The National Survey
of
Historical Sites and Buildings

Theme IV

SPANISH EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

April 1959

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UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
National Park Service

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to assemble data on historic sites believed to be of exceptional value in commemorating or illustrating the history of Spanish exploration and settlement in the United States and its possessions. It was prepared by historians of the National Park Service assigned to the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. They first performed library research to determine which sites merited study, then evaluated the significance of the sites thus chosen, and, finally, continued the study in the field by visiting and inventorying each site. The results of their effort are set forth in this study.

Part I is a brief historical narrative of Spanish exploration and settlement of North America. It is not a searching analysis or a definitive contribution to the history of this phase of America's past. Rather it is a synthesis of the works of acknowledged authorities in the field, and is intended to set the historical stage for the discusssion of sites. Part II describes and evaluates sites considered to be of outstanding importance, and notes incidentally a number of other sites judged to be important but not of exceptional value. All sites evaluated in this study, as well as numerous less significant sites, have also been treated on the standard inventory form of the National Survey.

This study is the result of a joint effort by three historians of the National Park Service: Frank B. Sarles of the Region One Office at Richmond, Virginia; Robert M. Utley of the Region Three Office at Santa Fe, New Mexico; and William C. Everhart of the Region Four Office at San Francisco, California. As coordinator of the project, Mr. Utley wrote the historical narrative, the survey of sites and buildings, and the discussion of individual sites in the Southwest. Mr. Sarles and Mr. Everhart both reviewed the manuscript and contributed information and statements of significance on sites in their respective regions of the United States. Other members of the Regional Staffs, and the Branch of History of the Washington Office, also reviewed the work and offered helpful comments.

Numerous organizations and individuals outside the National Park Service have been of assistance in studying the sites that are included in this theme. Among them may be mentioned:

Mr. James Messer, Sr., Tallahassee, Florida; Mr. Walter A. Coldwell, Assistant Director, Florida Park Service, Tallahassee; Mr. C. H. Schaeffer, former Director of the Florida Park Service, Tallahassee; Dr. Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee; Mr. J. Carver Harris, Business Manager of the St. Augustine Historical Society; Miss Bessie Lewis, Pine Harbor, Georgia; Mr. W. W. Wells, Assistant Director of the Louisiana State Parks and Recreation Commission, Baton Rouge; Mr. Waldo S. Carrell, Pensacola Chamber of Commerce, Florida; Mr.

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Dr. H. Bailey Carroll, Editor of the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, University of Texas, Austin; Dr. Rupert N. Richardson, Department of History, Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, Texas; Mrs. Ethel W. Harris, Custodian of San Jose Mission National Historic Site, San Antonio, Texas; Dr. Frank D. Reeve, Editor of the New Mexico Historical Review, Albuquerque; Miss Gertrude Hill and the staff of the Library of the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe; Dr. Emil W. Haury and Dr. W. W. Wasley of the Arizona State Museum, Tucson; Miss Eleanor Sloan, Secretary of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson; Mr. Dennis McCarthy, Director of the Arizona State Parks Board, Phoenix; Mrs. Alice B. Good, Director of Library and Archives, Phoenix, Arizona; Mr. John O. Theobald, Phoenix, Arizona; and Dr. A. R. Mortensen, Director of the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

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California; Dr. Benjamin Gilbert, Department of History, San José State College, San José, California; and Dr. Lawrence Kinnaird, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley.

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Part I

A SUMMARY OF THE THEME

In the race for empire that began late in the fifteenth century, Spain reached the New World first. From her foothold in the Indies Spanish conquistadors and missionaries, seeking riches and unsaved souls, plunged into the mainland wilderness to the west, south, and north of the Gulf of Mexico. By the late eighteenth century they had spread Spanish rule over Central and South America and a large portion of North America. The heart of Spain's new empire lay in Mexico, Central and South America, and the islands of the Caribbean. This study, however, deals mainly with the northern fringes of this empire--those areas of the present United States that once belonged to Spain. Roughly the southern tier of states, from Florida to California, made up what Herbert E. Bolton called the Spanish Borderlands.

The history of these borderlands falls into two distinct phases, the first corresponding generally to the sixteenth century, the second to the seventeenth and eighteenth. In the first phase, during which Mexico and the Caribbean islands became firmly established as centers of Spanish civilization in America, the borderlands constituted the great unknown, the land of the Fountain of Youth, the Seven Cities of Cibola, and Gran Quivira. Lured by rumors of

great wonders and abundant wealth, Spanish adventurers explored first the coastal regions and then the interior of the borderlands. Although they found little gold and silver, they acquired knowledge of the northern lands and added them to the Spanish Empire. As the sixteenth century drew to a close, the era of exploration began to merge with the era of colonization. During this second phase, the Spanish attempted to occupy and hold the borderlands. Continued search for wealth and conversion of the natives furnished important motives, but the principal justification for holding the borderlands was defense. They were buffers intended to protect Spain's central empire, growing yearly in power and wealth, from England, France, and Russia, her colonial rivals in the north, and later from the infant United States.[1]

By the late eighteenth century, the decline of the Spanish Empire in America had begun. Loss of the first borderlands portended eventual collapse of the central empire, but, as with England before her, Spain's central empire was lost through revolution, not conquest. Following the revolutions in Mexico and South America early in the nineteenth century, Spain retained a foothold in the Caribbean, but in the Spanish-American War of 1898 her last American possession, Cuba, slipped from her grasp.

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1. This interpretation is expounded in Herbert E. Bolton, "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands," Wider Horizons of American History (New York, 1939), 55-106.

The European Background

The sixteenth century opened on a Europe ripe for imperial expansion. In the fifteenth century the Middle Ages had given way to the Renaissance, with its intellectual awakening and its profound political, economic, social, and religious changes. The travels of Franciscan friars, Crusaders, and adventurers like Marco Polo had aroused Europe's interest in other lands, and commerce had developed with the Near and Far East. But the land routes of trade were long and beset by many hazards. Sea routes were needed, and it is not surprising that Christopher Columbus and others had boldly challenged current notions of geography and speculated on the possibility of reaching the East by sailing west.

The Iberian peoples, perhaps in part because of their peninsular location jutting from Europe into the Atlantic, led all Europe in geographical consciousness and curiosity, and hence in discovery and exploration. Portugal was the pioneer. Under the patronage and guidance of Prince Henry, Portugese captains between 1429 and 1460 explored two thousand miles of Africa's northwestern coast, and laid the basis for further voyages that, by 1486, opened the way to India around the southern tip of Africa. They also added to knowledge of the world's surface, improved navigational concepts and equipment, and made great strides in ship design and construction.

With Portugal's energies directed to the south, Spain fell heir to opportunities in the west (a division of intrest solidified in 1494 by the Papal Line of Demarcation). According to Ferdinand Columbus, it was from Portugese successes that Christopher Columbus first began to surmise that "if men could sail so far south, one might also sail west and find lands in that direction."[2] He persuaded the Spanish sovereigns to support such a venture at an opportune time in Spanish history. In 1469 the union of the Houses of Aragon and Castile through the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella had started Spain on a spectacular rise to power. By 1516 these two capable and far-seeing monarchs had driven the last of the Moors from Spain, consolidated royal power and largely eliminated the pretensions of lesser nobility, achieved territorial unity, made important advances towards homogeneity of race and religion, and lifted Spain to the rank of Europe's strongest power. These accomplishments had been well advanced by 1492, and, when Columbus in that year planted the Castilian banner on the shores of the New World, Spain stood ready to exploit the discovery.

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2. Quoted in Edward P. Cheyney, The European Background of American History, 1300-1600 (New York, 1904), 69.

Expanding the American Frontier

During his first and second voyages, 1492-1495, Columbus touched many islands of the West Indies. Among them were Cuba, Puerto Rico, St. Croix in the Virgin Islands, and Española (Haiti). On the latter, the first permanent European settlement in the New World, Santo Domingo, was founded in 1496. Restless soldiers of fortune, suddenly made idle by the victory over the Moors, poured into Española to foster a new breed of men--the conquistadors who for the next three hundred years were to push Spain's imperial frontiers into the American wilderness. Using Española as a base, they explored the mainland coast from Central America to the equator seeking a navigable passage to the South Sea and India.

Failing in this quest, they next turned to the colonization of the West Indian islands and the mainland. In 1509 Juan Ponce de León, appointed governor of Puerto Rico, headed an expedition that founded a colony at Caparra, which in 1521 was abandoned in favor of San Juan. Also in 1509 an expedition occupied Jamaica. A number of settlements promptly grew up, and in 1517 Francisco de Garay was named the first governor of the island. Diego Velásquez in 1511 landed in Cuba to begin the conquest of this largest of the West Indian islands. Within three years he had established five colonies, including Santiago de Cuba and Havana.

At the same time, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had become the dominant figure in a struggling colony on the Gulf of Urabá, in modern Colombia. He began a series of explorations that led to the discovery of the Pacific Ocean in 1513. To the north, in the same year, Ponce de León sailed from Puerto Rico in search of the fabled island of Bimini, but landed instead on a coast that he named Florida. He sailed around the peninsula, but, far from finding wealth or the magic fountain of youth, he encountered only hostile Indians and soon turned back to Puerto Rico.

As these Spanish adventurers fanned out from Española, they gained increasing knowledge of the geography of the New World. A significant contribution was made in 1519 by Alonso de Pineda, who coasted the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to Vera Cruz. He returned to Jamaica with fantastic tales of riches that overshadowed a more genuine achievement--a map of the entire Gulf Coast. Although now familiar with the Gulf shoreline, the Spaniards as yet knew little of the interior. The very year of Pineda's voyage, however, Hernando Cortes embarked on the conquest of Mexico and the founding of New Spain.

Defying Governor Velásquez of Cuba, Cortes and his followers landed on the Mexican mainland in February, 1519. Burning his ships behind him, he marched inland towards the city of Mexico, capital of Montezuma's Aztec Empire. Before the superior technology of the

Europenas, the native town fell to the invaders and their Indian allies. Cortés seized the Aztec ruler and established himself in Mexico City. During his absence the following spring, however, the Aztecs rose in revolt and drove their oppressors from the city. Undismayed, Cortés returned and launched a fleet on the lakes circling Mexico City. A siege, followed by a combined attack on land and water, brought the native rebellion to a close. By the autumn of 1521, the conquest of Mexico had been accomplished.

Mexico City now became the capital of New Spain and the center of Spanish activity on the mainland. The wealth of the Aztecs, available for the taking, led other adventurers to seek the riches that unexplored regions of the mainland seemed to promise. From Central and South America came reports, later confirmed by discovery, of precious metals, while from the north came reports of hostile Indians blocking the paths of expansion. During the next decade, therefore, the frontier in New Spain turned west and south. At the same time, however, other explorers looked north from the Indies at the land Ponce de León in 1513 had named Florida, a land that included not only the present state of Florida, but also much of the states of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Exploration of Florida

For over forty years conquistadors set out from the Indies to search for gold in Florida. They found instead only vast reaches of forest peopled by scattered tribes of Indians. Although they added important new facts to the store of geographical knowledge, not until 1565 did they plant a colony that survived.

Ponce de León himself tried again to colonize Florida in 1521. But Indians broke up the settlement he founded somewhere on the west coast, possibly near Tampa Bay, and wounded Ponce so severely that he died shortly after reaching Cuba.

Next was Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, a wealthy official of Espanola. In 1520 he had sponsored an expedition that sailed up the Atlantic Coast, perhaps as far as Cape Fear. It had returned with 150 native slaves, one of whom, named Francisco Chicora, Ayllón took to Spain. Chicora related to the Spanish court wondrous fantasies of his homeland--of untold treasures in precious stones and metals and of a giant race of men with tails like alligators. So charmed was Charles V that he awarded Ayllón the patent, vacated by the death of Ponce de León, to settle the new lands.

With six vessels and five hundred colonists, including Dominican friars to covert the savages, Ayllón in 1526 established the village of San Miguel de Guadalupe at a site, still disputed among historians, somewhere on the Carolina or Virginia Coast. But cold, starvation,

and illness decimated the colony, and the settlers fell to quarreling among themselves. During the winter, 150 survivors gave up and set sail for Española. Although Allyón was lost at sea enroute, the majority safely reached their destination.

