structures, made of adobe are numerous along corridors of the trail in New Mexico and Colorado. They range from street scenes in Santa Fe and Las Vegas to the church at San Miguel and Bent's Old Fort.

The legacy left by Hispanic people and culture made an indelible mark along Santa Fe Trail routes, and, in turn, on all Americans. International trade served as a vehicle for this exchange, enriching the present and future.

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FORGOTTEN FRIARS

UNSUNG HEROES OF THE HISPANIC FRONTIER.

Until recently, the nationwide educational approach to understanding U. S. colonial-period history has been myopic at best. However, in light of the impending 500-year anniversary of Columbus' voyages to the New World, the National Park Service, along with several federal, state, and private agencies, have undertaken to sensitize the American public to the fact that this nation did not achieve infancy on the Atlantic seaboard.

Traditionally, the prevailing view of the "making of America" has been that of an east-to-west migration of English-speaking peoples who conquered hostile landscapes and recalcitrant Indians along a succession of "uncivilized" frontiers. The problem with such a simplistic explanation, notes historian Bernard Fontana and others, is that it tragically fails to include large segments of our national heritage; it completely ignores the fact that ours has been a multi-cultural society since time immemorial. Indeed, before the arrival of Columbus, Raleigh, Hudson—or other Europeans—millions of men, women, and children were actively engaged in meaningful productive lives. For more than a millenia, the native cultures of the New World occupied the pristine habitat of the so-called Americas as members of societies that ranged in character from nomadic hunter-gathers to highly sophisticated theocratic states.

Similarly, traditionalists all too often have understated the importance of earlier European influences in the New World. For instance, nearly a half-century before the founding of the abortive Roanoke Colony (located in present day North Carolina in 1585), Spanish soldiers and seafarers had reconnoitered most of the territory that was to become the southern half of the United States. By the time the Pilgrims landed the *Mayflower* at Plymouth, MA, in 1620, Spain had established thriving frontier communities from St. Augustine, FL, to Santa Fe, NM.

Though perhaps not national household words, the names Ponce de Leon, De Soto, Coronado, and Cabrillo strike familiar chords in devotees of state history throughout the southeastern and southwestern United States. As children, many of us westerners and southerners reveled in the adventure of America's earliest explorers. Less familiar, perhaps, are the names Juan de Onate, Juan Bautista de Anza, Junipero Serra, and Antonio Margil de Jesus. While generally subservient to the more flamboyant personalities who organized great maritime and overland expeditions, Spain's numerous colonizers and missionaries were no less significant contributors to this country's beginnings. Still, in the broad sweep of our national history, these dedicated Hispanic



Fr. Isidro Flix de Espinosa, Missionary and first historian of the missions of Texas, courtesy of Our Catholic Heritage in Texas

frontiersmen have, until recently, faded into obscurity.

Recent efforts in California and Texas to introduce cause for the canonization of two celebrated Franciscans, Fr. Junipero Serra and Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus, have attracted public attention. Fray Margil, history records, journeyed more than 24,000 miles on foot throughout Central America and Texas to propagate the Catholic faith among the native inhabitants. No less impressive was Father Serra's establishment of the "chain" of missions visible today along California's Pacific Coast Highway from San Diego to San Francisco. These monumental efforts earned for the venerable friars the well-deserved sobriquets "Father of the Texas Missions," and "Father of the California Missions" respectively.

But what of the lesser known frontier missionaries who endured lives of personal hardship in the cause of the Spanish empire? Spanish colonial expansionism in the New World was a



Frs. Francisco Garces and Juan Antonio Barrenche, Franciscan martyrs.

profound and comprehensive undertaking that required the collective endeavor of hundreds of soldiers, administrators, colonists, and missionaries. Nonetheless, in light of the well-publicized accomplishments of Serra in California, or the highly touted Jesuit, Eusebio Kino,

in Arizona, the contributions of their successors—Francisco Palou or Francisco Garces—have been somewhat obscured. In effect, these latter missionaries—and others like them—comprise the ranks of the "forgotten friars."

So it is that the outstanding personal achievements of Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa in Texas have been overshadowed by those of his contemporary Antonio Margil de Jesus. Unlike most of his Franciscan brethren, Espinosa was a *croillo*, that is to say born of Spanish parents, but in the New World community of Queretaro on November 26, 1679. One of nine children, three of whom joined monastic orders, Espinosa entered the Franciscan monastery of Santa Cruz in 1697 at the impressionable age of eighteen.

Following his ordination in 1703, Espinosa accepted his first frontier assignment to the Mission of San Juan Bautista on the banks of the Rio Grande (near present Eagle Pass, TX). With this tour of duty, the gaunt but seemingly tireless friar embarked upon a long and illustrious career in which he spent nineteen years on the Texas frontier. Enlisted as a chronicler and assistant to a more seasoned superior, Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura Olivares, Espinosa prepared for his first *entrada* into Texas in the spring of 1709 as a member of the Capt. Pedro de Aguirre expedition.

