

Comparative Colonialism, the Spanish Black Legend, and Spain's Legacy in the United States: Perspectives on American Latino Heritage and Our National Story

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



by
Joseph P. Sánchez



por quanto los puertos del mar no son muy juntos, por lo qual se
conviene tener un puerto en cada una de las costas, para que se pueda
ir a puerto, y para a cada puerto se ha de tener un puerto de guerra, y
de figura de castillo, de modo que se vea de la tierra, y de la mar,
y de los puertos.

- 2 - ataca
- 4 - so cerra
- 5 - muelle de guerra
- 7 - San Juan
- 9 - muelle
- 11 - muelle del castillo de guerra
- 12 - San Lorenzo
- 13 - San Felipe
- 14 - S. Domingo
- 15 - Santiago
- 16 - San Pedro
- 17 - H. Maria
- 18 - Santiago
- 19 - S. Antonio
- 20 - San
- 21 - San Juan
- 22 - muelle
- 24 - S. Clara
- 25 - S. Gabriel arca de guerra
- 26 - S. Blas
- 27 - S. Marcos
- 28 - S. Juan

*Image on cover: Mapa del Nuevo Mexico c. 1602, by Enrique Martínez.
Copy available in Map Collection, NPS Spanish Colonial Research Center, University of New Mexico.*

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Contents

<i>i</i>	Introduction
1	The Ambiguity of Legitimacy: Entitlement and the Legacy of Colonialism Revisited
15	The Spanish Black Legend: Origins of Anti-Hispanic Stereotypes
25	Our National Story, the National Park Service, and American Latino Heritage
49	About the Author

Introduction

If your history is not respected, neither will you be in education, employment, the workplace, housing, justice, law, medicine, banking, the arts or any other institution in our society.

--Joseph P. Sánchez

The three essays presented in the following pages offer a global perspective of our national culture and history which has been little addressed beyond the halls of academia. In the 1950s and 1960s, as civil rights advocates took to the streets of the United States and demonstrated against social injustices, they represented a historical process which began with the signing of the U.S. Constitution of 1787. Over two hundred years later, we live in a democracy which has evolved with each phase of our national history. The Bill of Rights (1791) was the first step in clarifying our rights as citizens. Ironically, when it was promulgated, citizenship had yet to be defined constitutionally. In 1868, when the Fourteenth Amendment defined citizenship, its original draft excluded Indians “not taxed.” The American Indian would have to wait until the first decades of the twentieth century to gain citizenship status. Women as well had to wait; they did not receive the franchise until 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment was passed. At the same time, Hispanics in the southwestern U.S. (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California) were frequently in the courts defending their citizenship and property rights, which throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century were constantly being questioned, particularly in New Mexico and Arizona territories, by Anglo-Americans. The perception that Hispanics should not be considered citizens, especially after being incorporated into the United States under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), was erroneous. Indeed, numerous court cases point to a historical heritage in which Hispanics have been denied full acceptance in U.S. society.

The first essay offers a broader perspective on colonialism, not as we learned it in the first chapter of our history books, but rather as a capsule history of comparative colonialism and its influences on the evolving national histories around the world. When viewed on a national basis, English colonialism in the original Thirteen Colonies, for example, is romanticized and, as such, seen as benign. Despite the legacy of slavery and the wrongful treatment of Native American tribes from Jamestown (1607) to Wounded Knee (1890), this view justifies the exceptional origins and evolution of the United States through nationalistic eyes. Viewed globally, however, English colonialism can be seen in both its positive and negative outcomes: when compared with colonial histories and practices of other countries which practiced colonial

forms, none can be viewed as better than the other. In the historiography of the United States, notions of exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny play an important role in how our national history has been written and how our colonial past, as a part of our post colonial present, is viewed. Similarities emerge when colonial histories and practices of particular mother countries are examined in one or more areas of the world. One example is England's colonial heritage in the United States which in retrospect is seen as benevolent, but when viewed against the experience in Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), appears warped. Similarly, the seemingly contrasting French colonial experiences in Canada and Algeria expose French colonialism as no different from that of other colonial powers. Unique within the historiography of the United States, Spain, on the other hand, is viewed unfairly as "the evil empire," a perception which this essay aims to challenge.

The second essay presents a brief history of anti-Hispanic attitudes that evolved during colonial times and continue into the present. Not meant to be a definitive explanation of historical anti-Hispanic sentiments, the essay is a starting point for those who seek to understand the dynamics of social processes within a democratic context. The history of the Spanish Black Legend offers a model of historical stereotyping, which many minority groups have suffered. Native Americans, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and some European groups have gone through similar historical processes.

The third essay offers examples of how American Latino heritage is addressed as a part of our national story and historical diversity as a nation of pioneers and immigrants. Latino heritage and culture are very broad and inclusive concepts. Interpreting American Latino heritage is challenging, given that Latino/Hispanic culture is comprised of, at least, five heritages—Spanish, Indian, African, Asian, and Anglo-American. Equally so, the historical experiences of Latinos within the United States varies in both chronology and geography. Unlike Latinos on the east coast, with the exception of Florida which dates to the mid-1560s, Latinos in the Greater Southwest settled the area as early as 1598 in New Mexico, 1716 in Texas, 1769 in California, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Arizona, which is tied historically to Sonora, Mexico. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), which ended the Mexican-American War of 1846, Hispanics living in the ceded territories of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado were granted citizenship rights and protection of properties, which many of them had possessed, particularly in New Mexico, for over 200 years. Unlike Latinos living on the east coast of the United States, who came later, Hispanics in the southwest endured a longer period of discrimination that lasted into the twentieth century.

In the end, they left a juridical legacy of their struggle for civil and political rights as citizens of the United States.

Still, like early English founders of places in North America, Hispanic pioneers settled areas and founded cities in both North and South America. While the first two essays offer an explanation as to why we see each other the way we do, the third essay is an appeal for balance and fair play. Taken as a whole, the essays are not intended to deny historical events, but instead to show the damaging results of propaganda and biased historical interpretations. Like other minorities who have suffered discrimination, native populations around the world have had to struggle for their place in their respective societies. Both in old and emerging countries, democracy is an ideal, and each generation must defend and define it so that inclusion, not exclusion, is assured. In his article “Mythhistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians” (*The American Historical Review*, 91, Feb. 1986), William H. McNeill offers an admonition to those who persist in perpetuating historical falsehoods about a given people. He cautioned:

Historians, by helping to define “us” and “them,” play a considerable part in focusing love and hate, the two principal cements of collective behavior known to humanity. But myth making for rival groups has become a dangerous game... and we may well ask whether there is any alternative open to us.

Historians are by no means alone, nor are they collectively to be reproached, in the perpetuation of anti-Hispanic stereotypes.

In the case of Hispanics in the United States, negative stereotypes have impeded their struggle for acceptance, especially in education, housing, and the workplace. Despite Hispanic contributions to the preservation of our way of life, acknowledgement of their deeds has come slowly. Too few are aware of Hispanics’ roles in the American Revolution, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, and the Middle East. Few know of Hispanic contributions to science, medicine, law, and the arts. Indeed, the following essays underscore the challenge for all Americans to seek balance.

Anti-Hispanic stereotypes and attitudes have influenced and sometimes inhibited relationships between the United States and Latin America. These essays serve as a reminder that we ought to reflect on the common heritage we share with the rest of the Americas and other parts of the world. After more than 500 years of living together in the Western Hemisphere, one may ask: who

are we as a people and where are we going? One thing is certain; we were entrusted by those who came before us to preserve and protect not only the physical cultural resources on the ground, but also the cultural values and traditions embedded in language, folklore, religion, governance, and a myriad of practices associated with the historical processes that make up our diverse national story.

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The Ambiguity of Legitimacy: Entitlement and the Legacy of Colonialism Revisited

It is given a man, Sir, to attack the rights of others, seize their goods, assault the lives of those who defend their nationality, make of their virtues crimes and of one's own vices a virtue, but there is one thing beyond the reach of such perversity: the tremendous judgment of history.

--Benito Juárez to Maximilian, 1862

In the late twentieth century, the collapse of the Soviet Union as a neocolonial power and the impending end of apartheid in South Africa signified crushing blows to the inveterate concept of colonialism. As a transmitter of Western civilization, European colonialism is very much a part of the modern world. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, much of the world was under one colonial form of rule or another. Some powers did not relinquish control of their colonies until mid-century or later: Great Britain had lost India by 1948 and recognized the independence of Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), in 1965; and France relinquished its hold on Southeast Asia after the embarrassing defeat at Dienbienphu in 1954 and then lost Algeria in the early 1960s. Furthermore, both World Wars did much to shake loose the colonial hold certain powers had in other parts of the world. On the whole, however, some geographic areas continued to suffer through cycles of colonial domination as Spanish, French, Portuguese, English, and other powers replaced one another in certain lands. As nationalism superseded colonialism, the last power in control left its cultural stamp on the national character of its society. Colonialism and its kin, imperialism, are not concepts to be relegated to early chapters of history textbooks, but to be recognized as major influences in the way we presently view one another. When colonial powers are depicted globally and comparatively, a picture emerges of their similarities rather than their differences.

Subtle differences belie the definitions of colonialism and imperialism, and their scopes are broad and complicated. Immigration, exploitation of natural resources, and subjugation and control of native groups through intimidation and occupation of native lands are elements shared by both concepts. Generally, imperialism, which seeks control over another sovereign country and



Americae Sive Novi Orbis, ca. 1570, by Abraham Ortelius. Copy available in Map Collection, NPS Spanish Colonial Research Center, University of New Mexico.

its resources, means the temporary occupation of underdeveloped countries by industrialized nations. In his book, *The Colonial Revolution* (1973), Fenner Brockway maintained that later Marxists qualified the definition by describing it as exploitation by monopoly. On the other hand, colonialism relies on permanent occupation and establishment of sovereignty over both land and people. Respectively, imperialism and colonialism rely on military occupation, socio-economic policies, cultural dominance, and territorial expansion. Colonialism, however, goes a step further. Strictly speaking, its political and economic policies of domination stem from the generalized assumption of sovereignty over other territories and peoples. Unlike imperialistic forms of occupation, colonialism is intent on sovereign ownership of the land it occupies, in addition to its people and resources.

Neocolonialism refers to the maintenance of colonial or imperial forms following the recognition of independence. Closely related to neocolonialism are vestigial colonialism and imperialism, forms which may also be perpetuated through socio-economic control of ethnic minority groups by dominant societies within nations. The universality of Caio Prado's observation about vestigial colonialism is apparent. He wrote:

When we analyze the elements of contemporary Brazilian life—"elements" in their widest sense, geographical, economic, social, political—we find that the past, the colonial past...is still very noticeable, partly modified, to be sure, but nevertheless present in traces that cannot be denied.

Writing about another colonial experience which left a shadow of its former self, Frederick Jackson Turner echoes a similar sentiment in 1921, recognizing that long after the frontier period had ended in the United States, "the conception of society, the ideals and aspirations which it produced, persist in the minds of the people."

The motives for European immigration to the Americas have been recounted in diaries, memoirs, correspondence, histories, and textbooks, and fall into several categories that include adventure, economic advancement, freedom from religious persecution, and political asylum. Europeans did not come with the intent to destroy native cultures or cause demographic catastrophes, but rather in many cases, they saw through biased colonial eyes their occupation of the Americas as a positive historical force. Turner aptly synthesized the colonial experience in North America in his celebrated *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1893). He wrote, "Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into

the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them.”

Perhaps the broadest contribution made by European colonialism to the New World was in the form of four major common languages that transmitted Western civilization: English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese. Further, among the many European contributions to the Americas, colonialism introduced various denominations of Christianity, concepts of government, a written form of communication, art forms and architecture, science and medicine, and a technological base with tremendous future potential (in communications and transportation). Europeans were keenly aware that their technology had made Christopher Columbus’ first voyage possible. It was logical that science would become associated with the forces and agencies of colonialism. In *Colonialism and Science: Saint Domingue in the Old Regime* (1992), James E. McClellan III asserted that “it has almost gone without saying that the powers controlling colonization considered science and organized knowledge useful to their ends.” Much of today’s New World cultural and technological infrastructures are influenced by our colonial past.

Knowledge about native groups was compiled by colonials to help them determine policies for dealing with various tribes. Cartographers, for example, studied colonial reports in order to make maps that allowed others to learn about the locations of thousands of tribes in North and South America in relation to natural resources and trade routes. Sedentary, peaceful natives were quickly subjugated or enslaved, while warring tribes were driven out or exterminated by colonial powers. By the end of the eighteenth century, a Eurocentric sovereignty over natives of the Western Hemisphere was shared by England, Russia, Spain, France, Holland, Denmark, Portugal, and the United States.