Another to inherit part of Ponce de León's realm was Pánfilo de Narváez. He planned to found a series of towns along the Gulf Coast and use them as bases for raiding the Indians of the interior. With four hundred colonists, he landed on the west coast of Florida in April, 1528. While exploring the surrounding country, Narváez learned of a native town called Apalache, where gold might be found in abundance. He promptly abandoned all thought of establishing settlements and, sending the ships westward along the coast, struck out in search of Apalache. After two months of wandering, the colonists reached their destination, a poor village of some forty thatched huts believed to be near the present site of Tallahassee, Florida. Finding no gold, they turned back to the sea, but could discover no trace of their ships. Footsore, starving, harassed by angry savages, and quarreling among themselves, the 242 survivors fashioned crude vessels out of the scant materials at hand, and in September, 1528, put out to sea. Starvation and thirst reduced their number, and at the mouth of the Mississippi River the current scattered the boats. One, bearing Narváez, was lost at sea; the remaining four foundered off the Texas Coast. Eighty survivors of

three vessels were cast ashore together. Although Indians adopted these men, only fifteen lived through the winter. And of these only four, led by Cabeza de Vaca, were destined to reach civilization. The story of their remarkable escape and its profound results, however, belongs more properly to a later story.

To Ponce de León, Ayllón, and Narváez, the land of Florida had brought nothing but disappointment and, ultimately, death. For a decade after Narváez's ill-fated venture, it was left to the undisturbed enjoyment of the Indians. In 1537, however, Hernando de Soto, who had won fame and fortune as Pizarro's chief lieutenant in the conquest of Peru, obtained Narváez's old grant to Florida. At the head of an impressively equipped army of six hundred men, he landed on the west coast of the peninsula in the spring of 1539.

For almost four years the army wandered through the forests searching for mythical riches. From one village to another, the expedition marched over portions of the present states of Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi. Reaching the Mississippi River below the present city of Memphis, De Soto in May, 1541, built boats and crossed into Arkansas.

At each native town the Spaniards suffered disappointment. Occasionally they found a few imperfect pearls--enough to keep hope from dying entirely. At each town they enacted a familiar routine. Posing as the "Child of the Sun," De Soto imprisoned the local chief

and levied tribute in provisions and slaves. At each town, also, the Indians told of wealthy tribes dwelling farther on, and the Spaniards struck out to continue the search.

His army broken by hardship, disease, and hostile Indians, De Soto returned to the Mississippi in the spring of 1543. Here, his morale broken, the Governor of Cuba and Adelantado of Florida "took to his pallet" and died of fever. So that the Indians might not discover that he was mortal after all, De Soto's followers weighted his body and sank it in the great river that he had discovered. Under Luis de Moscoso, the expedition set out to the southwest, hoping to find their way overland to New Spain. Marching perhaps as far as East Texas, Moscoso despaired of reaching the Spanish outposts by land and returned to the Mississippi. Scarcely half of the original six hundred remained alive, but they set to work building seven brigantines. In these they floated down the river and, coasting the Gulf, finally reached the Pánuco River, near Vera Cruz, in September, 1543. De Soto and his men had failed in their search for wealth, but the map of North America had profited immensely from their explorations.

Four disasters in half as many decades should have convinced the Spaniards that Florida offered nothing they sought. But the tales of wealth persisted, and in 1558 Philip II directed the Viceroy of New Spain to organize another Florida venture. In August, 1559,

Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano established a settlement on the Gulf Coast, probably at Pensacola Bay,[3] and, pursuing rumors of gold in the interior, explored much of Alabama. Torn by dissension, the colony was on the point of collapse when Ángel de Villafañe arrived to replace Luna. In the spring of 1561 Villafañe attempted to move the colony to the Carolina Coast, which Philip II had ordered occupied. But storms broke up the fleet and drove it back to Española. Another attempt to subjugate and colonize Florida had failed.

The era of gold hunting in Florida had drawn to a close. Farther west, the story was similar. The northern frontier of New Spain had remained stationary for over a decade after the conquest of Mexico, but inevitably the bars had lifted. Here, too, the Spanish failed to find wealth.

Exploration of the Southwest

The first northward probes were by sea. Lower California became known through the exploration of Fortún Jiménez in 1533 and Francisco de Ulloa in 1539-1540. Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo undertook a more

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3. Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561 (New York, 1901), 358-59, 473-75.

ambitious voyage in 1542-1543. With two small ships, he sailed north along the Pacific Coast and discovered San Diego Bay. Although he died from an infected arm, his lieutenant, Bartolomé Ferrelo, pushed on as far as the forty-second parallel, where storms forced him to turn back to Mexico.

Stimulas for the land advance came with the arrival in Mexico City of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Treasurer of the Narváez expedition, he and three companions, including a Negro slave, Estevanico, were all that remained of the eighty men shipwrecked off the Texas Coast in 1528. Their wanderings among the Indians of Texas, first as slaves, then as traders, and finally as medicine-men, form an adventure story with few parallels. For eight years they lived with one tribe after another. At last they made their way across Texas, Chihuahua, and Sonora, and ultimately reached the Spanish outpost at Culiacán. They were the first known Europeans to enter the land that is now Texas.

Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades had seen no riches during their ordeal. On the contrary, the natives with whom they came into contact lived daily on the verge of starvation. But the Spaniards had heard of great cities farther to the north, where precious metals, emeralds, and turquoises abounded. Their stories inflamed the imagination of New Spain, and everywhere people talked of another Mexico and another Peru lying to the north.

Among those inspired by Cabeza de Vaca's story was Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain. He commissioned Fray Marcos de Niza to journey north in search of the cities of which Cabeza de Vaca had heard, and purchased the Negro, Estevanico, to act as guide. With a large following of Indians, Fray Marcos and Estevanico left Culiacán in the spring of 1539. The Negro went ahead. If he had good news to report, he was to send back a cross the size of his hand; if the news were even better, he was to send back a larger cross. Soon, Indian messengers appeared with a cross the size of a man and stories of seven great native cities, called Cíbola, where turquoises studded the doorways. But when Estevanico reached the first of the seven cities, one of the Zuñi towns of western New Mexico, the inhabitants killed him and sent his entourage flying back to Fray Marcos in panic. Shaken but undeterred, the friar pushed on, hoping at least to glimpse Cíbola at a distance. From a hill near the Zuñi pueblo, Fray Marcos saw Cíbola and judged it to be"larger than the city of Mexico." He returned promptly to New Spain with word that the new lands appeared to be "the best and

largest of all those that have been discovered."[4]

Upon the return of Fray Marcos, New Spain went wild with enthusiasm. Although his official report to the Viceroy was kept secret, rumors of the wealthy Seven Cities of Cíbola, encouraged no doubt by the loquacious friar himself, swept through Spain and her possessions. Conquistadors intrigued for leadership of the expedition to Cíbola, while nobelemen and adventurers scrambled for lesser positions with the army. To Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, Governor of New Galicia, Viceroy Mendoza awarded the coveted post. Coronado organized a formidable army at Compostela in January, 1540. After an impressive review by the Viceroy himself, the expedition, guided by Fray Marcos, set forth for Cíbola a month later.

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4. Adolph Bandelier and Frederick W. Hodge, both eminent scholars who have performed exhaustive research in contemporary documents and on the ground, disagree on which Zuñi town was the Cíbola of Estevancio and Fray Marcos. Bandelier argues for Kiakima, Hodge for Hawikuh. Both towns are now in ruins. A. H. Bandelier, Contributions to the History of the Southwestern United States, Papers of the Archeological Institute of America, American Series, V (Cambridge, 1909), 24-68; Frederick W. Hodge, The History of Hawikuh, New Mexico (Los Angeles, 1937), 19-29. The weight of opinion now favors Hawikuh. Fray Marcos' veracity, also, has been an object of contention among historians for almost a century. Some have concluded that he was an unmitigated liar, others that he spoke truthfully but was a victim of the treasure psychosis that excited the imagination of his contemporaries. See Bandelier, Contributions to the History of the Southwestern United States; Carl Sauer, The Road to Cibola (Berkeley, 1932); H. H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco, 1889); George J. Undreiner, "Fray Marcos de Niza and his Journey to Cibola," The Americas, III (1947); A. H. Schroeder, "Fray Marcos de Niza, Coronado and the Yavapai," New Mexico Historical Review, XXX and XXXI (1955-56).

Having but vague knowledge of the country to be conquered, Mendoza hoped to supply Coronado's army from the sea. For this purpose he sent Hernando de Alarcón with three ships up the Gulf of California. Although the two expeditions never got together, Alarcón explored the Lower Colorado River for two hundred miles inland and took possession of the territory for His Most Catholic Majesty.

Meanwhile, after an arduous march, Coronado at last reached Cíbola, the Zuñi village of Hawikuh.[5] The Indians resisted, and the Spaniards were forced to storm the pueblo. Once in possession, however, they were crestfallen to discover none of the riches they had so eagerly anticipated. Such were the curses of the conquistadors that Fray Marcos found it expedient to return to New Spain at the first opportunity.

From Cíbola, Coronado sent out several expeditions to investigate the country. Don Pedro de Tovar went to the Hopi villages of Arizona and returned with information that led Coronado to dispatch Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas to explore farther to the west. During his journey, Cárdenas discovered the Grand Canyon. A third detachment, under Melchior Díaz, explored the Lower Colorado River country while

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5. A. F. Bandelier, "An Outline of the Documentary History of the Zuni Tribe," Journal of American Ethnology and Archeology, III (1892), Ch. 2; Hodge, History of Hawikuh, 29-58.

engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to find Alarcón. Still another command, led by Hernando de Alvarado, marched east to the Rio Grande, north to Taos, and south to Pecos, on the fringe of the buffalo plains, before returning to Cíbola.[6]

At Pecos, Alvarado had found an Indian whom the Spaniards named The Turk--"because he looked like one."[7] He told of a wealthy city called Quivira on the great plains to the east. After wintering on the Rio Grande, the army set out for Quivira in the spring of 1541. With them as guide went the Turk. He led his captors far out on the prairies and north into modern Kansas. Quivira turned out to be a collection of grass huts somewhere in central or east-central Kansas.[8] Enraged, the Spaniards murdered the Turk and dispiritedly turned back to the Rio Grande. His venture a total failure, Coronado

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6. Castañeda's chronicle, Winship translation, relates the discovery of the Grand Canyon and describes Alvarado's journey to Taos and Pecos. George P. Winship (trans.), The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542, Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th Annual Report, 1892-93 (Washington, 1896), 489-92, 575.

7. Ibid., 492.

8. As with so many Spanish sites, the location of Quivira has been a subject of speculation and debate for many years. After extensive research in the documents and excavation of Indian sites in Kansas in the late 1930's, Waldo Wedel gave his opinion that "Coronado's entrada into the province of Quivira probably took place in the present Rice-McPherson County locality" and that "while the exact limits of Quivira in Kansas cannot now be set up, the heart of the province lay north and east of the Arkansas and south of the Smoky Hill. . .." Waldo R. Wedel, Archeological Remains in Central Kansas and their Possible Bearing on the Location of Quivira, Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 101, 7 (Washington, 1942), 22.

led his broken and rebellious army back to New Spain early in 1542. He had found no gold, silver, or precious stones, but he and his lieutenants had explored much of the present states of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, and had laid the basis for Spain's claim to the American Southwest.

The Beginnings of Colonization

Coronado's return from Quivira marked the end of an era. Conquistadors from Ponce de León to Coronado had exploded the myth of untapped riches in the north. The day of the treasurehunting expeditions passed, and the Spanish frontier began a more methodical and orderly advance. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several influences, working separately or in combination, drew the frontier north from the Indies and Mexico City. For one thing, the lure of wealth had not entirely vanished, as the discovery of rich silver mines in Zacatecas in 1548 demonstrated. Conversion of the natives furnished another important motivation, and the missionaries played a major role in advancing the frontier. In theory this was the principal reason for colonization. The New Laws of 1542-1543, designed to check the mass enslavement of natives under the encomienda system, declared that the Crown's "chief intention and will has always been and is the preservation and increase of the Indians, and that they be instructed and taught in the matters of our holy

Catholic faith, and be well treated as free persons and our vassals, as they are."[9] Sound though the Crown's intent may have been in theory, in reality almost every northward impulse of the frontier came as a response to English, French, or Russian threats looming somewhere along the Spanish borderlands of North America. Through the interplay of these forces, Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pushed the frontier of colonization into the lands explored by her conquistadors in the sixteenth century.