Although not personally responsible for the founding in 1718 of San Antonio de Valero (today's famous Alamo), Espinosa's diary, written nine years earlier, indicated the young missionary's favorable impressions with the lush surroundings along the Rio de San Antonio. More revealing was Espinosa's observation that the region of East Texas, at the time occupied by members of the Caddo nation, deserved a full-scale missionary undertaking. After nearly seven years of petitioning, Fray Espinosa, by now named father president of the three proposed Queretaran institutions, returned to East Texas in April 1716 in the company of presidial captain, Domingo Ramon.

Once arrived in East Texas, Espinosa founded three missions in the name of the College of Santa Cruz de Queretaro. Upon their transfer to South Texas in 1731, these missions formed the basis for Spanish missionary activity in the San Antonio Valley during the mid-1700s.

It was during this trying and painful tenure of the Franciscan occupation of East Texas that Isidro Felix de Espinosa made his most outstanding contributions to American history. Scarcely three years after their founding, prolonged droughts, marginal success in conversion of the Indians, and unabated French assaults from neighboring Louisiana forced the abandonment of the Queretaran missions. Undaunted, father Espinosa journeyed south to the Rio Grande, then on to Saltillo (in present Coahuila, Mexico), and finally to the royal court in Mexico City in an attempt to secure assistance for his beleaguered missions. Espinosa petitioned for the establishment of a civilian settlement in East Texas so that the area might be secured against future French encroachment. Although he acknowledged the proposal as a well-conceived plan, the viceroy denied Espinosa's request; Texas would not see its second colony (the first being El Paso established in 1680) until the settlement of San Antonio in 1731.

Having failed to win approval, Espinosa returned to the Rio Grande frontier where he joined the expeditionary forces of the Marques de Aguayo, newly appointed governor of Coahuila. According to the campaign diary of Juan Antonio de la Pena, Fray Espinosa proved invaluable to the punitive expedition against the French. The friar's facility with Indian languages, coupled with his excellent rapport among the so-called "Tejas" Indians, enabled Governor Aguayo to recruit several well-armed Caddo warriors to the Spanish cause. "Espinosa's efforts to reestablish the missions of East Texas in 1721," wrote the friar's biographer, Father Lino Gomez Canedo, "overshadowed even those of the venerable Fray Margil."

After the French withdrawal from East Texas, Espinosa departed the northern frontier and returned to New Spain where he lived out the remainder of his life commuting between Queretaro and Mexico City. In 1730 he founded the Franciscan College of San Fernando in the capital city. In 1732, scarcely one year after his beloved East Texas missions were transferred to the banks of the San Antonio River, he returned to the College of Santa Cruz to accept the mantle of father president. During his tenure as chief administrator, Espinosa penned his comprehensive account of all Franciscan missionary activity on the northern frontier of New Spain. It was published in 1746.

Thus, not unlike his more famous colleagues, Frs. Margil and Serra, Fray Espinosa was unfaltering in his devotion to cross and crown. Symbolically, his dynamic career drew to a close with his death on January 31, 1755—the same year that the present stone church of Mission Concepcion saw completion in San Antonio. Today three of the four Franciscan missions that comprise San Antonio Missions NHP owe their existence largely to the untiring efforts of Isidro Felix de Espinosa. They stand in silent tribute to the monumental accomplishments of this forgotten, but nonetheless significant Hispanic frontiersman.

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FORTIFICATIONS OF SPANISH FLORIDA, 1565-1763



Spain discovered Florida in 1513 and subsequently explored it. France challenged that title by founding Fort Caroline (near Jacksonville) in 1564. The Spanish reacted by building a wooden fort—San Agustín—in 1565. They also struck first, capturing Fort Caroline, and then securing an unconditional surrender of French forces at Matanzas Inlet, 15 miles south of San Agustín. Ironically, Fort Caroline, renamed San Mateo, and two Spanish-built advanced towers became the defenders of the St. Johns River until French avengers burned the three structures in 1568.

Eight other temporary structures successively replaced the first Spanish fort. Whether wood or masonry, the San Agustín fortifications reaffirmed Spain's dominion. It also protected shipping returning to Spain from the Caribbean via the Gulf Stream.

To impose Spanish political and social order on the native

Castillo de San Marcos

Floridians, soldiers entered populated areas. From 1565 to 1567, wooden forts appeared at Ais-Santa Lucia (Indian River County), Santa Elena (Parris Island, SC) and its hinterland, Gualé (St. Catherine's Island, GA), Calusa (Mound Key, Estero Bay), Tocobaga (Safety Harbor, Old Tampa Bay), and Tegesta (Miami River's mouth). By 1568, these forts (except one) had been abandoned after the natives repulsed the intruders. However, the four successive forts at Santa Elena, less their outposts, lasted until 1587, when the last garrison returned to San Agustín. The Gualé structure passed on to a new system based on coastal defense.