In the Americas, imposed European sovereignty over native groups and their lands had been established by dint of discovery by Columbus. Utilizing the contract—one of Western civilization’s most prized instruments of control—Columbus received titles and royalties in return for claims in the name of Spain. Subsequently, the land grant was another contract by which Spanish settlers were given property in claimed areas. All Europeans did the same: for example, the English had their charters (proprietary, private, and royal); the Dutch introduced the Patroon System; and the French established the seigneurial system. In the eyes of all European courts, the Spanish land grant, the English charters, the Dutch patroonships, and the French seigneurials each provided legal documentation authorizing Europeans to claim lands in the Americas.

Contracts appropriately issued by sovereigns of any nation state permitted colonists to claim native or unoccupied lands. The contract was usually the first historical document for colonial political control over native peoples and territories, and through this document kings and queens assumed political ownership over lands claimed in their names. In his book, *The Spanish Empire in America* (1947), Clarence Haring explained that “the king possessed not only the sovereign rights but the property rights; he was the absolute proprietor, the sole political head, of his American dominions. Every privilege and position—economic, political, or religious—came from him. It was on that basis that conquest, occupation, and government of the New World were achieved.” The same is true of all other Western European monarchies.

Historically, colonial powers have been concerned more about competing with one another for domination of the world than with the rights of natives. Thus, a juridical theme runs throughout the history of colonialism. Nonetheless, historiographical explanations of colonialism have been misleading in regard to which European nations were most benign toward native groups. The native point of view, rarely conceded by colonials, is that their sovereignty was despoiled by outlandish Eurocentric claims to their territory in the New World. For them, all Europeans contributed to the demographic catastrophe that afflicted the indigenous world throughout the colonial period.

Life for Native Americans changed little in the transition from colonialism to nationalism. In the late 1960s, Clyde Warrior, a Ponca Indian from eastern Oklahoma and president of the National Indian Youth Council, addressed President Lyndon B. Johnson’s National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty in Memphis, Tennessee. His words expressed a pan-Indian sentiment: “We are not free. We do not make choices. Our choices are made for us. We are the poor.” The conquest of Native American groups in North America has a long history, from the first Columbian skirmishes in the Caribbean to the debacle at Wounded Knee in 1890, Brazilian clashes with Indians in the Amazon in the 1990s, and conflict with native groups in Chiapas, Mexico, at the turn of the twenty-first century.

Attitudes toward Indians were deeply engrained in U.S. culture and lore. Indeed, in the 1890s, such feelings were expressed by many White Americans, among them L. Frank Baum, author of the *Wizard of Oz* and editor of the *Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer* in South Dakota. Calling for the extermination of Indians, one of Baum’s oft-quoted statements in his editorials reads as follows:

The proud spirit of the original owners of these vast prairies inherited through centuries of fierce and bloody wars for their possession, lingered last in the bosom of Sitting Bull. With his fall the nobility of the Redskin is extinguished, and what few are left are a pack of whining curs who lick the hand that smites them. The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlements will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians. Why not annihilation? Their glory has fled, their spirit broken, their manhood effaced; better that they die than live the miserable wretches that they are.

Such attitudes influenced how tribes would be treated at the close of the Indian Wars.

Within the United States, historically at least, native tribes have been subjected to varied governmental policies designed to radically transform them through the process of acculturation. Among the nineteenth-century policies, forced removal resulted in the reservation system, boarding schools, and the land allotment policy. Due to the federal policy of allotment, Native American holdings plunged from 138 million acres in 1887 to 48 million acres by 1934. In the mid-twentieth century, the tribal sovereignty termination policy provoked hard feelings among the tribes against their government. In 1975, the United States Congress rejected the termination policy by passing the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which increased tribal control over local issues.

Thirty years after Clyde Warrior had spoken his poignant words, Robert B. Porter of the Haudenosaunee tribe wrote:

Exploring the roots of the problems affecting Indigenous societies first requires an investigation into the impact of European colonization on Indigenous lands and peoples. Colonialism is “the process by which a people exploit and/or annex the lands and resources of another people—who are usually of a different race or ethnicity—without their consent and unilaterally expand political power over them.” Because of the pervasiveness of the forced transformation of Indigenous societies associated with American colonialism, it is my view that colonialism

is the source of all problems afflicting the Indigenous nations in the United States, and thus, solutions to its crippling after effects must be addressed at the deepest levels so that these societies might one day be revitalized. For an Indigenous nation that is developing a particular policy agenda, engaging in such a historical inquiry is a critical first step towards achieving a meaningful outcome.

Porter hoped that through “indigenization” Native Americans could recover from the effects of colonialism. Indigenization, as a historical process around the world, can take many forms. In the context of Indian tribes within the United States, it can mean that native groups in formerly colonized areas can “take back their cultures.” Porter argued that “it seems to be a truism that the survival of Indigenous peoples within the United States depends upon the preservation of societies that are distinct from American society.” In that regard, the United States, at least on the federal level, has made a strong effort to aid the process by stressing the importance of heritage, inclusion, and diversity within its workforce.

The colonial competition for economic gain and land, the need for cheap labor, perpetuation of racial intolerance, arrogance, and the imposition of Christian religions on native groups combined to make Africa, North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and other areas, into strongholds for European white supremacy. Over large regions, Europeans regarded themselves as belonging to a master race. In 1891, Turner emphasized the primacy of the white pioneer by writing, “American colonization is part of a great historic movement—the Aryan migrations.” In the nineteenth century, Manifest Destiny became the doctrine postulating the belief that Divine Providence had empowered the Anglo-American westward movement to expand from sea to sea. Absorbed into European migration patterns through conquest, vassalage, or constitutional incorporations, non-whites were doomed politically and socially by their color to inferior positions. Colonial ethnic and racial minorities were reduced to second-class citizens in the name of maintaining the quality and character of European models and standards of society. For colonial minorities, cultural alienation became, not so much a norm, but a method for survival.

Colonial-native relations tended to establish a society in which European white supremacy was the basic rule. At the top of the social scale, the colonial European jealously guarded exclusive entitlement to political power, ownership of land, rights of employment, and other privileges denied to the natives. As entitlement flowed from the sovereign, they tended to favor their countrymen over natives and other European counterparts. Writing in 1961, Frantz Fanon offered

his observations about French-Algerian relations, concluding that:

The originality of the colonial context is the economic reality, inequality and the immense difference of ways of life never come to mark the human realities.... It is evident that what parcels out the world is...the fact of belonging or not belonging to a given race.... In the colonies the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich.

Policies of exclusivism, in which only European colonials could benefit from the sovereign's favoritism, have acted to establish the belief that entitlement is a birthright to be enjoyed by members of the dominant group. Historically, between the colonials and natives existed countless mixed-bloods, considered just above Indians and Africans in the colonial context. Natives and mixed-blood minorities quickly learned their place in colonial societies.

Interest in the indigenous groups developed as part of the European exploitation of nature, for cheap labor necessitated the adaptation of Old World systems of servitude and slavery to the Americas. Whenever native peoples were unavailable or unwilling to serve as cheap labor, other non-native groups, such as African or indentured European servants, were brought in to do the work. As for European indentured servants and other common laborers who made up the great majority of colonists, they held lowly positions, lived marginally, and worked for the benefit of others for meager wages or in-kind payment. In relating cheap labor to European colonial and neo-colonial forms, Clarence Haring wrote in 1947 that "it is an age-old problem which has persisted since the days of Columbus: The problem of finding a stable economic basis for European occupation and development of new, productive lands...has not yet been satisfactorily solved. Cheap native labor can only be had under compulsion. Yet if the settlements are to be maintained, life in them must be made both attractive and profitable for the European pioneer." Through the daily lives of the exploited, European colonial interests influenced the cultural life of much of the New World.

Colonials maintained control over ethnic minorities within their jurisdiction by establishing social boundaries through intimidation, prejudice, discrimination, and extreme forms of segregation. Through military force and superior technology, colonials used intimidation to coerce native and minority groups into submission. Generally, colonials much preferred the object lesson

approach rather than the destruction of native groups. Control of native groups was the preferred alternative to enterprising colonials who required exploitable cheap labor for their investments. As a result, troublesome groups or individuals who resisted coercion suffered the consequences of colonial justice. Removal or extermination of war-like native groups, however, often led to the introduction of African slavery into areas that lacked exploitable manpower.

Through prejudicial practices, colonials labeled their subjects with names like *metis*, *mestizo*, *sambo*, *octoroon*, *quadroon*, and other designations that relegated natives and mixed-bloods to inferior social positions. Through discrimination, colonials actively denied natives and mixed bloods full participation within their sphere of influence. The meager legal status afforded minorities ensured European colonials their entitlement to ownership of land, political rights and offices, decision-making process, employment, and many other privileges. Through segregation, colonials guaranteed that natives and mixed-bloods could not share in the amenities of their world. The vestigial existence of separate but equal facilities and other Jim Crow laws and practices grew out of colonial policies based on extreme forms of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation. Through policies akin to apartheid, colonials justified the removal of natives, eventually developing the Indian reservation system in the nineteenth century. Moreover, apartheid became evident around the world, especially in places such as Soweto in South Africa. The colonial legacy of these methods and policies has assured the perpetuity of white supremacy through racist practices and policies.

Antiquated laws against miscegenation, which branded mixed bloods with the stamp of illegitimacy, were enforced well into the late twentieth century in North America. Historian Magnus Mörner observed that:

From a Latin American nationalistic point of view, it seems that *Hispanidad*, Africanism, indigenism, and *mestizaje*, as symbols, have served one and the same purpose, prolonging the historical perspective and creating links with the past that are especially required in the New World.... They help to deepen and to broaden nationalism.... But it is paradoxical that this change occurs precisely when miscegenation has become practically invisible, when acculturation is being accelerated everywhere in the far-flung regions, and when the individual's racial characteristics are beginning to lose their importance in society.

In 1966, James Farmer came to a similar conclusion about the American South. He wrote, “We will not be complete until America is cleansed of the filth of legislating whom one may not marry.”

Rivalry between colonial powers left a different kind of legacy. As colonial powers replaced one another in certain geographic areas, the last power in control established its sovereignty and domination over inhabitants within its jurisdiction. For example, when English colonials subjugated Canada, the French were reduced to second-class citizens and Native Americans also were pushed further down the social ladder. The French Canadian desire for an independent Quebec symbolized the struggle against vestigial English colonial social boundaries imposed on them in 1763. Similar historical processes played out in the Greater American Southwest and Puerto Rico. The old English-Spanish rivalry resulted in negative anti-Hispanic stereotypes that continue to affect domestic and international relationships between the two groups to this day. Hatred resulting from sixteenth-century English anti-Spanish propaganda in the form of the Black Legend spilled across the Mississippi River, as Anglo-American frontiersmen invaded western lands held by Hispanic settlers. Symbolized by the 1836 fall of the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas, the Black Legend took on an intensive anti-Mexican character. As Anglo-American culture, which is based on English colonial forms and lore, dominated the Southwest and other regions within the United States, Hispanics and Native Americans found themselves as strangers in their own land. In the tradition of colonial prejudicial practices, ethnocentric employers, educators, clergymen, politicians, textbook writers, journalists, electronic media reporters, and others, often promote negative stereotypes of minorities. In bicultural areas such as the southwestern United States and Puerto Rico, historical stereotypical name-calling continues.

Social boundaries are sometimes perpetuated in subtle ways. History textbooks, in particular, have been remiss in presenting a more complete picture of colonialism. In their enthusiasm to defend patriotic causes, influential nineteenth-century nationalistic historians of the United States lost sight of the fact that all colonials are motivated by the same basic objectives. Under the guise of American exceptionalism, they attempted to paint a picture of a nation that does good in a world that does evil. Through the lens of national history, for example, appeared the popular notion that democracy grew out of English colonialism. The opposite, however, is true: democracy is the antithesis of colonialism. Democracy grew out of a rebellion against colonialism and its monarchical ties. Furthermore, nationalistic mythographers in the United States have portrayed English colonialism as “good” and Spanish colonialism as “evil.” To them, English colonials came to North America to escape the injustice of the Old World, while Spanish colonials came to satisfy

their greed for gold and, finding none, turned to raping native women, killing their men, enslaving their children, and pillaging their villages. In the context of colonialism, however, the English colonial destroyed and built as much as their Spanish, Portuguese, and French counterparts.

The relationship between national mythography and the colonial world view is paradoxical, as mythographers tend to deny the latter. Staughton Lynd, for example, referred to denial by influential turn-of-the-century historians of the significance of slavery: "The day when slavery will be recognized as one of the two or three distinctive themes in the American experience... it will seem grotesque that historians of the 1950s proposed 'equality' as the concept which best enclosed the meaning of American history." Still, social boundaries established through colonial practices of inequality perpetuate the concept of entitlement as a birthright for members of dominant societies. Entitlement is seen readily in the way dominant societies write history and erect monuments to colonial heroes. Despite a historically anti-colonial stance, Latin America, in general, continued to follow the colonial paradigm in the class struggle that followed its development from revolution to nationalism.