As the frontier moved north, a standard pattern of colonization emerged. It featured three institutions that stamped the Spanish pioneering system with an individuality all its own--the mission, the pueblo, and the presidio. Hampered in her colonial undertakings by a sparse population, Spain's aim was to people her possessions with the aborigines who already lived in them. The Indians, therefore, had to be converted, civilized, and exploited. In the vanguard of the frontier movement marched those charged with this duty--Franciscan, Jesuit, or Dominican missionaires. They built missions that served the Church by Christianizing the frontier, and the State by extending, holding, and civilizing the frontier. The mission was more than a church. It was also a great industrial

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9. Quoted in George P. Hammond, "Don Juan de Onate and the Founding of New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, I (1926), 291.

and agricultural school, surrounded by farming and grazing lands, and including weaving rooms, blacksmith shops, tanneries, warehouses, and other productive agencies necessary for daily life. The second institution, the pueblo, was modelled after Spanish towns, and grew from the necessity of fixing the wild and roving tribes of the north in one place in order that they might be converted, civilized, and exploited. Some distance from the pueblo and mission often stood the third institution of colonization, the presidio, or military garrison. The presidial detachment protected the missionaries and mission Indians from savages and foreigners, and, incidentally, hunted down and returned any neophyte who became so dissatisfied with his lot that he took to the hills. Presidios dotted the Spanish frontier from Santa Elena through San Antonio and Tubac to San Francisco, and formed the nucleus of many thriving modern cities. Where the treasure-seeker failed, then, the more thorough advance of mission, pueblo, and presidio succeeded in asserting Spain's rule in her North American possessions.[10]

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10. An excellent study of mission, presidio, and pueblo as institutions may be found in Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," American Historical Review, XXIII (1917), 42-61.

The Colonization of Florida

The first threat to produce a Spanish colony in the northern borderlands arose in Florida. Early in the sixteenth century, a great triangular struggle for empire that was to last for two hundred years developed among England, France, and Spain. It began in the Caribbean, where English corsairs preyed on Spanish fleets bound for Spain. These ships used the Florida Straits and the Gulf Stream. At one end of this seaway lay Puerto Rico, where the Spanish began a series of massive fortifications. At San Juan, La Casa Blanca was built in 1525, and La Fortaleza was finished in 1540, a year after the first defenses of Morro Castle were authorized. At the other end of the seaway lay the unprotected Florida Coast. Successive explorers had failed to find gold in Florida, but in 1565 the King decided to colonize and fortify the coast as a measure of security for the sea lanes.

This decision was based not only on a fear of English seadogs, but also on a mounting threat of French imperial expansion from the north. In 1562 a group of French Huguenots under Jean Ribaut had founded a colony at Santa Elena (Port Royal), on the Carolina Coast. Although the venture ended in disaster, René de Laudonnière, later joined by Ribaut, had planted another Huguenot settlement even farther south in 1564. Near the mouth of St. John's River, the Frenchmen had built Fort Caroline, admirably situated to menace Spanish shipping.

To meet the French threat, Philip II in 1565 commissioned Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to conquer and settle Florida and to "kill all those he might find in said Florida." Menéndez faithfully carried out his instructions. Landing at Matanzas Bay in August, 1565 he first founded the colony of St. Augustine, the first permanent European settlement on the mainland of the United States, as a base of operations. He then led his army against the Huguenots. Fort Caroline was easily captured, for Ribaut and most of his men had sailed out to attack St. Augustine, only to be shipwrecked in a storm and cast ashore. Menéndez next turned south to capture the remaining Frenchmen. About two hundred of them surrendered at the southern end of Anastasia Island. All but eight he put to the knife. Two weeks later, another group of 150 Huguenots, including Ribaut, surrendered, and met the same fate. The lives of several musicians he spared, Menéndez wrote the King, "but Jean Ribaut and all the others I had put to the knife, understanding this to be advantageous to the service of God."[11]

The Spaniards next turned to the task of settlement. They had already founded St. Augustine, and before the end of the year they built the presidios of San Felipe at Santa Elena, San Pedro twenty

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11. Quoted in Henry Folmer, Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America, 1524-1763 (Glendale, 1953), 99.

leagues north of St. Augustine, and San Mateo at the mouth of St. John's River.[12] Other presidios were built south of St. Augustine, on the west coast of the peninsula, and in the interior.

Jesuits established a network of missions, but so hostile were the Indians that in 1570 they gave up the attempt and left Florida. Franciscans had better success, especially after the founding of Jamestown in 1607 stimulated official interest and encouragement in extending the mission frontier northward. By 1634 the Franciscans had thirty friars in the field ministering to some 30,000 neophytes at forty-four missions. Administered from St. Augustine, these missions dotted the Atlantic and Gulf Seaboards, and the coastal islands, from Alabama to Carolina, and had even begun to penetrate the interior. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Franciscans found life precarious, and many won martyrdom at the hands of savages who objected to Spanish Indian policy. Despite the attitude of the natives, however, the missionaries refused to abandon the field. On the contrary, they stepped up their activities, brought in additional friars, and built more missions.

While the Spanish labored to control the Indians, the conflict with England continued. English corsairs, especially Sir Francis

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12. These locations are all identified in "Memorial on Four Forts of Florida presented to His Majesty by Captain Antonio de Prado," Madrid, Nov. 16, 1569, quoted in Verne E. Chatelain, The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763 (Washington, 1941), 131-32 n2.

Drake, stepped up their raids on Spanish commerce. In 1595 Drake attacked San Juan, Puerto Rico, and engaged the guns of El Morro itself. Three years later, the Earl of Cumberland captured El Morro, only to relinquish it when dysentery ravaged his command. In Florida, the English menace to the north grew more sharply defined with the founding, in 1607, of the colony of Jamestown. In 1653 English settlers moved into North Carolina, and in 1670 into South Carolina. The Spanish answer was to found more missions, and to construct the great fortification of Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine. The English were not deterred. Aided by Indian allies, both sides began skirmishing on the Carolina frontier. A similar threat loomed on the Alabama frontier, where English traders began intriguing among the Indians. Faced also in this area with the danger posed by the Frenchmen La Salle and Iberville, the harassed Spaniards in 1698 established a colony on Pensacola Bay.[13]

With the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702, the border warfare that had inflamed the Carolina frontier gave way to full-scale conflict in Florida. English troops and Indian allies raided Spanish missions in the interior, and attacked

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13. William E. Dunn, "The Occupation of Pensacola Bay, 1689-1698," Florida Historical Society, Quarterly, IV (1925), 3-14, 76-89. Chatelain, The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 27, 76-79, 125 n4, 157 n1.

St. Augustine itself. They plundered the city and besieged Castillo de San Marcos. The siege lasted until a relief expedition from Havana arrived and drove off the English forces. The English next struck the mission frontier. In 1704 a combined force of English militia and Creek Indians swept through the Apalache country, destroying thirteen towns and twelve Spanish missions. The Spaniards took the offensive in 1706, but their attempt to capture Charleston ended in failure. When the war finally came to a close in 1713, Spain still held her Florida empire, and the Peace of Utrecht left the borders unaltered.

Although the borders remained intact, the English had so badly ravaged the Florida frontier that, at the close of the war, effective Spanish occupation was largely confined to St. Augustine and Pensacola. English pressure from the north and west, coupled with a series of reverses in Europe, gradually reduced the Florida empire during the next half-century. In 1733, James Oglethorpe founded the colony of Georgia. Taking advantage of the outbreak of the War of Jenkin's Ear, a European conflict between England and Spain, he attacked St. Augustine in 1740. His siege caused great suffering, but the Spanish held out until help arrived. The English, however, finally won Florida. By the Peace of Paris, which in 1763 ended the French and Indian War, Spain lost both East and West Florida to England.

Although Florida prospered and the population grew under the new regime, English rule was destined to be short-lived. By the Treaty of 1783, which ended the American Revolution, Spain regained her Florida possessions. The English had been eliminated, but Americans had taken their place. It was but a question of time before Spain would again lose Florida.

The Founding of New Mexico

The international rivalry that led to the occupation of Florida in 1565 produced similar results farther west. For fifty years following Coronado's return from Quivira, the Spanish showed only slight interest in New Mexico. The expedition of Fray Augustin Rodríguez and Francisco Chamuscado in 1581, and that of Antonio de Espejo the following year, covered much of the country Coronado had explored, but failed to divert attention from the mineral deposits that were drawing the frontier of New Spain steadily north from Mexico City. As in Florida, the real stimulus that promoted occupation came from the English.

In 1565 Spaniards from Mexico succeeded in conquering the Philippine Islands, and a lucrative trade sprang up between Manila and Mexico City. The most practical return route from Manila, discovered by Andrés de Urdaneta, lay on the Great Circle course that

took advantage of the Japan Current and westerly winds to reach the California Coast, which the galleons then followed south to Mexico. In 1579 the English privateer, Sir Francis Drake, raided Spanish treasure ships on the Pacific Coast of the Americas. Not only did he imperil the Manila trade, but he landed on the California Coast just north of San Francisco Bay and took possession of the country for England. Moreover, Spain feared that he had also found the fabled Strait of Anian, for which her own explorers had been searching since the days of Columbus. Following the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588, King Philip determined to check the English menace in the New World, and ordered the occupation of California and New Mexico.

California first had to be explored more thoroughly. Captains of galleons returning from Manila therefore received instructions to conduct more detailed examinations of the California Coast. One such reconnaissance, led by Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño in 1595, landed at Drake's Bay. While there, a storm rose and wrecked the galleon.[14] The loss of its valuable cargo prompted a decision to

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14. Henry R. Wagner, Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century (SanFrancisco, 1929), 154-67, 369-73. The remains of what was almost certainly Cermeño's wrecked ship were discovered in 1941 by an archeological expedition of the University of California. See Robert F. Heizer, "Archeological Evidence of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño's California Visit in 1595," California Historical Society, Quarterly, XX (1941), 315-328.

explore California from Mexico rather than risk more galleons in the dangerous undertaking. For this purpose, Sebastián Vizcaíno sailed up the coast as far as Drake's Bay in 1602-1603. He explored and named San Diego, Santa Catalina Island, Santa Barbara Channel, Point Concepcion, Carmel, and Monterey Bay; but, like his predecessors, missed the great harbor that lay behind the Golden Gate. Vizcaíno recommended that a settlement be established at Monterey Bay, which he inaccurately described as "the best port that could be desired."[15]

Although Vizcaíno was commissioned in 1603 to found a colony at Monterey Bay, a new viceroy, who opposed the project, reached Mexico City in time to prevent him from carrying out his instructions. The English had not followed up Drake's claim to California, and the danger from that direction had subsided accordingly. Spaniards continued to be active in Lower California, where pearl fisheries beckoned, but Upper California lay neglected for a century and a half.

Although the California venture failed, the project of colonizing New Mexico succeeded. Applicants for leadership of the expedition

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15. Vizcaíno's diary in Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 91. See also Charles E. Chapman, "Sebastian Vizcaíno: Exploration of California," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIII (1920).

bombarded the King and the Viceroy with petitions. Before one could be selected, two unlicensed expeditions entered New Mexico illegally. The first, organized by Castaño de Sosa in 1590, failed when soldiers overtook the colonists and arrested their leader. The second, under Francisco Bonilla and Gutiérrez de Humaña in 1594 or 1596, perished at the hands of Indians far out on the buffalo plains. It remained to Don Juan de Oñate, to whom the King awarded the coveted license, to plant a permanent colony on the Rio Grande.