The new system appeared in 1568. It consisted of *casas fuertes* (lightly fortified towers, ordinary houses, or just watch-

towers), each with a small garrison, located at Guale, Tacatacaru (Cumberland Island), Saturiba (site southwest of St. Johns River's mouth), Alimacani (Fort George Island), Seloy (Nombre de Dios site, San Agustin), Old San Agustin (north Anastasia Island), and Palican (island in Matanzas Inlet). *Casas fuertes* also defended Santa Fe (Gainesville) and San Luis (Tallahassee), the inland provincial capitals of Timucua (east of Aucilla River) and Apalache (west of the Aucilla) respectively. Each had a small garrison.

The Matanzas Inlet watchtower was erected in 1569. Personnel posted there scanned the sea and reported vessels approaching San Agustin, thus providing timely warning against attacks from the south.

The 1670 settlement of Charleston shattered the safety provided by Florida's isolation. It also portended a contest, for the English claimed lands as far south as present-day New Smyrna Beach. The Spanish coastal fortifications at the time consisted of Santa

Catalina, Tacatacaru, and either the Saturiba or Alimacani watchtowers; San Agustin's ninth wooden fort, already named Castillo de San Marcos; Anastasia and Matanzas Inlet watchtowers; and a billet for a garrison at San Marcos de Apalache.

For permanent Castillo de San Marcos, Engineer Ignacio Daza chose the square design with a full bastion at each corner. It was the ideal for fortifying an avenue of communication on flat land, serving as a citadel, and providing an anchor for city walls.

The four fronts would measure 1,444 feet, and each line of defense 215 feet. The walls were 12 feet thick at the base, 8-1/4 at the cordon, and 3-2/3 at the parapet, and 25 feet high from foundation to parapet top. Wooden beams bridged the space between the main and the courtyard wall to support the terreplein. The small ravelin formed a small enclosure. A palisade at the covered way wall provided a screen to the fort's scarp. Construction in 1672-95 was plagued by errors, and produced an irregular Castillo with a larger-than-planned perimeter of 1,509 feet.

Other strategic defenses in Florida developed concurrently. The first Fort San Marcos de Apalache, built in 1678-79, barred enemy penetration into the country's interior. However, pirates

captured and abandoned the square stockade in 1682, but the Spanish burned it before it could be reoccupied.

The Gualean missions of Santa Catalina and Guadalquini (St. Simons) withstood an English attack in 1680. But the subsequent desertion of the Christian Native Americans forced the missions to withdraw to Sapelo, and then resettle in 1684 on Santa Maria (Amelia Island), San Juan (Fort George Island), and Piribiriba (probably Mayport). In 1688, a *casa fuerte* was ordered built at each site.

South Carolinian traders roamed remote Apalachecola province (southwestern Georgia), preventing Spanish consolidation

of power. To show the flag, the Spanish erected square-traced Fort Apalachecola in 1689, at Holy Trinity (AL). But the fort was demolished in 1691 because the men there were critically needed in San Agustin.

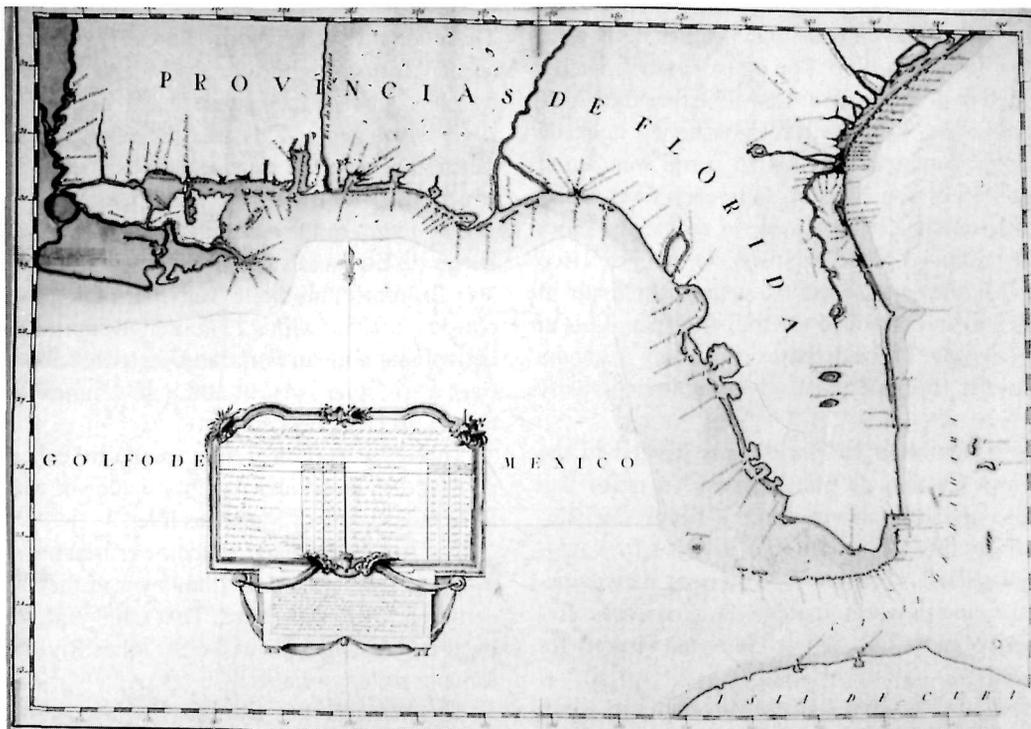
The fortified towers planned for Santa Maria, San Juan, and Piribiriba were built in 1696-97. A watchtower was