Although glorification of its colonial past has been accepted rhetorically in Latin America, oppression of native and ethnic groups has continued. Likewise, Anglo America continues to celebrate its colonial image, for example, in reconstructed English colonial villages which serve as monuments to idealized values of the English tradition. Such monuments exemplify colonial heroes as statesmen who held ideals of equality and who dreamed of democracy. Yet, for hundreds of years, only white males over the age of twenty-one were permitted to own property, vote, hold office, and otherwise enjoy all the legal and social benefits of their society. Moreover, the duality of entitlement was mirrored in such practices as the denial of Indian citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment and the disfranchisement of African Americans, Hispanics, and other minorities. Within the historical processes of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, civil rights legislation eventually reinforced the tenets of democracy.

Entitlement feeds on the omission of the positive role of minorities in the context of local, state, and national stories. Where native influences had not been obliterated or suppressed by colonial efforts, native resistance came to be expressed in a distinctive anti-colonial literature. Certainly, India's national historians do not see their experience with England the same way as do writers of the thirteen American colonies who tend to glorify English traditions. Mohandas Karamchand Ghandi's struggle for justice within the British Empire clearly demonstrated native resistance to English rule. Not until the 1960s did Native Americans in the United States lift the veil of silence

to rebut the historiography of the United States. Dee Brown challenged the narrative in his book, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970). Of the colonial past in North America Brown wrote, “It was an incredible era of violence, greed, audacity, sentimentality, undirected exuberance, and an almost reverential attitude toward the ideal of personal freedom for those who already had it.”

Nor are Algerian writers in agreement with the Canadians about the benevolence of French colonialism. Frantz Fanon painted a disturbing picture about the French regime in Algeria. Angrily and graphically, he stated, “The Algerian, exposed to temptations to commit murder every day—famine, eviction from his room because he has not paid the rent, the mother’s dried-up breasts, children like skeletons, the building-yard which has closed down, the unemployed that hang about the foreman like crows—the native comes to see his neighbor as a relentless enemy.” Neither will South Africans extol the virtues of the Dutch Afrikaners, historically known as the Boers, as do English-speaking writers about the industrious Dutch colonials in North America and the Antilles.

As Fanon would have predicted, feelings against the colonial past often simmer underneath the veil of acculturation and gestures of equality. In March 2010, old wounds reopened in South Africa when Julius Sello Malema, a member of the Pedi Tribe and community organizer deemed a “future leader” of South Africa, spoke at a rally on a university campus. At the rally, Malema sang a version of “Shoot the Boers,” a song sung by Peter Mokaba in the early 1990s. The South African Human Rights Commission had proclaimed the song to be a form of “hate speech.” The African National Congress (ANC) defended Malema’s right to expression. On March 10, 2010, the Southern Gauteng High Court ruled that singing the song continuously at a public gathering was “unconstitutional and unlawful,” given that the song called for the killing of the “farmer/white man” and could incite people to murder. Malema was barred from singing the song, pending an appeal. When he visited Zimbabwe on April 2, 2010, however, he was greeted at the airport by supporters who chanted the words “Kill the Boer!” The purpose of his visit to Zimbabwe was to attend a meeting dealing with indigenization. Such situations create danger and uneasiness in formerly colonized areas of the world.

In examining comparative neocolonial systems, Fenner Brockway concluded that “America, which boasted of its anti-colonialism, became the chief neocolonial power in this respect.” The double-edged, neocolonial policies governing foreign affairs are commonly reflected in nations with undercurrents of vestigial colonial attitudes in domestic policies and practices. Before 1960 few, if any, monuments in the United States commemorated minority historical figures who were

the objects of slavery or conquest. One of the first anti-colonial heroes in the modern United States was Martin Luther King, Jr. The non-acceptance of monuments, commemorations, and the holiday in his honor reflect the entrenchment of vestigial colonial values in some quarters. Likewise, neocolonial attitudes are present in Mexico and other parts of Latin America. There, the “noble Indian” is commemorated in monuments, and native cultures are showcased in arts and crafts and tourism, while at the same time native groups are denied participation in the broader society. Similarly, national histories perpetuate vestigial colonial values that favor dominant societies and deny the positive roles of ethnic minorities, often relegating their historical participation to obscurity or ridiculing it. It is a truism that if one’s history is not respected neither shall he or she be respected in education, in banking, in justice, in housing, in employment, and in society as a whole.

The colonial world view has been under attack since the first shot of the American Revolution echoed across the hemisphere to Mexico and the rest of Latin America. Still, negative colonial forms persist throughout the Western hemisphere. The social boundaries established through prejudice, discrimination, segregation, and apartheid are part of vestigial colonial practices that affect the workplace, the classroom, the courtroom, and other social and legal institutions of former colonial societies. For example, the inner cities of Anglo North America bear the weight of vestigial colonialism. Moreover, the glass ceiling of upward mobility permits minorities and women to see the top of the employment ladder but impedes their progress, evincing the perpetuation of colonial, or at least, neocolonial forms of discrimination. The development of affirmative action programs and equal employment opportunity legislation seeks to redress vestigial colonial practices and their legacy.

In less enlightened post colonial societies, the correctives to social injustice are less complex, usually culminating in successive waves of civil disobedience leading to revolution. The historical process for ending or at least loosening the grip of colonialism can take many forms: in Australia, it took the form of an apology. With the words, “For the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry,” the Australian government apologized in 2008 to “the stolen generations” of children of Aboriginal descent who had been removed from their parents (usually their Aboriginal mothers) to be raised in white foster-homes, institutions administered by governments, and Christian churches in Australia. This practice lasted from the early twentieth century to the 1970s. On the other hand, enlightened policies of inclusion and cultural diversity, such as those practiced today on the federal level of the United States, offer better alternatives to the colonial legacy.

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The Spanish Black Legend: Origins of Anti-Hispanic Stereotypes

If only in pursuit of excellence, it would be worth the efforts of our scholars to embark upon extensive revision of our educational processes pertaining to the Hispanic world.

--Philip Wayne Powell, 1971

During the Golden Age of Spain, the great Spanish writer, Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas, wrote *España Defendida* (1604), in which he called attention to a malaise that pervaded Spanish-English diplomatic relations. Quevedo pointed out that anti-Spanish propaganda and misconceptions were deeply rooted in the lore of Protestant Europe. Over 300 years later, in 1914, another Spanish intellectual, Julián Juderías, observed that anti-Spanish misconceptions had continued to develop unabated long after their usefulness as propaganda had been served. Juderías argued that anti-Spanish, indeed, anti-Hispanic distortions in both Europe and the Americas, constituted a *Leyenda Negra*, or a black legend.

Sixty years after Juderías coined the phrase “Black Legend,” academicians in the United States, responding to the Civil Rights Movement and the Chicano Movement, sought to understand historical anti-Hispanic attitudes which had continued to affect public policies at home and foreign relations with Spain and Latin America. They concluded that the Black Legend had resulted in beliefs that Hispanics were inherently evil. The centuries-old anti-Spanish propaganda had developed a folkloristic nature of its own with far-reaching effects and had created a false stereotype of Hispanics.

The main premise upon which the Black Legend rested was the fear, envy, and dislike—or even hatred—of Spain by those nation-states that clashed with Spanish power shortly after Columbus’ New World discoveries. Spain and Portugal, by dint of their discoveries and explorations, won exclusive approval from Pope Alexander VI for their claims to the Americas. Other Western European nations did not agree. King Francis I of France quipped, “I fain would see Adam’s will to learn how he partitioned the world.”

JULIAN JUDERIAS

LA
LEYENDA NEGRA

Y LA
VERDAD HISTÓRICA

CONTRIBUCIÓN (AL ESTUDIO) DEL
CONCEPTO DE ESPAÑA EN EUROPA DE
LAS ORÍGENES DE ESTE CONCEPTO Y DE
SU INFLUENCIA RELIGIOSA Y POLÍTICA
EN LOS PAÍSES CIVILIZADOS.

MADRID

TIP. DE LA "REV. DE ARCH., BIBL. Y MUSEOS"

Olózaga, 1.—Teléfono 3.185.

1914

La Leyenda Negra y La Verdad Histórica, by Julián Juderías (1914).

Despite the belligerent efforts of England and France, the Spanish sphere of influence grew into an empire that stretched from North Africa, west across the Americas, and to the Philippines. By the end of the 1700s, Spain's North Pacific claims, including Alaska, were anchored by a chain of settlements in California from San Francisco to San Diego. The interior portion of the claim was effectively held by outposts at Tucson in Arizona, Santa Fe in New Mexico, and San Antonio on the Texas frontier. To the east, St. Louis and New Orleans along the Mississippi River began a series of Spanish towns that stretched to Mobile, Pensacola, Tallahassee, and St. Augustine, Florida. From there to the southern tip of South America, Spanish missions, presidios, and towns dotted the imperial Spanish map. Widespread Spanish colonialism became a source of gossip for the propagandists who despised Spain's grip on the New World.

While Spain's claim to the New World had become a source of contention among the "have-not" nations, another historical trend fueled the flames of anti-Spanish propaganda. In 1517, the Protestant Reformation erupted in Europe. Spain and Portugal remained staunchly loyal to Roman Catholicism and claimed to be the conservators of the One True Faith. Before the Reformation had run its course, England, France, Germany, the Dutch Lowlands, and several other nations had aligned themselves with Protestantism. The schism shook all of Europe, with Christendom splitting on points of doctrine and the recognition of the papacy. The resulting Catholic-Protestant antagonisms stimulated a new challenge to Spain. The argument was one of religious orthodoxy, and Spain responded by establishing the Holy Office of the Inquisition, an old European institution which France and Italy had used previously to ensure religious conformity within their realms. The objectives of the Spanish Holy Office were to keep Catholicism pure of heresy and to maintain religious orthodoxy and cultural conformity among the Spanish vassalage. Contrary to popular belief, Jews and Lutherans were not the only targets of the Catholic Church in Spain and the Empire; the Inquisition courts most severely punished Spanish Catholics who strayed from the faith. But neither Spain's powerful claim to the New World, nor the anti-Catholic attitudes among Protestant Europeans alone were enough to cause Spain to become a scapegoat for European frustrations and jealousies of the period. Ironically, Spanish efforts to administer justice and to reform some of her colonial practices encouraged her rivals' machinations.

Far from the European courts, missionary priests in the wilds of the New World worked to Christianize Indians and to establish a colonial presence. The Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas argued that under Spanish law Indians had legal status, but in practice Indian rights were not often observed. Although conquistadors had been brought to court and imprisoned for abuses of such laws, Las Casas believed that not enough had been done to right the situation,

especially in the area of Indian tribute and servitude. In 1542, after years of collecting information related to violations of Indian rights by Spaniards, Las Casas submitted a report titled *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* (*A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*) to the Hapsburg emperor, Charles V (Charles I of Spain).

The Spanish king knew that Las Casas sought to reform the tribute collecting system, which had wreaked havoc on Indian populations and their economies. The *encomienda*, a grant of people for the purpose of tribute, often was used as a guise for indentured servitude or outright slavery, if the tribute was not paid. Aside from crusading for the abolition of the *encomienda*, Las Casas complained that the military conquest of the Americas had been more traumatic than previously understood, and subsequently he called for the restriction of the license to conquer. As the Protector of the Indians, Las Casas asked for reform and social experimentation that would result in Indians and Spaniards coexisting in a modified colonial society. After reading the report, King Charles had his council debate it, and decided in favor of reform. The result was the New Laws of 1542. When word of the abolition of the *encomienda* reached *encomenderos* and investors, rioting occurred in Peru and Mexico, and the king was petitioned. Because of the outcry, the *encomienda*, which was as old as the Moorish Wars, was given new life.

When Fray Bartolomé de las Casas began his crusade for reform, he collected data to support his claim that Spaniards abused Indians. The negative examples he gave in his report were intended to excite the king and his court to action. In his *Relación*, Las Casas focused on only one relationship between Spaniards and Indians characterized by acts of abuse. Fray Bartolomé, however, did not discuss other relationships such as inter-marriage between the two groups, actual friendships that had developed among them, religious affiliations which created a spiritual bond and obligation, or the many kinships that had resulted throughout the Americas. For his report, Las Casas looked principally at the negative effects of colonialism in order to plead his case for reform. He did his job admirably. After 1542, the king issued more reformist laws, and finally the Laws of 1572 brought the period of conquest to an end. Slowly the evolutionary pattern of colonial-native relationships had been enhanced. If nothing else, Las Casas had succeeded in his efforts to bring the plight of Indians to the attention of the king.

Anti-Spanish propagandists soon subverted Fray Bartolomé's claims. Some years after Las Casas' effort to reform the Indies had run its course, the Dutch, English, and French acquired a copy of his report and published it. Within a few years, translations of Las Casas' *Relación* circulated in the Protestant countries of Europe. Spain's foes claimed that the report was proof of Catholic

Spain's bigotry. Catholic Spaniards, they wrote, had exterminated and brutalized Indians. Artist Theodore de Bry sketched pictures of Spaniards torturing and killing Indians at will. Unwittingly, Las Casas had given the propagandists verbal ammunition to describe Spaniards as depraved and cowardly people who had committed crimes against defenseless natives. The Spaniards must have wished that the English, Dutch, and French had a Bartolomé de las Casas among them to write of *their* colonial enterprises in North America!