With four hundred followers, Oñate left Santa Barbara, in northern Mexico, in February, 1598. Reaching the Rio Grande at El Paso, he marched north to the mouth of the Chama River. There, in August, he founded the colony of San Juan, the first capital of New Mexico.[16] The pueblos submitted to his authority, and friars scattered about to convert the Indians. Although Ácoma, the "sky city" of western New Mexico, rebelled at Spanish rule, Oñate ruthlessly crushed

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16. Historians disagree on the exact location of San Juan and its successor, San Gabriel, which the capital was named in 1601. Several sites, all near the mouth of the Chama, have been advocated. Conflicting interpretations are given in George P. Hammond, "Don Juan de Onate and the Founding of New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, I (1926), 318; Herbert E. Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706 (New York, 1952), 203; C. F. Coan, A History of New Mexico (Chicago, 1925), I, 175; A. F. Bandelier, Final Report (Cambridge, 1892), Pt. 2, 59-60; F. W. Hodge, ed., A Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington, 1910), Pt. 2, 443, 1007; and R. E. Twitchell, Old Santa Fe (Santa Fe, 1925), 17-18.

opposition and sacked the town. While the settlers of San Juan struggled to establish the colony, Oñate and his lieutenants covered much of the country explored by Coronado. One journey, in 1601, took them across the great plains as far as Quivira, possibly the same native province that Coronado visited sixty years earlier. But the colonists had become discontented with Oñate's leadership, and the authorities in Mexico City soon lost confidence in him. In 1607 he resigned and a royal governor, Don Pedro de Peralta, arrived to replace him.

Like Coronado, the pioneers of New Mexico found no riches to reward their efforts, and they turned to farming and stock-raising. The first years were hard, and succeeding years were not much easier. The Crown, now that New Mexico had been secured, took little interest in its far-flung province. In 1609 or 1610, the new governor founded the villa of Santa Fe and moved the seat of government there. It is still the capital of New Mexico, and the second oldest city in the United States.

The history of New Mexico through most of the seventeenth century centered on a bitter conflict between civil and ecclesiastical officials. This feud precluded healthy political development, and the province existed constantly on the verge of disintegration. But the missionaires established themselves in most of the pueblos and reaped a harvest of souls. In the process the Indians also

became well-acquainted with Spanish methods of exploitation. They grew increasingly discontented, and at last, in 1680, their pent-up resentment broke loose.

At Taos, Pecos, Ácoma, and other pueblos throughout New Mexico, the Indians rose in revolt, murdered their priests, and burned the missions. Killing any Spaniards they encountered, the natives converged on Santa Fe. The capital fell before the onslaught, and the enraged Indians attempted to stamp out all traces of white civilization. Over four hundred Spaniards died in the uprising, and the survivors, led by Governor Antonio de Otermín, retreated down the river to El Paso. The following year, Otermín attempted to recover the lost territory, but his small army found the task too great and the venture collapsed.

Not until 1692 was reconquest again attempted. In that year Governor Don Diego de Vargas led a strong army up the Rio Grande and, without firing a shot, reoccupied Santa Fe temporarily. At each pueblo the Indians submitted to Spanish arms without resistance and were forgiven their sins. The following year, however, the Tanos Indians, who had settled in Santa Fe during the twelve years of Spanish absence, revolted when ordered to vacate the city. In a bloody battle they were driven out, and the adobe villa once more became the capital of New Mexico.

It soon became apparent that the submission of the other Indians had also been more nominal than actual. De Vargas therefore set out

to chastise them as he had the Tanos, but only after six years of hard fighting did he succeed in re-establishing unquestioned Spanish authority throughout the province. Thereafter, New Mexico remained under the rule of Spain for over a century. Sparsely settled and economically depressed, it contributed little to the mother country and received even less in return. Mainly, it endured as a borderland and a buffer against potential foreign intrusion from the north. As Bandelier expressed it, "the New Mexican colony was an imperfect lightning-rod for the more remunerative Spanish possessions in Chihuahua and Coahuila."[17]

Texas and the French Threat

For almost a century after Oñate's colonists founded San Juan, the Spaniards by-passed Texas enroute to New Mexico. But as New Mexico had been occupied to counter English imperial ambitions, now Texas was to be occupied to counter a genuine threat from France. In January, 1685, René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, landed a colony of Frenchmen on the Texas Coast. On Lavaca Bay, an inlet

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17. Bandelier, "Documentary History of the Zuni Tribe," 95.

of Matagorda Bay, he built Fort St. Louis.[18] Alarmed by the specter of a great French empire spreading over central North America and separating Florida from Mexico (a specter that ultimately became a reality), Spanish officials moved swiftly to meet the crisis.

In 1686, 1687, and again in 1688, Alonso de León, who became governor of Coahuila in 1687, led expeditions along the Texas Coast in search of La Salle's colony. With Father Damian Massanet, a Franciscan missionary, he made a fourth journey in 1689 and succeeded in locating Fort St. Louis. It no longer threatened the Spaniards. Disaster had befallen the French colony, which had been crippled by hunger, disease, and dissension, and finally destroyed by Indians. The Spanish found only deserted ruins to mark the site of the settlement.

Nevertheless, Spain decided to occupy Texas as a bulwark against France. In 1690 De León and a contingent of soldiers escorted Father Massanet and four other missionaries into East Texas. Among the Tejas Indians of the Neches River Valley, they built the missions of San Francisco de los Tejas and Santisimo Nombre de Maria. East

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18. Bolton almost certainly established the site of Fort St. Louis in 1914, and it was excavated by the Texas Memorial Museum in 1950. The site was probably also the first location of the Spanish mission of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga and the presidio of La Bahía. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, II (1915), 165-182. For a report on the excavation of the site, see American Antiquity, XVII (1951), 79.

Texas now became a province, with Domingo Terán as governor. But Father Massanet, fearing that soldiers would corrupt his Indians, had opposed the founding of presidios to protect the missions. The French, moreover, had made no attempt to follow up the La Salle beginning. When the Indians turned hostile, therefore, the fathers in 1693 abandoned the enterprise. They burned the missions and hastened back to Coahuila.

Not for two decades did the Spanish attempt to re-enter Texas. During this period, the French established themselves on the Gulf Coast and gradually extended their Louisiana frontier. Spanish colonial officials grew increasingly alarmed, but not until a French trading expedition under Louis St. Denis crossed Texas to Coahuila in 1714 were they moved to action. A council of war in 1715 named Domingo Ramón to undertake the re-occupation of Texas and assigned the missionary field to Fathers Isidro Espinosa and Antonio Margil. The following year the expedition set forth. In the Neches River country, almost under the French guns at Natchitoches, the Spaniards raised six missions and the presidio of Dolores. As a way station between Coahuila and the isolated missions of East Texas, the Spanish decided to plant a colony on the San Antonio River. In 1718 Martin de Alarcon carried out the decision. The mission of San Antonio de Valero (later famous as the Alamo), a presidio, and a town were founded. Around them grew the modern city of San Antonio.

In 1719 war broke out in Europe between France and Spain, and the conflict quickly spread to the Louisiana-Texas frontier. When French troops advanced from Natchitoches, the Spanish evacuated East Texas without resistance and retreated to San Antonio. While the fathers were waiting here for an opportunity to return to their abandoned missions, Father Margil built the mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, ultimately acclaimed the finest in New Spain. The Marquis de Aguayo, meanwhile, raised a strong army and in 1721 set out to conquer the lost territory. But the war had ended in Europe, and Aguayo was permitted to enter East Texas peaceably. He reoccupied the six abandoned missions and the presidio of Dolores, and built a new presidio, Los Adaes, near the French post at Natchitoches. Texas was now separated from Coahuila and made an independent province, with its capital at Los Adaes. Once more, Spain's rule had been fixed on Texas.

In contrast to New Mexico, Texas floruished for the next few decades. Around San Antonio, Los Adaes, and Bahía del Espíritu Santo (Matagorda Bay), thriving centers of population developed. A series of campaigns against the Apaches slowly pushed the frontier northward. Missions dotted Texas from the Rio Grande to the Red River, and an attempt was even made to convert the Apaches. To the east, the border dispute between Spain and France kept the frontier in a state of constant uneasiness. But while the soldiers at Los

Adaes and Natchitoches glared menacingly at one another, Spain solidified her rule over Texas.

The Acquisition of Louisiana

From the viewpoint of Spanish colonial officials, the Texas-Louisiana border dispute reached an eminently satisfactory conclusion in 1763. The Seven Years War had finally ended. Despite their differences in America, Spain and France had been allied against England on the battlefields of Europe. By the Treaty of Paris Spain lost Florida to England, and Louis XV, partially as compensation and partially to forestall the English, gave to his cousin, Charles III of Spain, the Isle of Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi. The Texas-Louisiana border vanished as a line of dispute, and Spain, no longer seeing need of the expensive outposts of East Texas, decided to abandon them. In 1773, the colonists, much against their will, were forced to move to San Antonio.

Spain did not get around to taking formal possession of Louisiana until 1766, when Don Antonio de Ulloa and ninety soldiers arrived at New Orleans. The new governor found himself in an untenable position from the first, for the French residents, bitter over the transfer of their allegiance to Spain, made no secret of their dislike of the Spaniards. Finally, following issuance of an order prohibiting trade with France, discontent erupted into open revolt and Ulloa and his entourage in 1768 were expelled from the province.

Stung by the insult, Spain the following year sent a strong military force back to Louisiana. To Don Alexander O'Reilly was entrusted the grim task of stamping out sedition and asserting Spanish authority. He ferreted out the leaders of the rebellion and dealt with them mercilessly. Six were condemned to death; others went to prison. So thoroughly did he carry out his orders that he soon won the sobriquet of "Bloody O'Reilly." After establishing Spanish rule, however, O'Reilly, reflecting a general trend in Spanish colonial policy, adopted a conciliatory attitude and inaugurated a benevolent regime that permitted the French considerable participation in local government. In fact, the Spanish merely took over French institutions and methods, thus deviating from the colonizing techniques they employed elsewhere. Hence, the frontier institutions of mission, presidio, and pueblo never were introduced into Louisiana.

Under a succession of popular Spanish governors, Louisiana enjoyed greater prosperity than ever before. Operating through French institutions among the Indians, Spanish officials encouraged the fur trade and attempted to raise a native barrier against the English. Agriculture flourished, and foreign trade, much of it illicit, gave the colony a viable economy. The population steadily expanded, reaching 50,000 by the close of the eighteenth century.

When the English colonies revolted, Spain saw an opportunity to humble her old antagonist. Spanish authorities at New Orleans furnished arms and supplies to the rebelling colonists and permitted

American guerrillas to use Louisiana as a base for operations in West Florida. After Spain entered the war in 1779, Governor Bernardo de Galvez led a small expedition up the Mississippi and captured the English forts at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. In 1780, he commanded a larger force that seized Mobile and, the following year, Pensacola, thus adding West Florida to Spanish Louisiana.

Spanish-American harmony turned out to be short-lived. In place of the English, the Spaniards now found aggressive American expansionists perched on the Louisiana frontier, and correctly perceived the new threat to be far more serious than the old. As one countermeasure, Spain closed the Mississippi to American commerce by denying the right of deposit at New Orleans. The discontent thus produced in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys not only confronted the new United States Government with an explosive internal problem, but complicated Spanish-American relations for many years. Also at issue was the Yazoo Strip, a tract of territory lying between parallels 31 and 32° 28', bounded on the east by the Chattahoochee River and on the west by the Mississippi. Under the treaties that ended the Revolution, both Spain and the United States claimed the Yazoo Strip. After a dozen years of diplomatic bickering and frontier intrigue, Spain, hard-pressed in Europe and America, finally backed down. By the Treaty of San Lorenzo, or Pinckney's Treaty, Spain in 1795 relinquished her claim to the Yazoo Strip and opened the Mississippi

to American commerce. Despite these concessions, she was nevertheless to lose all of Louisiana to the Americans within a decade.