erected to replace the ditch that had served for the Apalache fort since 1682. A *casa fuerte* rose at San Luis for the garrison there.

English raids had already destroyed the missions of Santa Catalina de Afuica (1685), San Juan de Guacara and San Carlos (1693), and Santa Fe de Toloca (1701). For unprotected sites as these, a field fortification called *corral de defensa* (wood enclosure for security) appeared around 1701.

The War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War in Anglo America) began in 1702. On their way to capture San Agustin, the South Carolinians destroyed the towers on Santa Maria, San Juan, Piribiriba, and a few unprotected missions. San Agustin was torched, but Castillo de San Marcos emerged unscathed. The Matanzas Inlet watchtower saw a courier depart for La Habana to report the enemy's presence, and later relief troops landed on its beach.

After the siege, old defenses were improved and new ones appeared in San Agustin. The main guardhouse in the plaza changed to a stone structure (1703). The new Cubo Line (1704) girded the north city limit to contain land attack. The line ran



half a mile westward from Castillo de San Marcos to the San Sebastian River, and consisted of six small equidistant wooden forts joined by earthwork curtains. The western most fort rested at the river's edge. Each fort had a cannon; the westernmost one at the river had two.

One mile north of the Cubo Line, an enclosure surrounded by a ditch and prickly pear stored oysters and marsh grass. Closer in, new four-bastioned, palisaded Fort Nombre de Dios (1705) provided additional protection from northern land attacks. At Castillo, a palisaded corral protruded from the north counterscarp (probably 1706) to pen up for the night 300 head of cattle which grazed nearby.

Outside San Agustin too, there appeared new defenses. Corral emerged at the provincial capitals and the San Luis *casa fuerte* became more effective in 1703. The latter was evacuated a year later as the English drove eastward to obliterate the Apalache and Timucua missions. The rebuilt four-bastioned stockade at Piribiriba held until abandoned in 1704. A corral went up at Abosoya, 108 miles west of San Agustin, and a *casa fuerte* at La Chua, the large cattle ranch 75 miles west, to secure the city's beef supply. A four-bastioned corral enclosed the San Francisco de Potano mission, 50 miles west. Lastly, a palisaded redoubt at Salamototo, 18 miles west, controlled the trail from San Luis at the St. Johns River crossing. These defenses could only delay the Spanish retreat eastward, for the English advanced invincibly by fire and sword.

The 1706 Spanish dominion in Florida was limited to the range of gunfire from Castillo de San Marcos. To make San Agustin impregnable, the Hornabeque Line, a heavy log palisade, coursed westward from Fort Nombre de Dios to a *casa fuerte* at the San Sebastian River shore. The palisade barred enemy overland advance, and the *casa* guarded the river fords. Between the Hornabeque and Cubo Lines, land was cleared for planting.

Three new outposts rose on San Agustin's western city limit. La Esperanza and Juan Bernardo closed up the open space beyond Maria Sanchez Creek to the San Sebastian River. A defense corral protected the Convent of San Francisco. The Anastasia watchtower was manned again. San Agustin stood its close investment resolutely until peace came in 1714.

To keep San Agustin strong after the war, the Hornabeque Line was repaired in 1716. This defense, including Fort Nombre de Dios and the *casa fuerte*, was wasted by the Carolinians in 1728, taking revenge on their Yamasee rebels of 1715, since sheltered nearby.

A second Fort San Marcos de Apalache rose in 1718 on the site of the old one. The cypress structure had four bastions, curtains 22 yards long circled by a palisade, and four cannon. Thus the Spanish returned to Apalache, and cemented friendship with the Apalachecolas.