Spawned in the international rivalry of the sixteenth century, *La Leyenda Negra* grew from its roots in the anti-Spanish propaganda disseminated by Spain's rivals in the Dutch Lowlands, England, France, and Germany. Fueled by the Protestant Reformation and predicated on a simplistic and faulty analysis of historical information, the propaganda promoted the falsehood that historically Hispanics were *uniquely* cruel, bigoted, tyrannical, lazy, violent, treacherous, and depraved. Religious in character, the alleged depravity of Hispanics hinted at some unforgivable Original Sin that preyed upon the legitimacy of Hispanic culture throughout the world. Thus, the anti-Spanish propaganda of the past created the body of misconceptions known as the Black Legend and formed the basis of anti-Hispanic stereotypes of today.

In the next four centuries, the Black Legend endured and grew, especially whenever conflict arose between the English- and Spanish-speaking worlds. In the 1800s, four events revived and perpetuated Black Legend stereotypes: the Texas Revolt (1836); the Mexican-American War (1846-1848); the California Gold Rush and westward movement (1849-1856); and the Spanish-American War (1898). Each event was characterized by conflict and an anti-Hispanic campaign during which publishers of books and newspapers drew on the misconceptions of *la Leyenda Negra* for inspiration.

The anti-Spanish attitudes of the basically European Black Legend were transferred to the American westward tradition as Anglo-Americans expanded into Mexican territory. After the fall of the Alamo in 1836 during the Texas Revolt, the propagandists merely juggled the slogans "Remember the Armada" and "Remember the Alamo" to suit the times. Many Texan ballads featured the "cowardly, untrustworthy Mexicans;" one of them, "The Ballad of Ben Milam," commemorated Milam, the first Texas hero, who in real life was considered a "ne'er-do-well" by his Anglo and Mexican contemporaries. The "Ballad of Ben Milam," like others of the period, was filled with anti-Mexican sentiment:

They're the spawn of Hell,
We heard him tell,
They will knife and lie and cheat.
At the board of none
Of that swarthy horde
Would I deign to sit at meat.
They held it not
That I bled and fought
When Spain was their ruthless foe.
O, who will follow old Ben Milam
To San Antonio?

Although Milam died months before the fateful fall of the Alamo, the propagandist balladeer would have him die there with the hapless 180 Texans (some of whom were Mexicans), in order to enhance his stature as a Texas hero. In time, the Alamo, once a Spanish mission on a perilous Texas frontier, became an anti-Mexican shrine.

Ten years after the Texas Revolt, the Mexican-American War expanded Black Legend sentiments in order to justify Anglo-American aggression. Manifest Destiny expounded the belief that God had blessed and preordained U.S. expansion and, parenthetically, the punishment of Mexico for its depravity. To some of the victors, Protestantism had triumphed over Catholicism. Several schools of thought concerned the belief that Mexicans were inferior as a race: one held that only through U.S. intervention could Mexicans be regenerated as a people. Such discussions were not only printed in newspapers throughout the United States, but debated in the U.S. Congress as well. The result of such efforts to discredit Mexico and justify war was a widespread belief that the God-forsaken Mexicans were unworthy of the valuable resources and land they had inherited from Spain. Fact gave way to lore and the propagandists prevailed. After the discovery of gold in California in 1848, "Gold Rushers" overran the land from Texas to California, using Mexican villages as places for safety and rest. Some never reached the California goldfields and settled in or near Mexican towns. Generally, they viewed the Mexicans as an inferior and conquered people.

In the years between the Gold Rush and the Spanish-American War, the Black Legend took on new meaning. Anti-Mexican practices, similar to those inspired by the Jim Crow laws which would discriminate against free Blacks after the Civil War, occurred throughout the Southwest. Law enforcers in the ceded Mexican Territory—sometimes modeled after the Texas Rangers—

justified murdering innocent Mexicans by relying on the time-honored beliefs that Mexicans were treacherous, cowardly, and instinctively had a “cruel streak” which, in turn, must be dealt with cruelly. Almost dispossessed of land and rights, Mexican-Americans used every means to defend themselves, including the court system. But the stereotypes that had influenced palaver, newspaper accounts, American literature, and published diaries, almost irretrievably had damaged any Mexican-American hope for justice. Indeed, Mexican-Americans began to see themselves as others saw them, as “foreigners in a foreign land.”

During the 1800s, the Black Legend spread quickly through publications which popularized the stereotypic character of Hispanics. One reporter for the *Missouri Republican* (April 29, 1847) for example, characterized New Mexico as “a country with but few exceptions inhabited by ignorant, dishonest, treacherous men; and by women who believe scarcely what virtue is beyond the name.” In another account, Joel L. Poinsett, U.S. Consul to Mexico in 1822, quoted an anonymous visitor who viewed Mexicans as lazy and immoral, and whose “occupation seems to consist, principally, in removing fleas and lice from each other, drinking *pulque*, smoking cigars when they can, and sleeping.” Poinsett’s secretary, Edward Thornton Taylor, wrote that Mexicans were “ignorant, vicious, thieving, and incapable of governing themselves as republicans.” Other published accounts written for an English-speaking audience expressed similar ethnocentric views, and were nothing short of name-calling. Moreover, generalizations in print reinforced the oral tradition, as newspapers, diaries, and short stories provided the “evidence” for Hispanic depravity.

At the end of the 1800s, the Black Legend was over 300 years old. One event consolidated the anti-Hispanic attitudes and tied them directly to the Black Legend: the “splendid little war” of 1898 between the United States and Spain. In addition to the propaganda of yellow journalism, in 1898, a translated version of Las Casas’ *Brevísima Relación* was published in New York with the title *An Historical and True Account of the Cruel Massacre and Slaughter of 20,000,000 of People in the West Indies by the Spaniards*; it included the sketches by Theodore de Bry. The war cry “Remember the Maine” became synonymous with “Remember the Alamo.” Not surprisingly, the following decade Julián Juderías undertook his study of the centuries-old war of propaganda and gave it a name—*La Leyenda Negra*.

If the nineteenth century revived the Black Legend as a tool for discrediting the Hispanic world, then the twentieth century in its own way has perpetuated the myth. Nineteenth-century historians such as Francis Parkman, George Bancroft, John Lothrop Motley, and William H.

Prescott are widely published with little explanation about their role in the historiography of the Black Legend. In *Tree of Hate* (1971), Philip Wayne Powell studied their writings, concluding that they fashioned their views “upon earlier foundations the concepts of Spain that remain with us today. The four historians are simply the best known and most influential; they dominated American writing for 50 years.” According to Powell, they wrote as Protestant Nordic preachers and were all anti-Catholic. As such, they imbued their writings with an uncritical concept of Nordic superiority and portrayed Nordics as heroes. Latins, especially Spaniards, were depicted as villains. Fitted into the sparkling prose of their writing styles, their version of Spanish history was far from factual and innocuous. For example, in *Pioneers of France in the New World* (1881), Francis Parkman wrote eloquently, but falsely:

The monk, the inquisitor and the Jesuit were lords of Spain—sovereigns of her sovereign, for they formed the dark and narrow mind of that tyrannical recluse. They had formed the minds of her people, quenched in blood every spark of rising heresy, and given over a noble nation to a bigotry blind...as the doom of fate. Linked with pride, ambition, avarice, every passion of a rich, strong nature, potent for good and ill, it made the Spaniard of that day a scourge as dire as ever fell on man...Spain was the citadel of darkness....

Thus the “God, Glory, and Gold” school of history was born.

In more recent years, historians, popular writers, and textbook authors have unwittingly or unintentionally lent their prestige to the legend. Walter Prescott Webb, one of the most distinguished historians produced by Texas, wrote a definitive study, at least from an Anglo-American point of view, titled *The Texas Rangers* (1935). As an authority on Texas history, he wrote of the Mexican:

Without disparagement, it may be said that there is a cruel streak in the Mexican nature, or so the history of Texas would lead one to believe. This cruelty may be a heritage from the Spanish of the Inquisition; it may, and doubtless should, be attributed partly to the Indian blood.... The Mexican warrior...was, on the whole, inferior to the Comanche and wholly unequal to the Texan. The whine of the leaden slugs stirred in him an irresistible impulse to travel with rather than against

the music. He won more victories over the Texans by parley than by force of arms. For making promises— and for breaking them—he had no peer.

In his most distinguished work, *The Great Plains* (1931), Professor Webb further contributed to the Black Legend's longevity. Webb argued that the Spanish "failure" on the Great Plains is attributed partly to the Spanish character on the frontiers of Texas and New Mexico. He blamed miscegenation with the Mexican Indian, "whose blood, when compared with that of the Plains Indian, was ditch water." Without question, the Black Legend sentiment survives within the very backbone of our educational system—the scholarly monograph and the school textbook.

In today's popular media, elements of the legend are obvious in newsprint, television programs, and Hollywood depictions of Hispanics. Over the course of four centuries, the Black Legend made the jump from a few quill-written copies of Las Casas' *Relación* to the automated and electronic production of literature, and an electronic medium which projects moving images in support of yesterday's propaganda. Ignorance perpetuates *la Leyenda Negra*.

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Our National Story, the National Park Service, and American Latino Heritage¹

The National Park Service preserves unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future generations. The Park Service cooperates with partners to extend the benefits of natural and cultural resource conservation and outdoor recreation throughout this country and the world.

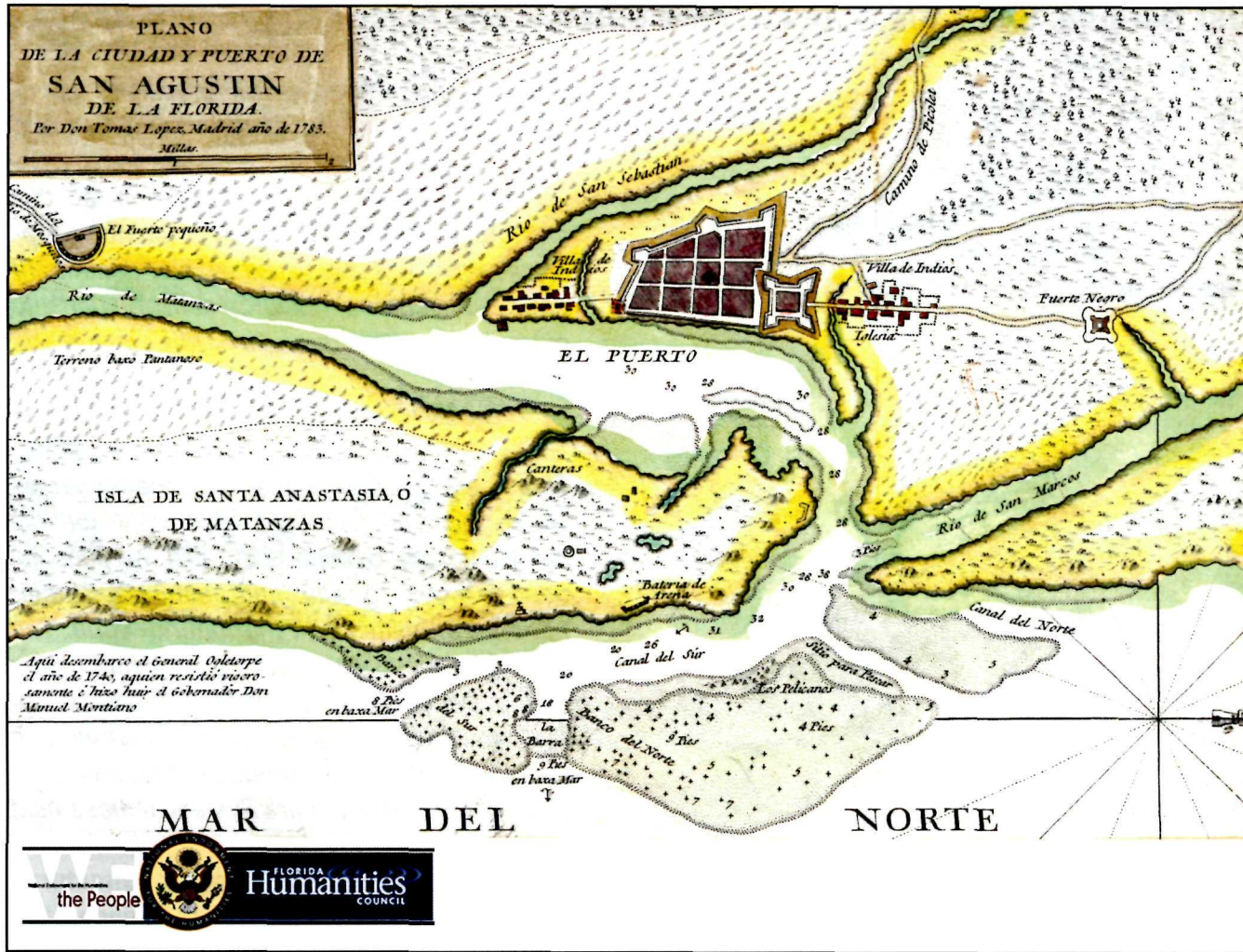
--The Mission of the National Park Service

There are serious gaps and inadequacies which must be remedied while opportunities still exist if the System is to fulfill the peoples' need always to see and understand their heritage of history and the natural world. You should continue your studies to identify gaps in the system and recommend to the areas that would fill them. It is my hope that we can make a significant contribution in rounding out more of the National Park System in these next few years.