The Occupation of California and Arizona

The stimulus that finally led to the colonization of California came from Russia. During the seventeenth century, the Russian frontier had moved steadily across Siberia, and in the eighteenth century it expanded into the Aleutian Islands and Alaska. Russian explorers, notable among whom was Vitus Bering, explored the coast of North America; some sailed as far south as California. By 1763 traders were working down the coast of the mainland in search of seal and otter peltries. Although the threat was actually remote, royal officials in Spain grew alarmed, and in 1767 instructed José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain, to investigate the danger from Russia. Gálvez, who had long advocated the occupation of California, seized the opportunity not only to investigate but also to found a colony in the north.

He organized the enterprise in Lower California, which had an extensive network of missions that provided a base of operations. Two expeditions were to set forth, one by land, the other by sea. The land party consisted of settlers led by Don Gaspar de Portolá and Franciscan missionaries under Fray Junípero Serra. Two vessels were to carry additional colonists and meet Portolá and Serra at

San Diego Bay. Preceded by an advance guard under Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncado, Portolá and Serra got under way in the spring of 1769. Struggling over mountain and desert for seven weeks, they finally arrived at San Diego late in June. The two ships had already appeared, but their voyage had been a terrible ordeal. Scurvy had taken the lives of about half of the seamen and colonists, and the rest were so weakened that they could scarcely take care of themselves. Nevertheless, on July 1 Father Serra said mass, the assemblage sang the Te Deum, and Portolá ceremoniously took formal possession of California for Spain.

On July 16 Father Serra founded the first mission in Upper California, San Diego de Alcalá. Inducing the Indians to become neophytes, however, proved far more difficult. In fact, a raiding party attacked the mission on August 15, killing one Spaniard and wounding three more. Spanish gunpowder made the Indians more tractable, but failed to imbue them with a desire for conversion. For over a year the mission rolls recorded not a single convert.

Meanwhile, Portolá and sixty-two men had set out for Monterey Bay on July 14. He found there no fine harbor such as described by Vizcaíno in 1602, and concluded that it must be farther north. His search took him almost to Drake's Bay, and led to the discovery, at last, of San Francisco Bay--"a very large and fine harbor," recorded Portolá's diarist, "such that not only all of the navy of our most

Catholic Majesty but those of all Europe could take shelter in it."[19]

Returning to San Diego, Portolá found the colony on the point of starvation. Just when all hope seemed lost, however, a ship sailed into the bay with provisions that saved the California venture from total ruin. From the San Diego base, Portolá and Serra secured Spain's hold on California. In June, 1770, they founded the presidio of Monterey and the mission of San Carlos. Reinforced by more Franciscans, Father Serra in the next three years built the missions of San Antonio de Padua, San Gabriel Arcángel, and San Luis Obispo de Tolasa. Other missions were built in later years. But the California settlements, dependent as yet on supply ships from Mexico, failed to prosper. More colonists, especially women, were needed, as well as livestock in sufficient quantity to form the basis for a stable economy. The future of Spanish California hinged largely on the opening of a land route from Mexico.

A trail to California from the east could now be blazed, for in the century preceding the occupation of California the Spanish frontier had moved northward into Pimería Alta, the country now comprising northern Sonora and southern Arizona. Missions, presidios, and pueblos dotted this land of the Upper Pima Indians.

The man largely responsible for this development was a Jesuit

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19. Herbert E. Bolton, Fray Juan Crespi (Berkeley, 1927), p. 28.

missionary, Fray Eusebio Francisco Kino. A dedicated man with boundless energy, Kinocame to Sonora in 1687. From his headquarters at the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the San Miguel River of northern Sonora, he built a chain of missions that extended as far north as San Xavier del Bac, near present Tucson. Between 1687 and his death in 1711, Kino also explored and mapped much of the country drained by the San Pedro, Santa Cruz, and Gila Rivers, and it was he who made known, once and for all, the geographical fact that Lower California was a peninsula and not an island.

After Kino's death in 1711, Spanish activity in Pimería Alta diminished. The missions led a precarious existence because of Apache depredations, and many had to be abandoned. A group of German Jesuits in 1732 had some success in pumping new life into the northern frontier, and a temporary burst of activity followed the discovery of silver at Arizonac in 1736. But not until the Pima Revolt of 1751 did the fortunes of Pimería Alta change for the better. The uprising was swiftly crushed, and the Spaniards built the presidio of Tubac on the Santa Cruz River south of San Xavier del Bac. After the expulsion of the Jesuits by Charles III in 1767, Franciscans moved into the abandoned missionary field of Pimería Alta, and under the able leadership of Fray Francisco Garcés the missions flourished as they had in Kino's day. A settlement grew up at Tucson, and in 1776 the presidio was moved from Tubac to Tucson.

Between Pimería Alta and California the Spaniards were not long in opening a land route of communication. In 1771 Father Garcés, seeking new mission sites, covered much of the Lower Colorado River country. Influenced largely by the diary of Garcés, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, commandant of the Tubac Presidio, secured permission to lead an expedition to California by land. With Garcés serving as guide and chaplain, Anza and thirty-four men left Tubac on January 8, 1774. The party marched by way of Caborca and Sonoita, crossed the Colorado River at the mouth of the Gila, and struck northwest to San Gabriel and Monterey. On the return journey, Anza went up the Gila and turned south to Tucson, thence to Tubac. The expedition demonstrated that an overland route to California was indeed feasible and, having met a cordial reception from the Yuma Indians, that overland traffic would probably encounter little opposition from the natives.

Anza reported in person to the authorities in Mexico City and won permission to lead a colonizing expedition to California. With some 225 settlers recruited in Sinaloa and Sonora, he left Tubac a second time on October 23, 1775. He followed the route of his return journey two years previously, but led his followers farther north, to San Francisco Bay. On this great harbor they founded a presidio and the mission of San Francisco de Asís. From these beginnings grew the modern city of San Francisco.

At the same time Anza was colonizing San Francisco Bay, other Spaniards were attempting to open an overland trail from New Mexico to California. In July, 1776, two Franciscan friars, Silvestro Escalante and Atanasio Dominguez, left Santa Fe with a small party, hoping to reach Monterey. They journeyed northwest as far as Utah Lake, but, faced with the approach of winter, reluctantly abandoned the project. Fording the Colorado River at the "Crossing of the Fathers," in Glen Canyon, they made their way back to Santa Fe. The route traversed by the fathers became, in later years, a segment of the Old Spanish Trail, which trappers and immigrants occasionally used to reach California.

Despite the fact that the colonists of California had been recruited largely from impoverished elements of the North Mexican population, the new outpost of Spanish Empire grew and prospered as the eighteenth century drew to a close. The number of missions increased to eighteen, and presidios such as Santa Barbara, founded in 1782, dotted the coast from San Francisco to San Diego. Monterey became the capital of California in 1776, and two pueblos, Los Angeles and San José, were soon established. In California, mission, presidio, and pueblo evolved hand in hand to display perhaps the best example of Spain's colonial system. Remote from Mexico City, virtually untouched by outside influence, the Californians made the most of their bounteous land and devised for themselves a life unique and almost

idyllic. It was to be shattered by the Americans, who in the very year that Anza founded San Francisco had declared their independence and risen against England.

The Collapse of Spain in America

By 1800 Spain had spent over three hundred years building an impressive colonial edifice in the New World. Her North American empire now centered in Mexico and the Caribbean possessions. The northern borderlands of this empire stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and included Florida, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, Pimería Alta, and California. The close of the eighteenth century found the empire larger than it had ever been. But the castle so laboriously constructed began to collapse in 1800.

The first to go was Louisiana. Though itself prosperous, it had never profited the motherland. Moreover, even after the Pinckney Treaty of 1795 (see p. 38), the northern frontier of Louisiana had led a turbulent existence. American frontiersmen talked of freeing the Mississippi from Spanish rule, and one filibustering expedition actually captured a Spanish fort before meeting disaster. The British, again at war with Spain, also threatened to descend the Mississippi and attack Louisiana. Rather than have it stolen by England or the United States, royal officials in Spain quickly concluded to sell it to the first prospective purchaser. In

Napoleon, his own empire growing with each conquest, Spain found a willing customer. By the Treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain in 1800 relinquished Louisiana to France in return for certain European concessions which Napoleon later repudiated.

To the Americans, however, the prospect of a strong France entrenched at the mouth of the Mississippi was far more odious than a weak Spain in the same position. Before Louisiana could even be formally turned over to France, therefore, President Thomas Jefferson had commissioners in Paris treating with Napoleon for the purchase of Louisiana. On April 30, 1803, the United States bought Louisiana, with its vague or undefined boundaries, from France for the sum of fifteen million dollars. On November 30, Louisiana passed from Spain to France, and twenty days later ceremonies were held in the public square of New Orleans transferring it from France to the United States. The dissolution of Spanish America had begun.

Florida was the next possession to slip from Spain's grasp, and again the United States was the beneficiary. The acquisition of Louisiana only whetted the appetite of American expansionists for Florida. They argued that the addition of Florida to the United States would wipe out the turbulent border, abolish smuggling, provide ports on the Gulf, and, incidentally, create a whole new field for land-hungry frontiersmen. Large numbers of American settlers, in fact, had already filtered into Florida. When President James

Madison in 1810 claimed that West Florida had legally passed to the United States with the Louisiana Purchase, they revolted against Spanish authority and requested annexation to the United States. Spain, her energies absorbed by the Napoleonic Wars, could only protest ineffectually. Nevertheless, she hung on to Pensacola and Mobile, and Madison dared not use force to make good his claim.

Frontier sentiment also championed the acquisition of East Florida. With the concurrence of the President, Governor George Mathews of Georgia raised a volunteer army and, early in 1812, marched into Florida. Although he captured Fernandina and laid siege to St. Augustine, he had to call for help from the regular army, a request that Madison found it politically inexpedient to grant. He therefore had to recall the Georgian army.

With the outbreak of the War of 1812, the President commissioned General Andrew Jackson to raise a force of Tennessee militia and capture Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Augustine from England's European ally, Spain. Congress, however, refused to sanction the conquest of Florida, and the plans were cancelled. Although Congress reversed itself a few months later and permitted General James Wilkinson to occupy West Florida, the British landed at Pensacola in 1814 and from this base launched operations against American forces. When the war ended Spain still retained Florida. Her hold was tenuous, however, and the Americans were not to be long denied.

The vexing question was finally brought to a head when Andrew Jackson, campaigning against Seminole Indians in 1818, entered Spanish territory and seized Pensacola. His action put the Administration of James Monroe in an embarrassing position, but Spain, also, had her problems. She could not provide adequate troops to police the Seminoles and, all factors considered, Florida did not seem worth the cost of maintenance. In 1819 Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and the Spanish Minister in Washington, Don Luis de Onis, concluded the Adams-Onis Treaty, which was ratified in 1821. Spain surrendered both East and West Florida to the United States in return for American assumption of all outstanding damage claims against her. She also relinquished her rights to the Oregon country. This treaty fixed, at last, the southwestern border of the Louisiana Purchase at the Sabine River, a provision that caused resentment among groups who were already eyeing Texas covetously. With the loss of Florida, the Sabine River also became the eastern limit of Spain's American borderlands.

Like a row of dominoes, one after another of Spain's possessions were toppling. In the year that the Adams-Onis Treaty was ratified the greatest blow of all fell, a blow that destroyed Spain's empire in North America. New Spain itself seethed with revolutionary ferment. As early as 1810 Fray Miguel Hidalgo y Costello had led an abortive revolt against Spanish domination. Eleven years later, in

1821, Augustín de Iturbide organized a successful revolution, and by the Treaty of Córdoba Mexico gained her independence from Spain. In May, 1822, Iturbide entered Mexico City and was proclaimed Emperor Augustín I. Thus, by one stroke, Spain lost all of Mexico and the northern borderlands. Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California passed at once from Spanish to Mexican rule.