The war had foretold the circumvallation of San Agustin. In 1718-19, the three-sided wall began at Castillo de San Marcos, and, as far west as Santo Domingo redoubt, it was the same structure as the Cubo Line. The wall then proceeded south on the western city limit, linking San Jose, Santa Isabel, Rosario, Santo

Cristo, Santa Barbara, and Merino redoubts. It then turned eastward ending at San Francisco bastion, next to Matanzas Bay. The Rosario Line, as it was called from Santo Domingo to San Francisco, was an earthwork seven feet high topped with prickly pear. The line made San Agustin a walled city. Rebuilding Rosario in masonry began in 1720 at San Francisco bastion, but lack of money stopped the task in 1725.

The British settled Savannah in 1733. At the time, Florida's entire defense system centered in San Agustin, except Fort San Marcos de Apalache. This new threat to their security forced the Spanish, for the second time, to get back to the "field." In 1734 they built Forts San Francisco de Pupo (south Clay County) and Picolata, the later across the St. Johns River opposite the former. These forts were hexagonal wooden towers, eight feet in diameter and 16 feet high to the tip of their pyramidal roof, enclosed by a hexagram-shaped palisade, and each armed with two *pedreiros* (swivel guns). This was the first time since 1672 that the star, rather than the square, trace was used in Florida fort construction.

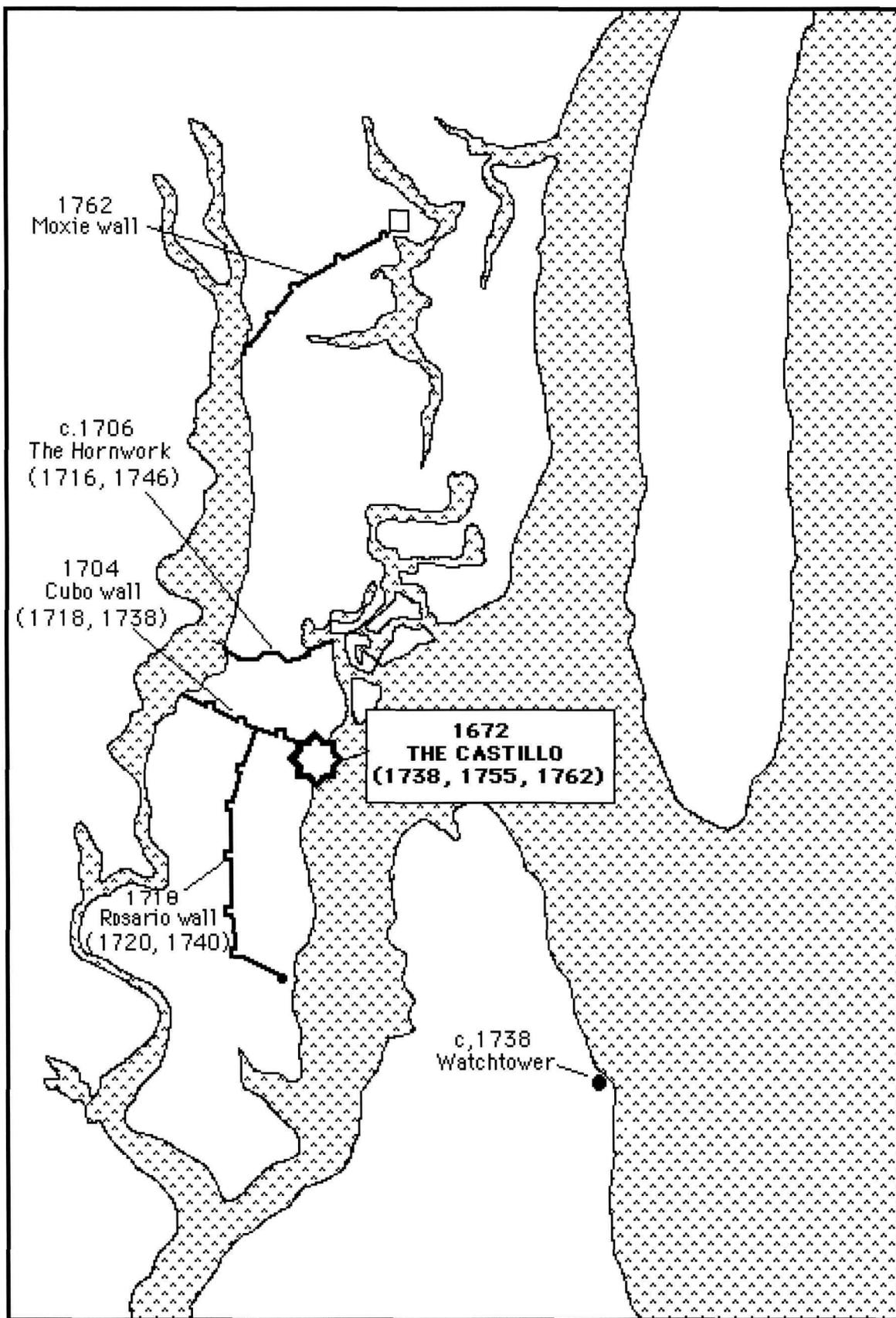
The return to the environs led northward too. The cowpen of Diego de Espinosa's cattle ranch lay 20 miles away (Palm Valley). To protect his cattle from marauders, Espinosa fortified the cowpen in 1735, with a 15-foot high enclosure with two bastions but without a moat. Fort San Diego obtained two 2-pounder carriage guns, nine swivels, and a government garrison for protection of the city's beef source.