**--George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director of
the National Park Service, 1972**

From its early years, the leadership of the National Park Service understood that in our nation of immigrants there were stories of people who migrated to North America long before the first

¹ The American Latino Heritage Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary was produced by the National Park Service's Heritage Education Services, in partnership with the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers. Carol Shull, Interim Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places and Chief, Heritage Education Services, National Park Service, developed the concept for the itinerary, edited it, and provided overall management of its production. Please see http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/The_National_Park_Service_and_American_Latino_Heritage.html.



Detail of Spanish Colonial Florida Map Showing the City and Port of Saint Augustine, 1783, by Tomás López de Vargas Machuca. Copy available in Map Collection, NPS Spanish Colonial Research Center, University of New Mexico.

Englishman set foot on the eastern shores of what is now the United States. By the middle of the twentieth century, the National Park Service reconsidered the notion of prehistory, which cast into oblivion cultures that predated the arrival of the first Europeans who came to discover, explore, and establish colonial settlements in North America. The National Park Service also acknowledged that, in the process of the western expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century, the histories of previous colonizing powers and cultures had been subsumed and mostly forgotten. In the twenty-first century, the National Park Service is committed to expand the narrative of our national story by examining the broader global implications of our national experience.

The National Park Service initially focused on Spanish colonial history as the main vehicle to present the Latino heritage story, anchoring the story in a number of small parks across the country that emphasized exploration and missionization of native groups by Franciscan friars. While exploration and missionization were common themes of Spanish colonial history, settlement, which represented the basis of Latino heritage, was largely ignored. Proclaimed in 1906, the first National Park Service area with a Spanish colonial theme was El Morro National Monument, which emphasized exploration at a time in Latino history when the settlement of New Mexico (1598) represented the major Spanish colonial enterprise. Similarly, Salinas Pueblo Culture National Monument (proclaimed 1909; name change 1980) focused on the missionization of pueblos, but did not include Santa Fe, New Mexico (founded in 1610), the colonial settlement from which the mission effort emanated.

By the mid-twentieth century, the National Park System included three other parks related to Latino heritage—Cabrillo National Monument (proclaimed 1913), Coronado National Memorial (authorized 1941), and De Soto National Monument (authorized 1948). In these examples, Latino heritage centered on sixteenth-century exploration and conflict between explorers and American Indian tribes. Nevertheless, the complete story of the Latino diaspora and settlement patterns of Spanish North America as a part of our national story went untold.

Well into the twentieth century, Spanish colonial history remained misunderstood and suffered from the propaganda created in an earlier time and sustained for over four centuries. As seen in the previous essay, the main contributor to misconceptions was the Spanish Black Legend, which promoted the notion that Spanish colonials came to exterminate Indians and destroy cultures and were therefore unworthy of any divine blessings or human acknowledgement. Spawned in the sixteenth-century Spanish-English rivalry that ended in England winning the war of propaganda,

the Black Legend perpetuated negative and stereotypical notions about Spain and its people in the Americas. Thus, the dichotomy of England as the “good empire” and Spain as the “evil empire” became solidified in U.S. lore, history, and literature. The Spanish Black Legend has contributed to the diminished role of Latinos in our national story.

Negative beliefs about Spain prevailed and became embedded in U.S. history textbooks. Very little in textbooks revealed much about Spanish colonial enterprises, settlement, and governance other than the role of exploration and conquest in our national story. Textbooks do not mention that, long before the House of Burgesses in Virginia or the New England Town Meeting, the Spanish established the “town meeting,” or the *cabildo*, in Puerto Rico and other areas in the Caribbean in 1509; Mexico City in 1525; San Agustín, Florida in 1565-1570; and New Mexico in 1598. The Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, the third capital of New Mexico, housed the *cabildo* from 1610 to the end of the Spanish Period in 1821.

History books influenced a resurgence of the sixteenth-century propaganda by negatively narrating the histories of the Battle of the Alamo (1836), the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), and the Spanish-American War (1898). Today, such biases are reflected in issues dealing with recent and ongoing immigration from Mexico and the rest of Latin America. The writing of the history of Spanish colonialism through the lens of Spanish Black Legend stereotypes has had a negative influence on how Latino heritage is viewed. Understanding the underpinnings of negative views of Latino history and heritage in the past contributes to a more positive approach and appreciation of a people who have participated in the local, regional, and national historical process of the development of North America from the earliest European migrations across the Atlantic that began over 500 years ago.

Latino heritage and culture are not monolithic concepts. Interpreting American Latino heritage is increasingly challenging when one considers that Latino culture is comprised of five heritages—Spanish, Indian, African, Asian, and Anglo-American. To make the American Latino heritage national story accessible, relevant, and inclusive, the interpretation of the Latino heritage at National Parks, National Historic Landmarks, National Heritage Areas, and at other historic places requires an understanding of what the Latino identity and experience are in the diverse ethnic and geographical sections of the United States.

In 1990, the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’ first voyage evoked both negative and positive responses. For its part, the National Park Service responded positively by creating the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico

in Albuquerque in order to conduct research in international archives; develop a database of archival materials; produce publications; establish Spanish-language translation services for National Parks, sister agencies, and local entities; and carry out training courses for interpreters. Spanish-language translations of websites and materials such as brochures, trail guides, and exhibit materials have made National Parks more welcoming and accessible and have encouraged the visitor to learn about the American heritage in all of its dimensions. Since its foundation, the Spanish Colonial Research Center has nurtured a Hispanic consciousness within the National Park Service. National Parks associated with Spanish colonial themes have become more relevant, fair, inclusive, and accessible through the narration of the Spanish colonial legacy as part of our national experience.

The legacy of the Spanish Colonial Research Center must be expanded to include the rest of the Latino heritage in American history. Of nearly 400 National Parks, 194 have a direct or indirect association with the American Latino heritage experience. At least four National Historic Trails tell the story of Latino settlement along historic routes between Texas and California: the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (Royal Road of the Interior), Camino Real de los Tejas (Texas), Old Spanish Trail, and the Anza Trail. Many National Parks, National Historic Trails, National Heritage Areas, and National Historic Landmarks interpret or potentially could interpret Latino heritage themes. In addition, historic sites in communities throughout the nation illustrate the important role of Latinos in the American story. Some of these sites already are included in our National Register of Historic Places, which the National Park Service expands and maintains for the nation. Many more, however, are worthy of recognition. Visitors to these historic places can experience Latino heritage as a part of our national story running from the Spanish colonial period, through nineteenth- and twentieth-century events to the present. Today, the National Park Service is exploring the American Latino heritage experience in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in order to accurately represent the broad participation and contributions of Latinos in our national story.

National Parks that deal with the Spanish colonial period outnumber those that illustrate any other period of the history of the Latino heritage and experience. Too few historic sites that illustrate the breadth of Latino heritage, however, are designated as National Historic Landmarks or are listed in the National Register. In order to expand the commemoration of the Latino experience as an integral part of our national story, the National Park Service has developed a special American Latino Heritage Theme Study *to enhance current approaches*

taken to tell about the Latino experience in America. The theme study also serves as a plan to sustain new topics related to the nation's Latino heritage and assists with and encourages the identification and recognition of historic places that explain the breadth of the Latino heritage story.

The history of Latino heritage began with the European discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus, which introduced European cultural traditions including language, law, governance, religion, lore, science, technology, and a literary tradition to the Americas based on values developed throughout the history of western civilization. Beginning with Columbus' journals and correspondence concerning his four voyages, a written tradition quickly grew in the Americas. Millions of pages of documents, maps, and artistic sketches of flora, fauna, and of Native Americans, can be found in the archives and depositories of Spain, Mexico, the Caribbean, and the United States. From Columbus' first voyage to the end of the colonial period, Spanish place names dotted colonial maps of the Western Hemisphere. Roads, walls, bridges, and buildings were among the many structures built in the New World as towns were established. The Spanish Empire extended from Alaska to the Strait of Magellan and from North Africa across the Americas to the Philippines. In North America, particularly the area of the present-day United States, Spanish colonial heritage dates to the earliest exploration of the Atlantic seaboard. The development of the historical patrimony of North America paralleled the successive national expansions by Spain, England, France, and the United States. Spain's pioneering frontier movement in North America grew out of the conquest of Cuba and the islands in the Caribbean in the east and Mexico on the mainland.

The list of states in the United States with Hispanic cultural and historical influence is extensive. The Spanish Empire significantly touched a vast area stretching along the California coast to Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. In the interior, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Louisiana formed a large trade network centered in the Spanish settlements of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Spanish occupation of the Louisiana-Florida frontier influenced trade along the Mississippi River from New Orleans to Arkansas Post and St. Louis. Virginia and the Carolinas also have a Hispanic history, for explorers and missionaries were among the first Europeans to touch their shores. Similarly, far from the continental United States, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Guam share varying degrees of the same Hispanic heritage. In many cases, history, ethnic composition, place names, linguistics, and cultural manifestations are a part of the Latino legacy spawned by Spanish colonialism in North

America. Because of Spanish colonialism, the United States shares a common heritage with the rest of the Western Hemisphere.

THE CARIBBEAN DIASPORA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Among the areas Columbus discovered during his second voyage (1493-1496), the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico are the oldest American possessions in the historical patrimony of the United States. Salt River Bay near Christiansted National Historic Site is associated with Columbus' discovery of Isla de Santa Cruz (present-day St. Croix) on November 1, 1493. There, a party of Columbus' men returning from explorations ashore attacked a group of Caribs in a canoe. The encounter is believed to be the second armed conflict between Europeans and Native Americans, the first being the battle fought at La Navidad on Española by Columbus' men, who spent a year there after the wreck of the Santa María in December 1492. In that encounter, the natives nearly wiped out the Spaniards. In 1509, Juan Ponce de León, first governor of Puerto Rico, negotiated a treaty with the Caribs on Isla de Santa Cruz with intentions of securing their cooperation in providing agricultural produce. A Spanish ship's crew breached the good will when they attempted to enslave a group of Caribs and triggered a war that spread throughout the Antilles. The Spanish attack on the Caribs on Isla de Santa Cruz began their gradual abandonment of the island by 1600. In the next two centuries, other European powers occupied it.

Before establishing mainland colonies, Spain first settled the larger Caribbean islands—Española, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba. In 1508, Juan Ponce de León re-explored Puerto Rico and within a year obtained a patent for the conquest and settlement of the island. In 1511, he laid the foundations for the establishment of San Juan, one of the oldest European cities in the Americas. Two years later, relieved of his governorship, Ponce de León embarked on another quest for fame and riches in Florida.

The Spanish formally established San Juan, Puerto Rico, in 1521, ten years after establishing themselves on the island. The historic district of San Juan represents one of the longest colonial periods in the Western Hemisphere, for the Spanish claim to the island extended from 1493 to 1898. During the age of sail, the Spanish constructed the massive coastal fortifications of San Juan to repel European invaders. In the Spanish-American War of 1898,

steam-propelled vessels from the United States captured the island and Puerto Rico became one of its territorial possessions.

THE SPANISH CLAIM TO FLORIDA, GEORGIA, AND THE CAROLINAS, 1513-1821

Engrossed in home affairs, European rivals were not immediately prepared to embark on colonial enterprises to contest Spain's right of first priority. Spain's effective claim to Florida began with Juan Ponce de León's discovery and naming of the peninsula in 1513. Ponce de León led the first European expedition to the Dry Tortugas, today commemorated at Fort Jefferson National Monument.

In the centuries that followed, trade routes passed through the Tortugas and a number of Spanish vessels foundered or wrecked in the area. The significant discovery of the Atlantic Gulf Stream by Antonio de Alaminos, who had piloted Columbus' ships on his fourth voyage to Veragua (1502-1504) and later served as pilot major of the fleet under Ponce de León, made Havana a major port of assembly and Florida a strategic stopping place. The current runs through the Florida Strait into the Bahama Channel past the Carolina coast, eastward to the high seas, where it forks in two directions on its way to the Azores and Norway. Once in the Azores, Spanish ships refitted and returned to Spain. Corsairs of Spain's rivals quickly became aware of Spain's richly laden galleons passing through the Florida Strait and moved to occupy the many hideouts in the Bahama Islands. From there they attacked Spanish ships as they toiled through the narrows to pick up the current. Spain was unable to eliminate the pirate menace in the area, and eventually resorted to using a convoy system to safely guide the galleons.