From the viewpoint of the Americans, the change was for the better. Spain had followed a policy of militant isolationism. As Lieutenant Zebulon Pike and the early Missouri traders had discovered, Americans who found their way to Santa Fe were usually imprisoned and often sent to Mexico in chains. Frontiersmen who unwisely entered Texas met a similar fate. The new Mexican Government, however, reversed this policy, and in fact encouraged commercial intercourse over the Santa Fe Trail, as well as American immigration to Texas. But Mexico was not to hold the borderlands for long. Too late did she perceive that migration of Americans to Texas would be in large measure responsible for her loss not only of Texas but also, ultimately, of New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

As in Louisiana and Florida, the Spanish in the early years of the nineteenth century had to contend with land-hungry Americans straining against the Texas frontier. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of Spanish authorities with unsettled political conditions in Mexico, a number of filibustering expeditions, notably that of

Philip Nolan in 1800, entered Texas during the first two decades of the century. In each instance, Spanish troops managed to destroy or expel these bands of adventurers. After the Mexican Revolution of 1821,however, the Americans succeeded in accomplishing legally what the filibusterers had failed to win illegally. Believing that the American threat to Texas could best be handled by liberal but controlled immigration, the Mexican Government opened the border to American settlers. During the 1820's and early 1830's many groups of colonists came to Texas. Among the first to arrive, and later to provide leadership for other settlers, was the colony of Moses Austin and his son Stephen.

The widely different social and political backgrounds of the American colonists and their Mexican rulers led inevitably to friction, in turn aggravated by Mexico's conviction that the United States Government, through the colonists, was bent on making trouble in hopes of acquiring Texas, either by purchase or by revolution. This friction took violent form in 1826 and again in 1832 before finally culminating in the Texas Revolution of 1835-36. Fighting broke out between settlers and Mexican forces in October, 1835, and, following the Declaration of Independence on March 2, 1836, and the decisive battle of San Jacinto on April 21, Texas in effect became an independent republic.

Mexico had not admitted the independence of Texas, and American

politics prevented its immediate annexation by the United States. During the stormy years of the Texas Republic, it became a pawn on the international chess board, for England and France also had special interest in the future of the infant nation. In 1845, however, Congress finally adopted a joint resolution bringing Texas into the Union as a state, and events moved swiftly towards a climax. Early the following year President James K. Polk dispatched an army under General Zachary Taylor to the Rio Grande, and Mexico sent her own army to confront Taylor. Tension mounted dangerously, and in May, 1846, burst into open war when patrols from the two armies clashed on the north bank of the Rio Grande. During the next year and a half, while the armies of Taylor and General Winfield Scott carried the war deep into Mexico, the United States laid the foundation for claiming New Mexico and California as part of the peace settlement. No sooner had Congress declared war than Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny received instructions to assemble an army for the conquest of the Southwest.

At the head of the Army of the West, Kearny, promoted on the trail to brigadier general, left Fort Leavenworth on June 30, 1846, and marched over the Santa Fe Trail to the capital of New Mexico. The Mexican authorities there failed to organize effective resistance, and the Americans entered Santa Fe on August 18. After raising the United States flag over the old Spanish Governor's

Palace, Kearny installed a provisional government of New Mexico in Santa Fe, and, with three hundred dragoons, set out for California.

But already California had been freed of Mexican rule. The native Californians themselves had become discontented with the local governmental officials, a sentiment also held by the handful of American settlers who had made their way to California during the Mexican period. At Sonoma, on June 14, 1846, the Americans rebelled against the Mexican authorities. Encouraged and aided by Captain John C. Fremont, a United States Army officer exploring the West, they carried the famous Bear Flag about the countryside for several days before news of the Mexican War reached California and ended the rather bloodless affair. Elements of the Pacific Squadron of the United States Navy soon appeared off the coast, and on July 7 Commodore John D. Sloat raised the American flag at Monterey and proclaimed California annexed to the United States.

Both California and New Mexico now in fact belonged to the United States. Formal possession only awaited the end of hostilities in Mexico. After the capture of Mexico City by Scott's army, American and Mexican peace commissioners met at Guadalupe Hidalgo early in 1848 to work out a peace settlement. By the terms of the treaty signed on February 2, Mexico surrendered California, New Mexico, and Arizona north of the Gila, and agreed to the Rio Grande as the southern border of Texas.

Discovery of gold in California in 1848 brought a massive migration over mountain and desert to the Pacific. The United States quickly saw the need for transcontinental routes of travel and communication, and discovered that the only practical southern route lay across the country below the Gila River. This tract of land had been retained by Mexico under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and President Franklin Pierce in 1853 dispatched James Gadsden to Mexico City to negotiate for the purchase of the territory. By the terms of the Gadsden Purchase, the United States bought a triangle of land south of the Gila for ten million dollars.

The Spanish Heritage

The Gadsden Purchase rounded out the continental boundaries of the United States. Mexico had lost the last tiny portion of the once vast borderlands that, under Spain, had spanned the continent from Florida to California. Spain herself still clung tenaciously to her island possessions in the Caribbean, but from these, too, she was to be expelled by the close of the century.

Although ultimately driven from the Western Hemisphere, Spain left a deep and enduring imprint on two continents. A true evaluation of her role in the colonization of the New World and her contribution to civilization in the Western Hemisphere, however, must emphasize the distinction between the heart of the Spanish

Empire and the borderlands. The heart lay between the Rio Grande and Buenos Aires, the borderlands along the southern fringe of what is now the United States. As Bolton has pointed out, Americans tend to judge Spain's colonial accomplishments by her record in the borderlands. They have overlooked the fact that Spain effectively colonized the Indies, Mexico, Central America, and large segments of South America; that she retained these colonies long after her leading colonial rivals had lost their colonies in the north; and that her achievements, by almost any index of civilization, ranked with those of the other colonial powers. South of the Rio Grande today Spanish language and institutions understandably predominate.

In the northern borderlands, with which this study is mainly concerned, the Spanish contribution, while significant, is not so strikingly apparent. In the sixteenth century Spaniards were interested in the borderlands primarily for the hope of wealth they held forth. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spain relied on the borderlands as buffers against foreign intrusion from the north. The northern colonies hence were on the frontier, and the refinements of civilization did not appear.

Nevertheless, the Spanish heritage in the present United States is notable. The names of many mountains, rivers, towns, cities, counties, and states came from Spanish explorers, missionaries, or

colonists. Our language and our literature have been enriched by Spain. From Florida to California, architecture reveals Spanish influence. From Iberian cattle sprang what a recent historian termed "the greatest cattle empire in world history, one still flourishing from the Argentine pampa to the plains of Wyoming."[20]

In the southwestern United States, the Spanish impact is especially conspicuous. "The Southwest," wrote Bolton, "is as Spanish in color and historical background as New England is Puritan, as New York is Dutch, or as New Orleans is French."[21] If anything, it is more so. The map of this region is dominated by Spanish place names. Towns and cities contain Spanish quarters where Spanish customs and language prevail. Countless words of Spanish origin are used daily in print and speech. Social, economic, religious, and legal customs of the Southwest still bear the stamp of Spain. Even the culture of the pueblo Indian groups has been shaped by the Spanish, for from them the Indians obtained horses, guns, cattle, European crops, and some religious beliefs.

Spain lost her last bit of soil within the present boundaries of the United States in 1821, but on every hand her contribution

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20. Charles J. Bishko, "The Peninsular Background of Latin American Cattle Ranching," Hispanic American Historical Review, XXXII (1952), 491-515.

21. Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands (New Haven, 1921), x.

to American culture may yet be discerned. Not the least of this contribution lies in the rich historical background with which Spain endowed American history, for her role in the discovery, exploration, and settlement of North America was both dramatic and significant. Underlining this conclusion is the multiplicity of historic sites that today, particularly in the Southwest, California, and Florida, illustrate the Spanish colonial theme of American history.

Select Bibliography

Amid the vast collection of published literature on Spanish exploration and settlement, only a few works present an overall survey of the topic. A true understanding and appreciation of Spain's role in colonizing the New World can be gained only by studying a mass of monographs, books, and original narratives dealing with particular expeditions and with regional colonizing movements. For the southeastern United States, the works of Verne E. Chatelain, William E. Dunn, J. G. Johnson, Herbert I. Priestley, James A. Robertson, and John R. Swanton are especially useful. For the Southwest and California, the works of Herbert E. Bolton, most prolific of all historians of Spain in America, are indispensible. Also of value are writings of Adolph Bandelier, Hubert H. Bancroft, John W. Caughey, Carlos Castañeda, Charles E. Chapman, Charles W. Hackett, George W. Hammond, Agapito Rey, Francis V. Scholes, and Henry R. Wagner. The brief select bibliography that follows includes a few of the more general surveys of Spanish exploration and settlement.

Bolton, Herbert E. The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest. Vol. XXXIII of Chronicles of America, ed. by Allen Johnson. New Haven, 1921.

Brief and interestingly written survey of exploration and colonization in the northern borderlands. Bolton skilfully develops the total picture of Spain in America by showing the relationship between exploring and colonizing ventures in the various portions of the borderlands.

Bolton, Herbert E. Wider Horizons of American History. Appleman-Century Historical Essays. New York, 1939.

Reprint of four essays by Bolton that offered new interpretation and emphasis to Spanish colonial achievements. They are: "The Epic of Greater America," "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands," "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in Spanish-American Colonies," and "The Black Robes of New Spain."

Bolton, Herbert E., and Marshall, Thomas M. The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783. New York, 1922.

Text book presentation that covers in detail the period of exploration and settlement in American history. It treats English and French, as well as Spanish, colonial efforts, thus showing the relation of Spanish to French and English colonial movements.

Bourne, Edward G. Spain in America, 1540-1580. Vol. III of The American Nation Series, ed. by A. B. Hart. New York, 1904.

Early discoveries of Spanish explorers form the subject of the first part of this book, early Spanish colonial policy and administration the second. These separate but related topics are presented in a clear, readable, and scholarly manner.

Cheyney, Edward P. European Background of American History, 1300-1600. Vol. I of American Nation Series, ed. by A. B. Hart. New York, 1904.

A standard study of European political, economic, social, and religious conditions that produced and sustained the discovery and exploration of the New World.

Folmer, Henry. Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America, 1524-1763. Glendale, 1953.

The story of Spanish and French activity in North America is told from the standpoint of commercial and colonial rivalry between these two imperial nations. Despite some errors of fact, this book provides a good account of the two-hundred-year struggle for empire between Spain and France.

Haring, Clarence H. The Spanish Empire in America. New York, 1947.

Comprehensive treatment of the Spanish colonial effort in the New World, with emphasis upon the complex administrative apparatus by which Spain ruled her colonies. This volume deals with the entire empire in North America, not merely with the northern borderlands.

Hodge, Frederick Webb, ed. A Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. 2 v., Washington, 1910.

Primarily an anthropological source book, the Handbook nevertheless contains extremely useful information on Spanish association with various tribes, villages, and Indian leaders.

Kirkpatrick, F. A. The Spanish Conquistadors. The Pioneer Histories, ed. by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson. London, 1934.

Scholarly and well-presented chronicle of the period of Spanish conquest that ended about 1550.

Lowery, Woodbury. The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561. New York, 1901.

Comprehensive history of Spanish exploration and attempted settlement of the northern borderlands during the first half of the sixteenth century. Accounts of the geography and native inhabitants of North America, of contemporary conditions in Spain, and of the colonization of the West Indies make the discussion more meaningful.

Merriam, Roger B. The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New. 4 v., New York, 1918-1934.

Monumental history of Spain at home and abroad from the Middle Ages through the reign of Philip II.

Newton, Arthur P. The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688. The Pioneer Histories, ed. by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson. London, 1933.

Product of exhaustive research in original sources, this volume details the struggle over two centuries of European colonial powers to destroy Spain's territorial, commercial, and maritime monopoly in the New World.

Priestley, Herbert I. The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848. Vol. I of History of American Life Series, ed. by A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox. New York, 1929.

A standard survey of Spanish exploration and settlement. Over half of this book is devoted to the Spanish empire, the remainder to French and Dutch.

Winsor, Justin. Narrative and Critical History of America. 8 v., Boston, 1889.

The chapters on Spanish America in Winsor's comprehensive, exhuastively documented, profusely illustrated history of America are still of great value.

Zavala, Silvio. New Viewpoints on the Spanish Colonization of America. Philadelphia, 1943.

Translation of ten lectures that present new interpretations of the philosophy and legality of Spanish-Indian relations in the New World.