That same year, the return southward called for increased surveillance. A wood-and-thatch watchtower was built at El Penon, three miles south of Matanzas Inlet.

The Anastasia Island watchtower became a masonry structure in 1736. For the purpose, the tower of the as-yet-unconsecrated hermitage there was raised. That same year, four cavalymen billeted in a thatched hut at the St. Johns River's mouth looked out for approaching vessels.

This was also the year that Engineer-in-ordinary Antonio de Arredondo of La Habana inspected the Florida fortifications. He reported that the terreplein of Castillo de San Marcos threatened a cave-in: the beams holding it up were rotted. The outworks were missing. The Cubo and Rosario Lines had become shapeless mounds of earth. The observation facilities at the St. Johns River, Matanzas Inlet, and El Penon were unsatisfactory. Forts Pupo and Picolata were too small and rotting.

Improvements came in 1738-40. Arredondo returned as planner of works needed, and Engineer-in-extraordinary Pedro Ruiz de Olano accompanied him as builder. Arredondo then went on to Apalache to plan the transformation of the extant fort into a masonry structure. Ruiz first replaced old San Francisco de Pupo, badly damaged by British raiders, with a square-shaped wooden tower and palisade. His most important work, however, was in San Agustin, vaulting the terreplein of the east curtain of Castillo de San Marcos, adapting the east bastions to a new height, beginning the outworks by erecting a temporary covered way on the north and northwest fronts of Castillo, and reconstructing the Cubo and Rosario Lines. Ruiz also built Fort Mose, two miles north, an earthwork topped with prickly pear to



Partial map of defenses surrounding Castillo de San Marcos. Dates in parentheses indicate major changes or reconstructions.

protect the recently established settlement there of freed black slaves escaped from South Carolina, and an earthwork battery on the shore of Anastasia Island, controlling four accesses into the harbor channel.

The War of Jenkins' Ear (begun 1739) dealt with Anglo Spanish trading and territorial disputes in the Caribbean and Georgia respectively. Shortly, British invaders damaged Fort Picolata, which had previously lost a curtain to deterioration, so badly that the garrison crossed the river to Fort Pupo.

The British invasion of 1740 saw the capture of Fort Pupo, the Spanish withdrawal from the St. Johns River, surrender of Fort San Diego, and evacuation of Fort Mose, Anastasia watchtower, and the shore battery. Florida again was circumscribed to the area controlled by the guns of Castillo de San Marcos. The north, south, and west fronts of Castillo were as-yet unvaulted. Fort San Marcos de Apalache was detached to La Habana's command.

After obtaining a decisive victory at the site, the Spanish razed Fort Mose. British gunfire tore parts of the recently-remodelled east parapet of Castillo de San Marcos, which were repaired expeditiously. On lifting the siege, they burned Fort Pupo, but spared Fort San Diego and Anastasia watchtower. In the fall, Ruiz began building Matanzas Redoubt in masonry, completing it in 1742. Controlling access into the inlet and the inland waterway to San Agustin, the redoubt became the premier auxiliary unit of the city defenses. During the rest of the war, rebuilding the old Hornabeque Line in 1746 prevented the enemy from coming too close to the Cubo Line as it had happened in 1740.

After the 1748 peace, the Florida fortifications remained strong for a while. A watchtower was raised at the St. Johns River's mouth in 1750. Engineer-in-extraordinary Juan de Cotilla arrived in 1754 to start a new masonry Fort San Marcos de Apalache; the previous one had been washed away by a flood three years earlier. Engineer-in-ordinary Pedro de Brozas completed the vaulting of the tereplein of Castillo de San Marcos in 1756, along the three unfinished fronts, and placed the royal arms above the gate. About the same time, Fort Picolata was rebuilt in masonry as a 20-foot-high square tower with 2-1/2 stories, vertical embrasures, pyramidal roof, and a log enclosure. Fort Mose reappeared on its old site as an earthwork topped with prickly pear.

The fortifications in San Agustin in 1756 were Castillo de San Marcos; Cubo Line with a westernmost redoubt of the same name in use; Rosario Line with only Santo Domingo, Rosario, and Merino redoubts in use; and a new La Punta earthwork a little south of former San Francisco redoubt. The Hornabeque Line had a strong gate named La Leche. Anastasia watchtower and Fort Mose were in service. Outside the city were the St. Johns River watchtower, Fort Picolata, Matanzas Redoubt, and Fort San Marcos de Apalache.