As in other parts of the Florida peninsula, Spanish explorers were active along the coast north and south of Cape Canaveral and Biscayne. In the early sixteenth century, Spanish explorers near Biscayne were unable to dominate the Tequesta tribe. Biscayne National Park interprets Spanish-Tequesta relations, demonstrating that the European presence may have led to political consolidation among them and that Spanish goods, acquired through trade or from coastal shipwrecks or raids against Spanish settlers, were a valuable contribution to their material culture. The Spanish attempt to establish a mission north of the present-day Biscayne in the late sixteenth century failed due to Tequesta opposition. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Tequesta experienced a decline caused by Creek raids and European diseases.

Spain's claim to Florida was long-standing and costly, because the Indians of Florida destroyed nearly every expedition (*entrada*) between 1513 and 1568. Of approximately 80 men who went with Juan Ponce de León to conquer Florida, nearly all died in battle or from wounds, including the *entrada's* leader. In addition, the 1526 Carolina expedition of Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, who likewise died at the hands of the native tribes, lost all 220 men to warfare, starvation, and drowning at sea as they sought to escape from Florida. Pánfilo de Narváez lost his life and all but five of his 400 men in the 1528 expedition. In 1539, Hernando de Soto led 1000 men to Florida; fewer than 300 men survived. Soto himself, nearly beaten to death by an Indian chieftain who had feigned friendship, later died from an unknown sickness, and his men laid him to rest in a watery grave in the Mississippi River. De Soto National Memorial marks the generally accepted landing place of the expedition into what is now the southern United States. This expedition was the first to make contact with many Indian groups and to measure the invaluable resources of the area extending from Florida to the Mississippi River and beyond to eastern Texas. Nearly every missionary who went to Florida during that period achieved martyrdom. Although meeting with disaster, the first European attempts to expand onto North America represented the first steps leading to the eventual European settlement of the continent.

In 1562 and 1564, the French attempt to establish a colony on the Florida coast likewise failed. Commemorated at Fort Caroline National Memorial in Florida, the French story had a similar ending to that of the many Spanish efforts. When the French constructed their fort among the Timucua Indians, trouble developed between them, dooming the French enterprise. Meanwhile, to combat the French threat, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés sailed from Cuba in 1565 and founded the settlement and fort of San Agustín, the oldest colonial city within the limits of the United States. In 1565, Spanish troops from the newly established Castillo de San Marcos marched against Fort Caroline and took it and the surrounding settlements.

The Spanish hold on Florida increased in the next century. In the early 1740s, Spanish efforts magnified the strategic importance of San Agustín in the Spanish-English struggle over the area. Constructed in 1740 south of San Agustín, Fort Matanzas National Monument commemorates the English attempt to overpower Spanish control of Florida. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Spanish efforts to consolidate their power also resulted in the sporadic Spanish occupation of Cumberland Island. Cumberland Island National Seashore interprets the story of Spanish interest in the area, for the island played a role in the contest between the Spanish and English for possession of Georgia before George Oglethorpe established his "buffer colony" in 1732.

In 1736, Englishmen established themselves along the Georgia coast at Fort Frederica, intending to block Spanish occupation of the region. The English sought to ally themselves with various Indian tribes against the Spanish. In early 1740, Oglethorpe attempted to capture Florida and unsuccessfully laid siege to San Agustín. In June 1742, the Spanish retaliatory attack on Fort Frederica by sea floundered, and at Bloody Marsh, the English forced the Spanish to retreat. Fort Frederica was known as “Gualquini” in Spanish documents. Today, Fort Frederica National Monument tells the story of the Spanish-English struggle for control over North America.

EARLY SPANISH COLONIAL INTERESTS IN THE GULF COAST

The Atlantic coast of Spanish Florida represented only a small but important claim to a vast region. The European history of the Gulf Coast dates from the Age of Discovery and covers an immense area, for the Spanish claim included the western coast of Florida that ran from the tip of the peninsula around to Tampa Bay, Pensacola, Mobile, the Mississippi Delta, and the Texas coast past Padre Island to the mouth of the Río Grande. In 1519, Alonso de Pineda explored and mapped the Gulf Coast from Texas to Florida. Among the many estuaries he discovered were those of the Río Grande and the Mississippi. Pineda was the first European to see Padre Island, off the Texas coast.

Padre Island National Seashore preserves the story of Europeans and Native Americans within the context of its mandate to conserve the natural beauty of the island inside the park boundary. Members of the shipwrecked expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez, in particular Cabeza de Vaca, were the first Spaniards to live among the Coahuiltecan tribes of Padre Island and the coast. Subsequently, in the eighteenth century, Spanish missionaries attempted to convert the various Coahuiltecan bands as well as Caddoan and Karankawan tribes in the area through missions established on the mainland.

Although the Spanish designed their mission program to protect the Coahuiltecan from stronger tribes, it also in many ways contributed to their decline. By 1850, the Coahuiltecan bands had all but disappeared from Texas due largely to warfare with the Lipan Apache and Comanche tribes and to Governor Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar’s extermination policies during the period of the Lone Star Republic. In the end, the survivors of the Coahuiltecan bands chose to live south of the Río Grande.

Padre Island's history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took a peculiar twist. Known as Isla Malaquita in the seventeenth century and sometimes as Isla Blanca or Santiago in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it became known as Isla del Padre or the Padre Island Grant, and finally, Padre Island. Sometime in the late eighteenth century, Spain granted the extensive island then known as Santiago to a Friar Nicolas Balli, a Franciscan, and his nephew, Juan José Balli, who lived in the lower Río Grande valley. The grant covered the entire island, the northern half owned by Padre Balli and the southern half by his nephew. Padre Balli used the grant to raise livestock.

During the War for Mexican Independence (1810-1821), Padre Balli fled to Isla Blanca. After the revolution, he requested the new government validate his grant. Although the governor of Tamaulipas approved the grant in 1829, Padre Balli passed away during the proceedings, which had taken two years. Consequently, his half of the grant went in a bequest to the children of his brother, José María Balli. Meanwhile, the Texas Rebellion of 1836 had taken place and the grant had to be proven anew. In 1850, Padre Balli and his nephew received a certification that they had properly obtained title from Mexican officials. After two years of deliberation, the State of Texas confirmed the Padre Island Grant on November 10, 1852.

The discovery of oil and gas underneath the island sparked litigation over the grant. The State of Texas contended that the heirs did not have a survey and plats drawn up and did not send field notes to the General Land Office in accordance with the Constitution of 1876. As a result, the State of Texas argued that the Ballis' claim "shall be forever barred." Finally, in 1944, after a lengthy court battle, title to the entire Padre Island Grant was awarded to Alberto Balli et al.—heirs of Padre Balli and his nephew Juan José Balli. The Ballis were at last free to dispose of the grant as they wished.

There are many histories to be told of the Gulf region. Gulf Islands National Seashore preserves the natural beauty of most of the old Spanish claim and retells the story of the Spanish-French struggle for dominance of the region. In 1698, a French expedition under Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d' Iberville, departed France with four ships. Arriving at the mouth of the Mississippi River, he sailed eastward and founded a small outpost at Biloxi. He went back to France to report that the British traders had made tremendous gains among the Indians, who now posed a dangerous threat to French designs on the area.

Returning in 1699, he established Ship Island as a base of operations for exploration of the present-day Louisiana and Mississippi coasts. French interest in the area revived Spanish plans to occupy the Louisiana frontier and, in the next century, the Bourbon Family Pact between France and Spain made it possible. Beginning in 1763, Spanish occupation of Louisiana lasted nearly forty years. Aside from interpreting the historic international rivalry between French, English, and Spanish frontiersmen, Gulf Islands National Seashore in Florida and Mississippi preserves Spanish fortifications that were important outposts for Spanish domination of the Caribbean.

THE SPANISH-FRANCO-ANGLO STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The history of the interior of Florida, stretching from the Georgia-Florida coast to the Mississippi River, formed part of the diplomacy between European powers, the United States, and the American Indians of the area. Although Europeans competed for many frontier areas in North America, the Mississippi River Valley and its adjacent territories became a focal point for control in the late eighteenth century. Natchez Trace National Parkway preserves the story of an Indian trade route and the many cultures that used it before the contact period and of its later use for Spanish, French, and Anglo-American trade and military ventures. For three decades of early Anglo-American expansion westward in the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was the main route linking Natchez and Nashville. Jean Lafitte National Historical Park in New Orleans, Louisiana; Arkansas Post National Memorial in Gillette, Arkansas; and Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Missouri, interpret a broad history of Spanish interest in the Mississippi River and Anglo-American westward expansion.

The Spanish took formal possession of New Orleans in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The Spanish tenure at New Orleans was marked with the administration of a multi-ethnic frontier composed of Frenchmen, Cajuns (Acadian refugees from French Canada), Métis, various Indian tribes, Anglo-Americans, and Black runaway slaves from the United States, as well as Spaniards, Canary Islanders, and Caribbean Blacks who served in the Spanish army. The Spanish improved the commercial interests in Louisiana and rebuilt the wooden French Quarter with stone after it burned down in the mid-1790s. The Cathedral, the Cabildo, the Plaza de Armas in present-day Jackson Square, and other buildings in New Orleans represent the peak of Spanish colonial

administration of the Mississippi Valley. Under provisions of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, New Orleans became part of the United States. In regard to its Spanish colonial heritage, the multi-cultural theme at Jean Lafitte Historical Park is ironically underscored by the fact that the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 during the War of 1812 took place on Juan Rodríguez's plantation. Rodríguez, a plantation owner, also traded in the Caribbean and, at one time, was an associate of Jean Lafitte.

Likewise, the Spanish occupation of San Luis de los Illinoises (present-day St. Louis) resulted in a history of diplomacy and commerce as the United States expanded toward the Mississippi River. Arkansas Post, too, was part of a large Spanish trade network begun by French *coureurs de bois* among the many Indian tribes along the Mississippi-Missouri-Arkansas river drainages. Arkansas Post National Memorial commemorates the establishment of the 1686 French trading post near the confluence of the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers. After France transferred Louisiana to Spain, the trading post continued to serve as a point of contact among the many Spanish Indian allies who cooperated to impede the Anglo-Americans and their Indian allies from advancing westward. Jefferson National Expansion Memorial places the historical theme of the territorial advance of the United States west of the Mississippi, inclusive of the Louisiana Purchase, within the context of the early history of St. Louis under French and Spanish influences.

Spain ceded Louisiana to France in the Treaty of San Ildefonso of 1800, and the French sold it to the United States in 1803. The Louisiana Purchase opened the door to a new phase of westward expansion. The westward movement of the United States represented to many Native American groups a new cycle of conquest that would not end until after the disaster at Wounded Knee in 1890, which resulted in the death of over 150 innocent Sioux as they awaited removal by United States troops. Many others died later from wounds they received in the encounter.

THE OPENING OF THE CALIFORNIA, ARIZONA, NEW MEXICO, AND TEXAS FRONTIERS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Far to the west, another story of European exploration and conquest unfolded. The exploration of North America's interior and Florida are related through the ill-fated expedition of 1528 under Pánfilo de Narváez whose surviving men were shipwrecked on the various islands off the Texas coast. Eight years later, four men, led by Cabeza de Vaca, who had wandered for several years through western Texas, southern New Mexico, and northern

Chihuahua, reached Corazones, the northernmost Spanish outpost in Sonora. Once rescued, they told of the many Indian tribes they had seen in their flight to safety.

As a result, official Spanish interest grew regarding the interior of the continent. In 1539, the Spanish sent two reconnaissance parties northward to ascertain the possibilities of finding rich and powerful Indian kingdoms like those of the Aztecs and Incas. Melchior Díaz led one of the scouting parties, which crossed the Colorado River near its confluence with the Gila River into eastern California. Under Fray Marcos de Niza, the second scouting party reported a large Indian district called Cibola (present-day Zuni Pueblo in New Mexico). The two preliminary scouting missions led to a major reconnaissance of the Greater Southwest. Within a year, the large expedition of 1100 men led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado left Compostela on the west coast of Mexico bound for Cibola in New Mexico. Crossing the Sonora River Valley, they entered the present-day United States through southeastern Arizona. Today, Coronado National Memorial is located near where the explorers crossed. This site is dedicated to the first expedition to explore the Greater American Southwest that provided Europeans their first glimpse of a six-state area stretching from eastern California to central Kansas.

The *entrada* gave Europeans their first views of the Grand Canyon, as seen by García López de Cárdenas; of the Hopi Pueblos as seen by Pedro de Tovar; of the Acoma and Pecos Pueblos, the Río Grande and Pecos rivers and the large buffalo herds of the Great Plains as described by Hernando de Alvarado; of the first notice of the Great Divide, the watershed that separates waters flowing toward the Pacific Ocean from those flowing east to the Atlantic or the Gulf of Mexico reported by Juan Jaramillo in his narrative; and many other wonders.