Part II

SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

The regions of the United States that once made up the Spanish borderlands are dotted with historic sites that recall the era of Spanish exploration and settlement. Some of the exploring expeditions and most of the colonizing ventures are represented by historic sites or buildings, although the geographical distribution of sites that offer visible remains is uneven. In the Southwest and California, numerous and often impressive examples of Spanish handiwork have survived. Climate, sparsity of population, continuous use, durability of structures, and perhaps a deeper awareness of the Spanish heritage have combined to preserve, for example, the dozens of Spanish missions that stretch from San Antonio to San Francisco.

The Southeast, however, presents a sharp contrast. Although historic sites are abundant, tangible evidences of Spanish occupation are confined, with rare exceptions, to Florida and the islands of the Caribbean. South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi have almost no structures to recall Spanish activity in those states. Beyond the limits of New Orleans, Louisiana can point only to the site of the Los Adaes Presidio as an outstanding illustration of its Spanish interlude. Underlining the scarcity of visible remains in the Southeast is the multiplicity of "lost sites." Knowledge of the precise locations of such sites as the landing place of Columbus in

Puerto Rico and most of the Georgia mission chain, for instance, has been lost.

The most numerous and outstanding remains of the Spanish period illustrate the history of the mission frontier. Many mission churches, although usually somewhat altered in architectural detail by repair or reconstruction, still serve as Catholic parish churches. Four missions in San Antonio, Texas; San Miguel at Santa Fe, New Mexico; San Xavier del Bac at Tucson, Arizona; and San Miguel and Santa Barbara, California, are a few that fall into this category. The ruins of some missions, long since abandoned, have been carefully stabilized and preserved by federal or state agencies. Examples are Abo, Quarai, Gran Quivira, and Pecos, all in New Mexico. Finally, several missions, such as Espíritu Santo in Texas and Purísima Concepcion in California, have been restored on the original foundations, and vividly recreate not only the mission church but the entire mission complex.

Other types of Spanish architecture, unfortunately, are not as well represented. Spanish coastal fortifications are preserved in such structures as Castillo de San Marcos, Florida, and the defenses of San Juan in Puerto Rico. But the less elaborate frontier presidio has largely disappeared. The chapel and crumbling compound walls of the presidio of La Bahía in Texas; the restored portion of the San Saba presidio, Texas; and the mounds of earth that trace the outline

of the San Diego Presidio, California in number and in quality of surviving remains contrast with the missions. Likewise, few public buildings of the Spanish period have survived. The Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, the restored Governor's Palace in San Antonio, and a few structures in Monterey are notable exceptions.

The atmosphere of the Spanish era is captured in a number of modern cities that grew from Spanish beginnings. St. Augustine, Florida, San Antonio, Texas, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Monterey, California, have structures dating from Spanish days, and, in varying degree, capture the Spanish flavor in modern or recent architecture. New Orleans, too, exhibits buildings that date from Spanish times, but the distinctive Spanish character is lost in the blend of national origins from which the city sprang. Of all these cities, Santa Fe has experienced the least change in character, and more uniformly recalls its Spanish past than the others. A historical zoning ordinance, recently enacted, requires new construction to conform to the architectural types of the past, and promises to help preserve the atmosphere of Spanish Santa Fe.

Understandably, the Spanish exploring expeditions left few remains to preserve. One exception is Tubac, Arizona, from which Anza launched his exploration of a route to California. Where routes have been identified in whole or part, important sites have usually been marked by state or local organizations. For the Coronado expedition,

the pueblos he visited, still inhabited or long in ruins, illustrate his explorations. This does not apply to the Southeast, however, for the native villages visited by such explorers as De Soto or Narváez have long since vanished. Some of the great exploring ventures have been memorialized at such federally maintained areas De Soto National Memorial, Florida, Coronado National Memorial, Arizona, and Cabrillo National Monument, California.

The defensive character of the Spanish borderlands is emphasized by several sites that became points of conflict between Spain and her colonial rivals--France, in the Southeast and Texas, and, later, Russia on the North Pacific Coast. Among them are Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Caroline, Florida, Los Adaes, Louisiana, San Francisco de los Tejas Mission and Fort St. Louis, Texas, and Fort Ross, California. Native hostility to Spanish domination is also emphasized at several sites, principally in the Southwest. San Saba, Texas, the New Mexico pueblos of Ácoma and Taos, and Tubac Presidio, established in Arizona in response to the Pima Rebellion, are outstanding specimens.

Threats to survival of historic sites have been many and formidable. Weather and the passage of time, operating in league with the destructive activities of man himself, have taken their toll of historic remains. In view of the antiquity of most Spanish sites, it is surprising that the Spanish theme of American history is represented at all.

In the Southeast, with its moist climate and dense population, most structures built by the Spanish have been obliterated. Almost none of the sixteenth century missions and presidios of Georgia, for example, remain to illustrate Spain's northward thrust to counter English and French expansion. They lie today beneath cultivated fields or forest underbrush. With the outstanding exception of St. Augustine, modern cities have all but obscured the Spanish origins from which they grew. The old has been torn out to make room for the new, and urban developers have usually prevailed over the protests of historical conservationists. In Natchez, Mississippi, two late-Spanish period buildings that once made up "Lawyer's Row" gave way to a parking lot, while the same fate befell a block of old Spanish buildings in downtown San Antonio.

In the Southwest, with its dry climate and, until recently, scattered population, more Spanish remains are in evidence. But here, also, destructive forces have been at work. Most buildings were constructed of adobe bricks, and, once the roofs disappeared and exposed the bricks to the elements, erosion quickly began. In a land with little timber, moreover, the early American settlers often raided these relics of another era for building materials, and thus hastened the process of disintegration. Still more recently, the construction of dams and the inundation of large areas of land has raised a serious threat to historic remains. The Crossing of the Fathers, for example,

with its niches cut in the rock walls of Glen Canyon, will be submerged by the reservoir that Glen Canyon Dam will create.

Against these forces, federal, state, and local organizations and agencies have made commendable efforts to preserve the concrete expressions of the Spanish heritage. In the Southwest, fine work has been done in stabilizing ruins and preserving remains by such agencies as the Museum of New Mexico and the Texas State Parks Board. The San Antonio Conservation Society, composed largely of women dedicated to historical preservation, deserves special commendation for its effective work in preserving, commemorating, and interpreting the Spanish origins of San Antonio. Arizona has recently created a State Parks Board. In view of its decision to acquire, as its first State Park, the ruins of the presidio at Tubac, important work may be expected in that state. The California Division of Beaches and Parks has long been extremely active in historical preservation, and several State Historical Monuments attest its preoccupation with Spain's contribution to California history. Throughout the Southwest and California, the Catholic Church, which owns and uses many old mission churches, manifests a historical awareness that has saved numerous churches from destruction or architectural corruption.

In the Southeast, state and local organizations, largely because of the scarcity of tangible remains, have not been especially concerned with Spanish sites. Florida, where most of the Southeastern

sites are concentrated, is an exception. The St. Augustine Historical Society has been active in preserving and interpreting the sites and atmosphere of that ancient city, while the Pensacola Chamber of Commerce is showing an interest in rehabilitating Fort San Carlos de Barrancas. The Florida Park Service has done some archeological work at Spanish sites, and the Louisiana Historic Landmarks Council has demonstrated its awareness of Spain's contribution to the history of Louisiana.

The United States Government, mainly through the National Park Service, has made significant contributions towards saving Spanish sites. During the 1930's, the Park Service, under the programs of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, assisted several states in restoring Spanish structures that had disappeared. Espíritu Santo Mission, Texas, and Purísima Concepcion Mission, California, were restored under these programs. Several National Monuments and National Memorials, scattered from Florida to California, preserve sites or commemorate events connected with Spanish exploration and settlement, although units currently in the National Park System do not represent the many facets of the Spanish theme as completely as might be desired.

Despite the praiseworthy work of these organizations, there still remain Spanish historic sites where preservation should be undertaken or where, because of inadequate funds, greater effort is

needed. The Spanish defenses of Pensacola are in near-ruinous condition. The local Chamber of Commerce, while desiring to stabilize the fortifications, cannot alone do the job. San Geronimo de Taos Mission at Taos, New Mexico, demands prompt attention. One of the most historic missions in the United States, the ruins of this structure have deteriorated so badly that, in a few years, they will probably be at ground level--a fate that has already overtaken the mission at the ruined pueblo of Hawikuh, New Mexico. So great is the need and so numerous are the sites--especially in the Southwest--that the Federal Government obviously cannot, and should not, assume the entire responsibility. One of the objectives of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is to emphasize the need in hopes of encouraging state and local organizations to exert themselves even more. Very few of the sites judged to be of exceptional value, in fact, can the National Park Service undertake to preserve.

This study is concerned principally with sites that are exceptionally valuable for illustrating or commemorating the Spanish theme of American history. Each site studied has been weighed against the following criteria of exceptional value:

1. Structures or sites in which the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation is best exemplified, and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage. Such sites are naturally the points or bases from which the broad aspects of prehistoric and historic American life can best be presented.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

3. Structures or sites associated with important events which are symbolic of some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect whose individual genius reflected his age.

5. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced or which may reasonably be expected to produce data which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree. (This criterion is applicable only in the aboriginal themes produced by the National Survey.)

6. All historical and archeological sites and structures in order to meet the standards of exceptional importance should have integrity, that is, there should not be doubts as to whether it is the original site or building, original material, or workmanship, and original location. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, also may be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites of recent historical importance, relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration.

The sites discussed in the following section are those judged by the Survey Historians to meet one or more of these criteria and thus to merit classification as exceptionally valuable. Sites that are units of the National Park System have not been studied and evaluated like those in non-federal ownership. But they, too, are part of the total picture. Each National Park Service area that falls within the Spanish theme is therefore discussed together with other sites of exceptional value.

In the course of the National Survey, each Historian had occasion to examine a number of sites that, for one reason or another, were not thought to be of exceptional value, but whose importance justified some attention. All of these sites have been treated on the standard inventory form of the National Survey. The more outstanding are appended to this study as "Other Sites Considered," and "Sites Also Noted."

Spanish sites within the present boundaries of the United States and Puerto Rico have been included in this study. Some notable Spanish sites located in the Panama Canal Zone are the subject of a separate report,[22] and are not dealt with in this study.

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22. Albert Manucy and Joseph A. Gagliano, Spanish Colonial Sites in the Panama Canal Zone (National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, National Park Service, September 1958).

Spanish Sites of Exceptional Value

Columbus Landing Site, St. Croix, V.I.

The Columbus Landing Site on Salt River Bay is the earliest spot now under the United States flag to be associated with Columbus. On November 14, 1493, on his second voyage to the New World, Columbus discovered an island with the Indian name of Ay Ay, which he named Santa Cruz. Landing in a small boat from the fleet anchorage in a bay, a party of Columbus' men attacked a small group of Carib Indians, killing one and capturing the others, but with the loss of one Spaniard mortally wounded. This is believed to be the first recorded armed conflict between Europeans and aboriginal Americans. Naming a nearby cape the "Cape of the Arrow," the fleet soon sailed on.

Little is known of the subsequent history of St. Croix until its conquest by the French in 1650. During their forty-five year occupation of the island, the French built Fort Sale on the western side of Salt River Bay. On the eastern side of the bay was the residence of the French governor, and at the present Christiansted was a small village called Bassin. At the time of the French exodus in 1695, the population was 147 white persons and 623 slaves.

The site consists of a prominent knoll on the west side of the bay, unimproved and covered with brush and some trees. Included in

the site are the remains of Fort Sale, an earthwork fortification covered with sod, and an aboriginal site. The latter is indicated by potsherds and shell covering an area of about six acres. The fort site has not been disturbed, but the aboriginal site has been excavated extensively. Since the owners are non-residents, the site has no protection.

In June, 1957, the owners signed a sales contract with Robert B. George and Frederick Oman, of Christiansted, which they subsequently repudiated. In October, 1957, the prospective purchasers filed an affidavit of claim for lien, but the present status of the property is unknown. The prospective purchasers intend to subdivide and develop the site as a residential estate area.

(Criteria 1, 2, and 3; no record of Advisory Board action.)