Rosario Line now got a new treatment for its redoubts in use. Rosario, immediately to the rear of Government House, was rebuilt in stone in 1759. The same was done for Merino, at the junction of the north-south and west-east segments of the line.

The curtains linking the redoubts were left as deteriorated as they had been since 1749.

Spain entered the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War) in 1762. Concerned about Florida, La Habana prudently sent Engineer volunteer Pablo Castello to assist Brozas in strengthening the fortifications. The engineers replaced the small 1682 ravelin with a larger one, which received a small powder storage vault, but not its parapet of five embrasures and a sentry box. They raised the counterscarp to ten feet, but still lacked two feet to attain the desired elevation. The covered way fill rose five feet to reach the proper height for coverage by fire from the Castillo parapet, and the covered way wall also was raised.

Outside Castillo, the Cubo Line was rebuilt. North of the Hornabeque Line, trees and underbrush were cleared to a distance of 1-1/4 miles, and then a 4950-foot long earthwork with five redoubts was built diagonally southwestward from Fort Mose to a fort under construction on pylons as San Sebastian River's edge. The Mose Line prevented the enemy from approaching San Agustin undetected. The cleared land lengthened the range of Castillo guns and provided for cultivation.

La Habana rather than Florida became the victim of the vagaries of war. It fell quickly into British hands. The provision in the peace preliminaries, ceding Florida to Great Britain in exchange, stopped all construction in San Agustin.

Fittingly, Castillo de San Marcos was the scene of the Spanish transfer of Florida to the British in 1763.

Luis Rafael Arana is a historian at Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas NMs (FL). He holds the Spanish Order of Isabel la Catolica, and is a recent recipient of Horace M. Albright Employee Development Fund monies enabling him to visit the Archivo de Simancas (Spain) to study historical papers related to the monument.

COLUMBUS LANDING SITE

PLANNING TO PROTECT CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCE VALUES.

The first two voyages of Christopher Columbus are neatly recorded in rhyme:

In fourteen hundred and ninety-two/Columbus sailed the ocean blue.

In fourteen hundred and ninety-three/again he sailed across the sea.

What actually happened is far more complex, of course, and much of it is unknown to us because of our distance from it in time. We do know that on the second voyage Columbus' flotilla of 17 ships stopped at three locations that are now part of the

United States and its territories. Of these, only Salt River Bay, St. Croix, Virgin Islands, is definitively identified as the site where the Spanish landed.

On September 25, the fleet sailed from Cadiz, Spain, and on November 3 reached Dominica in the Leeward Islands. After four days of exploring Guadeloupe, which is also part of this island string, the Spanish sailed northwestward and then westerly, reaching an island the natives called Ayay on November 14, 1493. Columbus named it Santa Cruz. As they sailed west along the north shore they were impressed both by evidence of cultivation and population. Passing by present day Christiansted harbor with its reef barrier, the Spanish fleet anchored at the mouth of Salt River Bay about 11:00 in the morning.



Salt River Bay looking east, where Columbus named the cape *Cabo de la Flechas, Cape of the Arrows*, in recognition of the battle that took place there between the Caribs and Columbus' sailors.

Hoping both to capture natives to aid him in navigating the unknown and to replenish the water supply, Columbus sent a boat with 25 armed men into Salt River Bay. They landed near an Indian village on the west side and found it deserted by the Caribs who occupied St. Croix. They did, however, capture several Tainos who had been enslaved by the Caribs. The former had received the Spanish in a friendly manner during the explorations in 1492, while the latter had a reputation for cruelty and cannibalism that was reinforced during the four days on Guadeloupe.

After exploring the immediate area, the soldiers and their captives headed back to *Mariagalante*, the Admiral's flagship. Along the way, they sighted a canoe manned by seven Caribs. A brief battle ensued, during which the natives were captured, then taken to the flagship, while along the shore the numbers of armed Carib Indians grew. Realizing that further exploration was impossible, Columbus' fleet hoisted anchor and sailed north-westward on the 15th. After that departure, 140 years came and went before European settlement appeared on the shores of Salt River Bay.

The national significance of the area was recognized in 1960 when a five-acre tract owned by the territorial government became a National Historic Landmark. In mid-July 1988, Regional Director Robert Baker and Governor Alexander Farrelly agreed that the Park Service would develop a comprehensive plan for the first Virgin Islands territorial park, Columbus Historic Landing Site. Late August of that year saw a regional planning team already hard at work.

The planning team began their study with the five-acre landmark and adjacent lands which contained evidence of a prehistoric village, the possible landing site, Fort Sale, constructed by the Dutch in 1642 and the ruins of a Danish Custom House and fortification built a hundred years later. Archeological testing on the east side of the Bay located significant sites dating to prehistoric times as well as evidence of historic settlement. An underwater survey of Salt River Bay and the reefs across its mouth in early 1989 discovered a variety of historic artifacts. Documentary evidence shows that both the English and the French who controlled the area after the Dutch were driven out constructed buildings on both sides of Salt River Bay. Danish settlement which began after 1733 may have built on or near these earlier structures.