The expedition marked the first intensive contact between the Spanish, the Pueblo Indians, and the Great Plains tribes, and established the colonial-native relationship in the area for the next 280 years. In two decisive contests caused by the Spanish intrusion and demands for food and provisions in the cold north country, Pueblo groups fell to the powerful military force of the Spaniards. Forty-eight years after Columbus' voyage, the men of Vázquez de Coronado stood outside a pueblo fortress called Cicuye (Pecos) near the edge of the Great Plains. Long a center of trade between the pueblos of the Río Grande valley and Great Plains tribes, Pecos was one of the largest pueblos the Europeans saw in 1540. At Pecos National Historical Park, visitors learn about pre-contact Pecos Pueblo and the post-contact period leading to Spanish colonial development of the pueblo-mission complex in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The existing ruins of the churches and the pueblo testify to the cultural continuity of Pecos before its abandonment in

1838. Epidemics, Comanche and Apache raids, and the growth of Hispanic towns in the area that drew trade away from Pecos led to economic decline and abandonment. The Pecoseños departed for other pueblos along the Río Grande, as well as Jemez Pueblo located to the west.

Simultaneous with the expedition of Vázquez de Coronado in the Southwest and the De Soto expedition in the Southeast, Spanish officials launched a third expedition led by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo. Hoping to discover a route to China and the Philippines by following the Pacific coast around from California, Rodríguez Cabrillo set sail to prove his theory. Although sound, his plan failed because of the great distance and the lack of knowledge of the extent of the Pacific Ocean. Departing the west Mexican coast, his expedition sailed along the Baja California coast to San Diego Bay, which he named and claimed for Spain. Proceeding northward beyond San Clemente Island, his ships sailed past the Channel Islands and Monterey Bay until they reached Cape Blanco on the Oregon coast. Rodríguez Cabrillo and his men were the first Europeans to explore, chart, and give place-names to sites along that long stretch of the Pacific Coast.

Cabrillo National Monument at Point Loma in San Diego commemorates the European exploration of the California coast and the pioneering venture that led to the eventual Spanish settlement of Alta California in the eighteenth century. Aside from the many mission sites in California, the Martínez house located in John Muir National Historic Site in Martínez, California, commemorates the late Spanish colonial and early Mexican periods of settlement. Channel Islands National Park near Santa Barbara interprets the first sixteenth-century Spanish expedition to California. A monument at San Miguel Island marks the approximate burial place of Rodríguez Cabrillo, who died on the voyage after an accident at sea.

In time, the Spanish, and later the Anglo-American expansion into California, had a profound impact on the Native American groups. Channel Island tribes like the Chumash, for example, maintained their institutions longer than did some mainland tribes. By 1815, due to drought and a declining aboriginal trade system, most of the Chumash migrated from the islands, and many of them were absorbed into Spanish mission communities. The California Gold Rush of 1849 contributed to greater decline and near extinction of many California tribes.

Spanish exploration of the interior continued. By 1610, much of the interior between Florida and California was well known. In 1605, Juan de Oñate, who had founded New Mexico in 1598, led an expedition west to the Colorado River. He was the first European to leave his name on a sandstone promontory that would become a landmark for Spanish, Mexican,

and Anglo-American explorers. El Morro National Monument in New Mexico preserves their stories along with those of Native Americans, who first discovered the waterhole and subsequently established the pueblo of Atsinna atop the promontory. Although many later travelers stopped at El Morro to drink from its waterhole and carve their names on the rock, others left no trace. Over 2,000 inscriptions grace the sandstone promontory at El Morro. Over time, many travelers passed by the rock but did not sign it. Among the first Spanish explorers believed to have stopped there were members of the Francisco Vázquez de Coronado expedition (1540-1542). Later, Antonio de Espejo and his men stopped there in 1582 and were the first to describe it, calling the waterhole at El Morro *El Estanque del Peñol*. Espejo was one of the first to leave a written description of the volcanic terrain east of El Morro, today preserved as El Malpais National Monument.

The early exploration of New Mexico resulted in encounters between the many Indian cultures of the Southwest and Hispanic frontiersmen. As early as 1581, Spanish explorers had visited every pueblo from Taos in the north to Senecu in the south, and from Pecos on the east to the Hopi pueblos in the far northwest corner of that frontier. In 1581, Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and a small exploring party reached the southeastern edge of the New Mexico frontier and learned about a number of pueblos associated with large salt beds behind the present-day Manzano Mountains. The salt beds defined the geographic area known as “Salinas” during the Spanish colonial period and today give Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument its name. Later, in 1598, Juan de Oñate visited Quarai and Abo, two of three pueblo sites at present-day Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument, on his round-about trip to Acoma and Zuni. The third site is San Buenaventura, known today as Gran Quivira. In 1600, Vicente de Zaldívar, one of the “discoverers” of Abo two years before, fought a battle behind the Manzano Mountains at Agualagu, a pueblo that has long since disappeared.

The Spanish missionization of New Mexico began in earnest among the Río Grande pueblos in 1598. By 1613, Fray Alonso de Peinado was working to missionize Tajique and Chilili in the Manzano Mountain range. The pueblos of Quarai, Abo, and San Buenaventura de las Humanas (Gran Quivira) were evangelized in the early 1620s. Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument in New Mexico interprets the long history of the Salinas Pueblos from prehistoric times to their abandonment in the 1670s. Spanish expansion into New Mexico’s frontier, which included northeastern Arizona, was ongoing. By the end of the Spanish period, New Mexican frontiersmen had begun to move westward toward Arizona. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, a Spanish expedition from New Mexico had visited Canyon de Chelly and seen the beautiful cliff

dwelling ruins and pictographs on the soft sandstone canyon walls. In Arizona, Canyon de Chelly National Monument memorializes the pre-contact as well as historic perspectives of the area. The Spanish Franciscans directed the missionary work in northeastern Arizona from New Mexico, and the Jesuits had the assignment to work in southern Arizona, then known as Pimería Alta. Although the Jesuits began their missionary efforts in Florida, they achieved their greatest accomplishments in North America in the Sonora-Arizona frontier. Eusebio Kino, one of the great missionaries of Sonora, led the Spanish advance into Arizona throughout the 1680s and 1690s. Kino complemented his missionary efforts among the Pimas and Papagos with his fame as a cartographer of the area. One of his last missions was at Tumacacori in southern Arizona. Tumacacori National Monument commemorates the mission story in the northern end of a chain of missions that led to the Spanish settlement of the Sonora region. Established among the Pima in 1701, Tumacacori also served as a center for Papago settlement. Begun about 1798, the present church held its first service in 1822. After the secularization of the mission, Tumacacori's Papago residents remained until Apache raids forced them to abandon the site in 1848.

The Spanish claim to California, New Mexico, and Arizona began within a generation of Columbus' first voyage. Exploration in the 1530s and 1540s opened the first phase of Spain's assumed title to the area. By the end of the century, Spanish settlers had advanced into Sonora and New Mexico establishing an effective claim by virtue of actual possession. Villas, presidios, mines, ranches, farms, and missions began to grow in both frontiers in the seventeenth century. Settlement of California would not take place until 1769, when Governor Gaspar de Portolá led the founding expedition there.

THE LOWER RÍO GRANDE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The search for mysterious kingdoms inspired early Spanish explorers to move northward along Mexico's central plateau toward and beyond the Río Grande valley. Later, Franciscan missionaries, Hispanic settlers, and military personnel established missions, settlements, and forts south of and along a rugged frontier that stretched from Mexico City to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and from California to Florida. In the interior, a riverine frontier formed along the Río Grande within an area from El Paso to Big Bend and Eagle Pass. Despite its importance to Spanish colonial expansion, the history of the area has had little study. Yet that region was the scene of much activity in the period from 1580 to 1700 and its history pointed the way to the eventual founding of Texas.

Although Spanish *entradas* to New Mexico explored the area of La Junta de los Ríos—the confluence of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande—Spanish advances east of the Pecos River at its junction with the Río Grande were slow to develop. In 1535, Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions came through the area. Having made their escape from the Texas coast toward the Balcones Escarpment near San Antonio, Texas, the men headed southwest to the Río Grande in the vicinity of Devil’s River, near present-day Del Río. Proceeding northwestward, they reached the Pecos River; from there they went toward the Chisos Mountains, and once in the area, they approached Santa Elena Canyon in present Big Bend National Park. Natives led them over fifty leagues of desertscape and rough mountains probably the Davis Mountains. Finally, the four castaways walked within sight of present-day Presidio and marched northwestward toward present El Paso or Las Cruces before leaving the river and making their way to safety in Sonora. Slave runners had crossed north of the river for nearly two decades and had gathered knowledge of the region. However, Spanish officials did not take notice of the importance of that segment of the river until 1590, when Gaspar Castaño de Sosa and his settlers crossed the Río Grande near present-day Ciudad Acuña in an illegal bid to settle New Mexico. As there had been little activity in the area, their interest was short lived. Nevertheless, by the 1600s, much was known about the Río Grande.

Within the boundaries of Amistad National Recreational Area along the United States-Mexico boundary near Del Río, Texas, are found archeological sites representing Native American occupation of the area from approximately 8000 B.C. to the time of the first Spanish explorations through the region. A number of pictographs depict the historical themes mentioned above of missions, horses, and people wearing European-style clothing. The early and seemingly ephemeral Spanish presence along the Río Grande between El Paso and Eagle Pass had made an impression among the various tribes of the region.

Renewed interest in the river east of Eagle Pass resulted in rumors that the Dutch had entered the Gulf Coast and threatened the Spanish claim to Texas. In summer of 1638, García de Sepúlveda left Cerralvo (present-day Monterrey) and, reaching the Río Grande south of Mier, traced it to a point near present-day Brownsville. Later in 1663, Alonso de León, the elder, explored the Río Grande near its mouth to check for any intrusions by foreigners, but found none. In the interior, a real threat to Spanish interests existed. After 1600, Indians from the north, beyond the Río Grande, increasingly led raids against Spanish settlements in Coahuila, prompting Spanish officials to send punitive expeditions across the river. In 1663, Juan de la Garza led one of the first expeditions

northward and fought a battle with the Cacaxtles near Eagle Pass. Two years later, Fernando de Azcue led a second punitive expedition to Eagle Pass with measured success, bringing temporary peace to the area.

Between the 1660s and the 1690s, the origins of the Camino Real de Los Tejas National Historic Trail evolved from a series of expeditions that explored northward of Saltillo, Mexico, through the San Antonio River Valley to the East Texas missions and Los Adaes, the first capital of Texas. Slowly, the frontiers of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas moved toward the Río Grande. The history of the Camino Real de los Tejas grew out of Spanish advances into Texas, particularly when Franciscan missionaries advanced the mission frontier beyond the river, and by 1676, the Spanish began to evangelize a tribe known as the Tejas, living north of the Río Grande.

The search for foreign intruders contributed to the development of the Camino Real de los Tejas. In 1684, the French, led by René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, established a fort in east Texas. In the course of establishing his fort, La Salle undertook two expeditions into the interior of Texas, one of which reached the Río Grande somewhere between Del Río and Eagle Pass. Unsettled by the threat, the Spaniards quickly began a series of land and sea expeditions to locate and destroy the French position. However, the Indians of east Texas first reached the French. The Spaniards learned that, after La Salle's own men murdered him, the Indians had destroyed Fort St. Louis. The French scare prompted a serious Spanish effort to settle Texas before another European power could do so. The Spanish sent missionaries to found mission fields in east Texas as a means of establishing an effective claim. By 1691, they named Domingo Terán de los Ríos governor of the Province of Texas with instructions to establish eight missions among the Tejas and neighboring tribes. His party crossed the Río Grande at Eagle Pass and continued to the Nueces and on to east Texas. That *entrada* made history as the founding expedition of Texas. The Spanish established the first capital of Texas at Los Adaes in present-day Louisiana and blazed the road for the establishment of San Antonio, founding the Villa de San Antonio de Bexar in 1716.

SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS AND THE TEXAS FRONTIER IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The French presence in Louisiana and along the Mississippi-Missouri-Arkansas river drainages complicated Spanish-Indian relations in east Texas. By trading horses and guns and intermarrying with natives, the French had upset the balance of power among the Great Plains tribes. By the first

decade of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards had realized the French impact on their positions south of the Río Grande. Unlike the French, the Spaniards had been reluctant to supply their native allies with horses and guns. The Spanish comprehended the impact of the French arms race too late to form military alliances with the tribes north of the Río Grande. The Spanish response was twofold: the establishment of a military presence among the tribes along a line forming the French southernmost advance in east Texas near Louisiana, and the founding of a mission field in east Texas along the river drainages southwest of Los Adaes Presidio, which the Spanish had constructed near Natchitoches, Louisiana.

For two centuries, evangelization worked with sedentary groups. In Texas, the mission system would adapt to the nomadic cultures of the southern Plains with great difficulty. The independent hunter-gatherer nomads who balked at conversion baffled the missionaries. For thousands of years, the Plains tribes had developed sophisticated survival systems and a true warrior caste unparalleled in the European military tradition. Those and other cultural traits the many Plains tribes shared enabled them to hold out against Spanish, French, and Anglo-American expansion for over three centuries. Consequently, Spanish missionaries generally concentrated their efforts on the weaker tribes, namely the so-called Coahuiltecos that stronger tribes had intimidated or defeated. Although missionaries attempted to work among Caddoan, Comanche, and Lipan Apache tribes, their efforts rarely succeeded.

Between 1690 and 1720, the Spanish centered their missionary effort in east Texas. The establishment of the presidio-mission complex at San Antonio in 1716 by Alonso de Alarcón proved to be a brilliant strategic move on Spain's part. During the 1730s and 1740s, the Spanish mission field spread from east Texas to San Antonio and La Bahia. The Spanish partially abandoned the east Texas missions and moved the missions to San Antonio. San Antonio de Valero, San Juan Capistrano, San Francisco de la Espada, and Purísima Concepción formed a cluster of missions along the Río San Antonio. Supported by a Spanish population center and presidio at the Villa de San Antonio de Bexar, the area became an important trade center. Unlike east Texas, which depended on the French at Natchitoches for supplies and the presidio-mission at La Bahia, which lacked a population base save for the few dozen presidial soldiers with families and missionaries, San Antonio was comparatively self-sufficient. San Antonio Missions National Historical Park interprets the history of the Spanish missionary-military frontier as part of the national story of the United States. Long before the Alamo, Hispanic frontiersmen had forged a settlement that would become one of the United States' great cities.

THE SPANISH CLAIM TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, 1595-1795

On the California coast, Spain continued to advance its interests. For two centuries after the Rodríguez Cabrillo expedition, Spanish interest in California had been sporadic. After Francis Drake's surprise appearance along the California coast, Spain's need to defend its northern claim received additional, though short-lived, attention. After a series of explorations along the Pacific coast at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, California remained neglected for over 165 years, except for Manila Galleons, which made landfall there from time to time. In 1595, a Manila Galleon ship under the command of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño wrecked off Point Reyes. Today, the National Park Service protects and interprets the remains of Rodríguez Cermeño's shipwreck in Drakes Bay at Point Reyes National Seashore.

In 1788, José Esteban Martínez stopped U.S. intruders in the area of the Pacific Northwest claimed by Spain. In 1779, James Cook entered the Pacific Northwest and threatened the Spanish isolation in the region. Immediately, Spanish officials sought to strengthen their claim there by researching the earliest Spanish interest in the area and by sending expeditions north to reassert their claims. In 1790, Spain contended that a maritime expedition commanded by Juan de Fuca had reached the northern coast of present-day Washington State in 1590. Spanish maps showed the Strait of Juan de Fuca as the possible entrance to the Northwest Passage sought by Drake, Cartier, Hudson, and Champlain, among others.

For the next two years, 1790-1792, Spanish ships, almost in tandem, explored the entire coast north of California. During that period, the Spanish explored, mapped, described, and claimed present-day Sitka, Mt. St. Elias, Prince William Sound in the Gulf of Alaska, Kenai Fjords, Cook Inlet, Katmai, and other sites along the Alaska Peninsula. They named places like Valdez and Cordoba after prominent Spanish officials as well as other sites that were subsequently renamed. The Spanish also established short-lived settlements on present-day Vancouver Island, one of which still bears the name of Port Alberni, and Neah Bay, on the northern coast of Washington State, that once represented the northernmost Spanish settlement in the continental United States.

The history of the Spanish claim to the California coast and north to Alaska is among the many themes celebrated at Sitka National Historical Park, Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve in Alaska, and at Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore, Channel Islands National Park, and Fort Point National Historic Site in California.

THE LAST YEARS OF THE SPANISH CLAIM TO THE GREATER SOUTHWEST, LOUISIANA, AND FLORIDA

Trade routes crisscrossed the Spanish frontier in North America. Trails like the Natchez Trace, the *caminos reales* of California, Texas, and New Mexico, Old Spanish Trail in New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California, as well as the Santa Fe-Chihuahua Trail, represented a growing transportation and commercial development in the late Spanish period. Formed from old Indian trails, some of these routes left a trace in North America that visitors can still see and appreciate in the remaining ruts, rock art, and archeological campsites that are part of the Spanish colonial patrimony of the United States that lasted from 1492 until 1821. Today, the National Park Service administers the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail, which ran from Mexico City to Santa Fe; the Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail, which ran from Saltillo, Coahuila, Mexico, to Los Adaes in Louisiana via San Antonio, Texas; and Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail, which ran from Santa Fe to Los Angeles via western Colorado, southern Utah, and eastern California through the Mojave Desert.

By 1790, Mexico City felt the tremors of an independence movement. Intellectuals already had begun to debate the merits of the American Revolution and the Enlightenment that had produced it. Spanish officials responded by censoring “liberal” literature that had made its way into the Spanish Empire from the United States and Europe. Two decades later, on September 16, 1810, Father Miguel Hidalgo raised the cry for rebellion that would bring down the Spanish Empire and begin a new social order. The frontier, which had been following events in Mexico City during the late eighteenth century, had been concerned with other affairs, namely the defense of the Empire from foreign incursions and the pacification of a wide Indian frontier that stretched from California to Florida.

In the end, the Spanish Empire fell to revolutionaries, not to any of the many native tribes, nor to Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Anglo-Americans who had threatened it for so long. The independence movement (1810-1821) swept the Empire until only Puerto Rico and Cuba remained in Spanish hands, while other parts moved toward the development of independent nation-states. Florida quickly fell into the fold of the United States. Texas, a territory of the newly established Mexico, rebelled against Mexican authority in 1836 and formed the Lone Star Republic. New Mexico likewise rebelled in 1836 and remained more or less independent for twenty-five years.

California and Sonora (southern Arizona included) underwent a series of rebellions against Mexico's government that resulted in a measure of autonomy.

Not until May 8 and 9, 1846, when two armies lined up against each other on a flat plain in south Texas called Palo Alto just north of present-day Brownsville, was the fate of the frontier sealed. Palo Alto was the first major engagement of the Mexican-American War (1846-1848). Today, Palo Alto National Battlefield and Resaca de la Palma Battlefield, near Brownsville, Texas, commemorate that battle. With the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the United States incorporated the vast frontier from California to Texas inclusive of property and population. Pecos National Historical Park expands the theme to include the Civil War battle at Glorieta Pass, sometimes called the "Gettysburg of the West." At Apache Canyon, a Latino unit under Colonel Manuel Chávez, known as the New Mexico Volunteers, routed the Confederate rearguard, which resulted in the defeat of Confederate forces at Glorieta Pass. Pecos National Historical Park interprets the battle and the Confederate invasion of New Mexico. Other sites in the National Park Service tell more stories of Hispanics in the Civil War.

Our national story incorporates the Latino Heritage, which commenced with Columbus' first voyage in 1492, and reflects the richness of our colonial past, particularly in North America. The Secretary of the Interior continues to designate new National Historic Landmarks that broaden the telling of the Latino heritage story. The National Park Service is supporting the preparation and consideration of additional nominations with the help of the new American Latino Theme Study of 2012. One recently designated National Historic Landmark, the Trujillo Homestead in Colorado, provides an exceptional representation of the expansion of Hispano-American settlement into the American Southwest following the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and an illustration of the conflict between cattle ranchers, who were primarily Anglo-Americans, and sheepherders, who were mostly Hispano-Americanos. Through archeology, the site has a high potential to yield information addressing nationally significant research questions about ethnicity and race on the western frontier.

Demonstrating the significance of American Latinos in the twentieth century, Forty Acres in California became the headquarters for the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) in 1966, the first permanent agricultural labor union in the United States. Forty Acres is nationally significant for its role in the farm worker movement and for its close association with the influential career of César Estrada Chávez (César Chávez). Designated as such under the Antiquities Act, the César E. Chávez National Monument is located on the property known as Nuestra Señora

Reina de la Paz (Our Lady Queen of Peace), or, simply, La Paz. The site served as the national headquarters of the United Farm Workers, as well as the home and workplace of César Chávez and his family from the early 1970s until his death in 1993. The site includes his grave site which is also part of the monument.

Many sites outside of the National Park System tell stories that reflect and illustrate the themes related to the Latino heritage. Among them is San Pascual, a battlesite of the Mexican-American War near San Diego, California, that is forever linked with the story told at Palo Alto National Battlefield near Brownsville, Texas, which was the first battle of the Mexican-American War. Through the theme study and by working with states, Federal agencies, and American Indian tribes, the National Park Service is encouraging the nomination and listing of more Latino heritage sites in the National Register such as Casa Amadeo, the oldest Latin music store in New York, which played a significant role in the Puerto Rican migration experience.

Within National Park Service areas, the American Latino experience is evident and the National Park Service is committed to telling their Latino heritage stories as part of the larger national story. At *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), for example, threads of court cases leading to the Brown Decision include Latino efforts in their struggle for civil rights. The California case, *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947), set a precedent in attacking *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and the separate but equal doctrine that supported open discrimination practices in U.S. institutions. Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), which ended the Mexican-American War of 1846, a great number of cases demonstrated how Hispanics in the territories sought to affirm their civil rights and land grant issues through the courts. Many of their arguments, some of which reached the Supreme Court, were based on 1st, 4th, and 14th Amendment rights. At Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, which is largely dedicated to interpreting westward expansion, the Latino heritage experience runs a lengthy course through the history of Spain and the United States. The Latino heritage is intertwined with the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803, the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1806-1807, and the U.S. westward movement.

While the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are still being explored, two sites in the National Park Service System reflect the broad spectrum of our national historic patrimony. The first is the Columbus Memorial Fountain in Washington, D.C., sculpted by Lorado Taft and dedicated in 1912. It features a globe atop a shaft, with figures representing the old and new worlds, with a statue of Christopher Columbus set on the prow of a ship with a winged figurehead symbolizing

discovery. The second is Chamizal National Memorial in El Paso, Texas, which commemorates the Chamizal Treaty of 1963 and the peaceful resolution to a century-long border dispute. At Chamizal Memorial, Hispanic culture is celebrated through such activities as “Siglo de Oro” and “Zarzuela” programs with participants from the United States, Spain, and all of Latin America. These two areas are symbolic of the National Park Service’s determination to commemorate Latino heritage as part of the national story of the United States of America and its rich historical patrimony that began with Christopher Columbus’ first voyage. Similarly, the creation of the César Chávez National Monument and the Landmark designation of the Trujillo Homestead in Colorado’s San Luis Valley in the twenty-first century reflect the continued commitment of the National Park Service to tell the breadth of the Latino experience as a part of our national story. It is a truism that much of our national story abounds with historical events and places tied to the American Latino experience and heritage.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez is superintendent of Petroglyph National Monument and the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico, in Albuquerque. Dr. Sánchez is also founder and editor of the *Colonial Latin American Historical Review (CLAHR)*. He has served as Acting Superintendent at Fort Davis National Historic Site in Texas and Pecos National Historical Park in New Mexico. Before his career with the National Park Service, Dr. Sánchez was a professor of colonial Latin American history and director of the Mexican-American Studies and Research Center at the University of Arizona, Tucson. He has taught at the University of New Mexico, Santa Ana College in Southern California, the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara in Mexico, the Universidad de Sevilla, and the Universidad Internacional de La Rábida in Spain. Dr. Sánchez has presented numerous papers at professional conferences in the United States, Canada, Sweden, Italy, Spain, and Mexico. Throughout his career, he has conducted research in archives in Spain, Mexico, France, Italy, England, and the United States, and has published several studies on the Spanish frontiers in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Alaska. He has also directed and conducted research for several studies mandated by the United States Congress that resulted in the designation of several historical roads. They are “The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro” that runs from Mexico City to Santa Fe, which was designated as a National Historic Trail; “the Camino de los Tejas” that runs from Saltillo to San Antonio, Texas, which was designated a National Historic Trail; and “Old Spanish Trail” that runs from Santa Fe to Los Angeles via southern Utah, also designated as a National Historic Trail. Internationally recognized, in May 2000, he was awarded the *Medalla de Acero al Mérito Histórico Capitán Alonso de León* by the Sociedad Nuevoleonesa de Historia, Geografía y Estadística, Monterrey, Mexico, for his lifelong work in colonial Mexican history. In April 2005, he was inducted into the prestigious knighthood order of the *Orden de Isabel la Católica* by King don Juan Carlos of Spain. In 2006-2012, he served on the History Commission of the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia that is headquartered in Mexico City and affiliated with the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C. Recently, in 2011, the Secretary of the Interior and the Director of the National Park Service named him to serve as chair of the American Latino Heritage Theme Analysis Task Force to review how Latino themes can better supplement and/or be integrated into the narration of our national story.



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