During the team's initial visit, members recognized that the historical and archeological values of Salt River Bay were balanced by its natural resource values. Mangrove fringe forest, mangrove basin forest, salt pond, and freshwater marsh ecosystems are represented here. The mouth of the bay also offers a high energy tropical reef system and a biologically rich submarine canyon. Finally the forests surrounding the bay are the wintering grounds for more than 20 species of North American songbirds. These and other factors earlier had supported Salt River Bay's designation as a National Natural Landmark.

In November 1988 the team returned from Salt River Bay to St. Croix. Working with individuals from the Territorial Government and other organizations they identified and assigned levels

of significance to the natural and cultural resources of Salt River Bay. Three alternatives were developed. The first proposed setting aside approximately 20 acres, which would include the present National Historic Landmark, the village site, the two forts, and the adjacent beach area. Visitor facilities were limited in this alternative to a parking area, orientation station and self guiding trails with wayside exhibits.

The second alternative envisioned the protection of all the land in the previous alternative plus sufficient land on the opposite side of the Bay (Cape of the Arrows) to protect the historic scene—approximately 145 acres, with 35 of that being a portion of Salt River Bay. Inclusion of Cape of the Arrows also was intended to protect an identified prehistoric cemetery as well as the possibility of locating structures dating from the last half of the 1600s through the Danish period. Expanded visitor facilities would be located on the east side, with the same type of facilities on the west side as suggested in the first alternative.

The third alternative considered the development of a park that would include the historic resources of the first two alternatives, the entire Salt River Bay and its associated floodplains, and a portion of the adjacent uplands. This comprehensive Salt River Park, totaling 1,000 acres, would protect the coral reefs and the submarine canyon to a depth of 300 feet. Visitor facilities would extend to access roads, trails, a large visitor center, and beaches, plus those developments already anticipated for the first two alternatives.

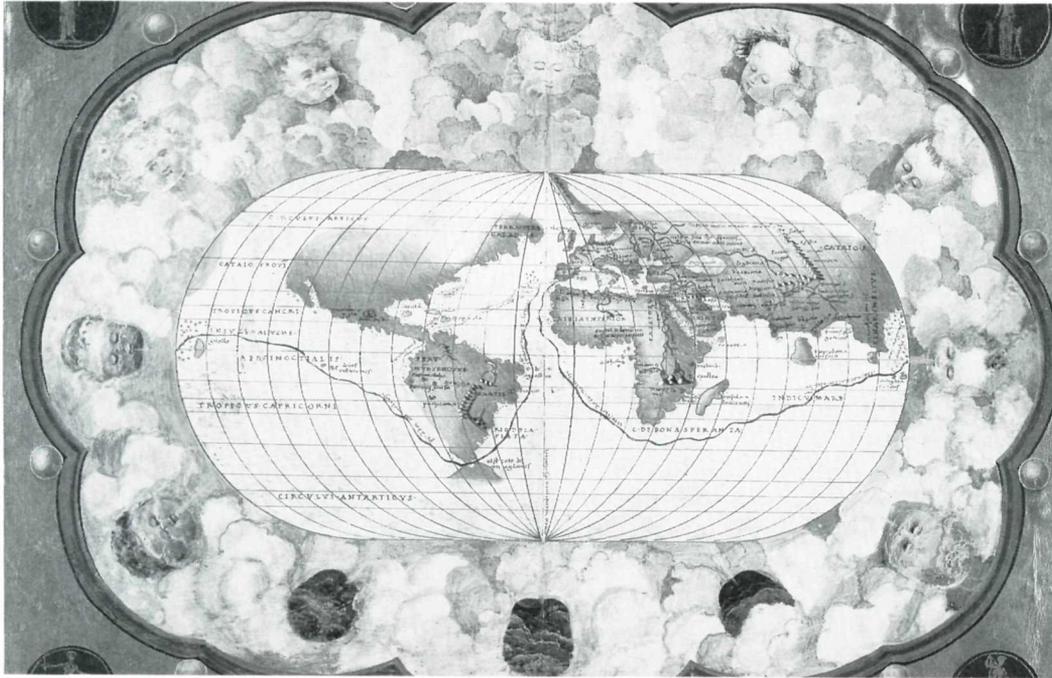
Based on this discussion, initial concepts were prepared and circulated prior to public hearings in the middle of 1989. As a result of the hearings, work began on a final draft of the *Alternatives Study and Environmental Assessment Columbus Landing Site*.

After resolution of a few concerns, the plan served as the basis for legislation introduced in July 1991 calling for the establishment of St. Croix, Virgin Islands Historical Park and Ecological Preserves.

Lenard Brown is the regional historian for the Southeast.



Codex Tovar. Photo courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI.



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