References: Samuel E. Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus (Boston, 1946); Jose Gonzales Ginorio, El Descubrimiento de Puerto Rico (San Juan, 1936); David J. Jones and Clarence L. Johnson, Report on the Historic Sites of St. Croix, Virgin Islands. Part II: Salt River Bay Area (Ms. Report, National Park Service, June 1951).

La Fortaleza, San Juan Island, Puerto Rico.

La Fortaleza (The Fortress), first true fortification of San Juan, was built between 1533 and 1540 as a defense against continuing raids by French and English free-booters and Carib Indians. Because of its comparatively poor location, however, La Fortaleza

soon came to occupy a secondary importance in the defenses of San Juan. Within fifteen years, a more strategically located fortification, El Morro, had been built on the headland guarding the entrance to the bay. La Fortaleza remained an integral part of the San Juan defensive system and, when the Earl of Cumberland led the successful English attack on the city in 1598, he described it as "a strong castle, built of stone, square, and commonly called the King's Palace . . . and where we found a great stock of ammunition."[23] In 1625, La Fortaleza was captured by the Dutch expedition led by General Bowdoin Hendrick. When El Morro held out against the Dutch attack, La Fortaleza was burned along with the rest of San Juan by the retreating army. Since its reconstruction early in the seventeenth century, La Fortaleza has been used as the residence of the insular governors.

In 1939, the building was renovated under the auspices of the United States Army. It is apparent from an inspection report submitted by Assistant Architect Stuart M. Barnette that the Army paid little attention to the desirability of preserving the important historical features of the structure at that time.

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23. Diego Angulo Iniguez, Bautista Antonelli y las fortificaciones americanas en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1942), 20; quoted in Ricardo T. Reyes, The Harbor Defenses of San Juan in the Sixteenth Century (Ms. Report, National Park Service, Aug. 22, 1955).

(Criteria 1 and 4; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: E. A. Hoyt, A History of the Harbor Defenses of San Juan (San Juan, 1944); A. P. Newton, The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688 (London, 1943); Ricardo T. Reyes, The Harbor Defenses of San Juan in the Sixteenth Century (Ms. Report, National Park Service, Aug. 22, 1955).

San Juan National Historic Site, Puerto Rico.

The Spanish defenses of Puerto Rico comprise the San Juan National Historic Site. The oldest European type fortifications in U. S. territory, the massive masonry structures of San Juan, dominated by El Morro, were constructed during the sixteenth century to guard Puerto Rico--the key to the Indies--from the English, French, and Dutch. In 1595 Sir Francis Drake attempted, unsuccessfully, to take the defenses. Three years later, another English fleet, under the Earl of Cumberland, succeeded in taking El Morro. But dysentery spread through his forces and they were at length forced to abandon the fortress. In 1625 the Dutch captured San Juan, burned the town, and destroyed El Cañuelo, a fort on an island opposite El Morro. The Dutch, too, suffered heavy losses and finally abandoned the harbor. A final attempt by the English to capture Puerto Rico was successfully resisted in 1797.

Three fortresses, El Morro, San Cristóbal, and El Cañuelo, together with the city walls and Casa Blanca, make up the San Juan

National Historic Site. Under the terms of a cooperative agreement, the United States Army continues to use the forts for military purposes, and the National Park Service regulates visitor use and interprets the long history of the defenses.

San Marcos de Apalache (Fort St. Marks), Florida.

With the Spanish occupation of the province of Apalache in western Florida in the mid-seventeenth century, the point of land at the junction of the Wakulla and St. Marks Rivers assumed a great strategic importance. The fertile soil of the province was found to be ideal for the production of grain to supply the sorely felt needs of St. Augustine. Most of the grain would be sent by water to St. Augustine, since the only alternative was a long and arduous overland route. This tiny peninsula, at the head of navigable water, was the logical shipping point. At the same time, it constituted a chink in the coastal defenses of Apalache which had to be plugged. Soon after 1660, the Spanish Crown ordered the spot fortified, but still nothing was done for a decade. The inadequacy of the first fort, a wooden structure, was clearly demonstrated by the ease with which a raiding party of French, English and Indians captured it in 1682, scattering its garrison of 45 Spaniards and 400 Indians. The Spaniards soon repossessed the point and built a stronger wooden

fort, which became the nucleus of a sizable settlement. After the Moore raid of 1704, San Marcos apparently was abandoned along with the rest of the Apalache settlements and remained unoccupied until 1718. In that year, Captain Joseph Primo de Rivera brought a detachment of troops to build a third fort, also of wood. Within a few years the Spaniards began to construct a stone fort, but it was not complete when possession of the territory passed to England in 1763. The British firm of Panton, Leslie & Co. established a trading factory at San Marcos during the English regime. It was permitted to remain when the area returned to Spanish control. As a result, San Marcos was the center of a thriving Indian trade during the second Spanish period, 1783-1821. The filibuster George Bowles threatened San Marcos in 1788, and on later raids in 1792 and 1800 he destroyed the Panton, Leslie store. When Andrew Jackson invaded Florida during the Seminole campaign of 1818, he captured and occupied San Marcos. Near the fort, on April 29, he executed the British traders Robert Armbrister and Alexander Arbuthnot. Jackson's vigorous action in Florida, backed by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, was instrumental in forcing the Spanish government to sign the Adams-Onis Treaty, by which Florida was ceded to the United States. During the Civil War, the stream junction was occupied and fortified by Confederate troops.

The fort tract consists of about an acre of comparatively high ground on the point, cut off from the mainland by some four acres of marshland. Consequently the site is accessible only by boat. About 400 yards up the St. Marks River is located a fishing village of the same name. Of the Spanish forts, only a portion of the stonework from the last one remains above ground. Overlying the ruins of the Spanish fort, and extending over much of the five-acre tract, are the remains of Civil War entrenchments. The fort site is heavily wooded and is said to have a sizable reptile population.

(Criterion 1; no record of Advisory Board action.)

References: Mark F. Boyd, "The Fortifications of San Marcos de Apalache," Florida Historical Quarterly, XV (1936); Thomas R. Hay, "St. Marks on Apalache, Fla.," Dictionary of American History, V, 13; Ralston B. Lattimore, Fort St. Marks (Ms. Report, National Park Service, Sept. 18, 1939).

San Luis de Apalache (San Luis de Talimali), Florida.

During the century following the founding of St. Augustine in 1565, the Spanish mission system was extended steadily northward along the coast into the province of Guale, and westward into the provinces of Timucus and Apalache. The main purpose of this continuous expansion into the interior was the security of St. Augustine, to be effected through the conversion and stabilization of the Indians. A secondary purpose, in the case of Apalache, was utilization of the

fertile soil of western Florida to supply badly needed grain for the inhabitants of St. Augustine. The mission system reached Apalache in 1633. San Luis, which was to become the administrative center of the province, was established sometime during the next two decades. By 1675, when the mission system had reached the height of its influence, some 8,000 persons were centered around the 14 flourishing missions of Apalache. San Luis itself boasted some 1,400 inhabitants, including the deputy governor and a military garrison of infantry and artillery. By 1693, the activities of British traders in stirring up the Indians of the interior had thrown the Spaniards on the defensive, and a wooden blockhouse was built at San Luis.

The destruction of the Florida mission system began in 1702, when Governor James Moore led a South Carolina force against St. Augustine, ravaging the Guale missions en route. With the Guale missions gone, only the few around St. Augustine and those of Timucua and Apalache remained. In January of 1704, Moore marched into Apalache to complete the job. Though San Luis itself was not attacked, the province was so badly demoralized by the English invasion, and by the fact that many ostensibly friendly Indians had helped the invaders, that the fort was abandoned a few months later and the province was unoccupied by a Spanish garrison for more than a decade. The mission system, though subsequently revived, never again attained its former importance. As an instrument of government policy, it had been found wanting and was abandoned.

For over a century after its abandonment, the ruins of Fort San Luis continued to intrigue the passerby. Early in the nineteenth century, a visitor described the fort as an irregular parallelogram 52 paces long on its longer side, and containing the ruins of two brick buildings, the larger one 40 by 60 feet. The incursions of treasure hunters and years of cultivation finally obliterated the outlines of the fort.

Intermittently since 1948, excavation of the site has been carried out under the auspices of the Florida Park Service and Florida State University. A number of artifacts have been recovered, and a great deal of information has been found regarding the design of the fort. Much archeological work remains to be done, however, before the full story of San Luis will be known.

(Criterion 1; action postponed by Advisory Board.)

References: Venila L. Shores, "The Ruins of San Luis near Tallahassee," Florida Historical Quarterly, VI (1927); Mark F. Boyd, "Mission Sites in Florida," ibid., XVII (1939); Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions (Gainesville, 1951); Ralston B. Lattimore, San Luis de Apalache, (Ms. Report, National Park Service, Aug. 8, 1939).

Fort San Carlos de Barrancas and Fort Barrancas, Pensacola, Florida.

Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, a semicircular fortification of Pensacola brick, was built in 1787, during the last Spanish occupation of West Florida. The high bluff upon which it was built, called

by the Spaniards "Barrancas de Santo Tome," was the site of the earlier Fort San Carlos de Austria, which dated from the first permanent Spanish settlement on Pensacola Bay in 1698. This first fort was destroyed by a French attacking force in 1719. In 1763, Pensacola passed into British control.

With the restoration of Spanish control by the Galvez expedition of 1781, which captured Pensacola, the area entered upon its last period of Spanish rule. The new Fort San Carlos assumed a great importance as the defense bastion of Pensacola, the capital of West Florida and, with St. Augustine, the northern outpost of the Spanish Caribbean empire.

Spanish collaboration with the British forces during the War of 1812 led Andrew Jackson to occupy Pensacola in 1814. The British, blowing up Fort San Carlos, beat a rapid retreat to their warships. Four years later, during the Seminole Indian War, Jackson again attacked Pensacola and effectively seized control of West Florida when he accepted the surrender of the Spanish governor in Fort San Carlos. Three years later Jackson returned as provincial governor of the new American territory.

During the period 1833-1844, defenses at the mouth of Pensacola Bay were strengthened as a part of the general tightening of coastal defenses. A four-sided brick fortification, Fort Barrancas, was constructed immediately in rear of and connected to Fort San Carlos.

As part of the same defensive system, Fort Redoubt was built about a thousand yards north of Fort Barrancas. Florida State troops seized Fort Barrancas and Fort San Carlos when the Civil War began, but the Confederates evacuated those forts when they gave up Pensacola in May, 1862. The forts remained in Federal hands for the rest of the war.

Both forts are in poor condition at present. The Pensacola Chamber of Commerce has received permission from the Navy to restore the Spanish fort and has received pledges of labor and materials, but to date nothing has been accomplished. If emergency stabilization measures are not taken soon, the fort will be past redemption.

(Criteria 1 and 4; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands (New Haven, 1921); Woodbury Lowery, Florida MSS (10 vols., Library of Congress); Albert Manucy, Report on Historic Sites at Pensacola, Florida (Ms. Report, National Park Service, June 19, 1939).

De Soto National Memorial, Florida.

De Soto National Memorial embraces 25 acres of shoreline on Tampa Bay, where, according to the U. S. De Soto Commission, the De Soto expedition made its first landing. The area commemorates the first major exploration of the North American interior by European explorers.

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, Florida.

The most important Spanish fortification on the Atlantic Coast, Castillo de San Marcos was established at St. Augustine to meet the English threat from the north and to help protect the Spanish treasure fleets enroute from the Indies to Spain. The oldest masonry fort in the United States, it is a symmetrically shapped, four-sided structure built of coquina blocks, a native marine shell-rock. Its massive walls are nine to sixteen feet thick and it is surrounded by a moat 40 feet wide. Guardrooms, dungeons, living quarters, storerooms, and a chapel are arranged around an open court some 100 feet square. During the first half of the eighteenth century, when English and Spanish rivalry over Southeastern North America reached its greatest intensity, Castillo de San Marcos was the objective of several English attacks. It was besieged in 1702, in 1728, and again in 1740, but each time successfully withstood the siege. After Florida passed to the United States, the Castillo, renamed Fort Marion, served as a United States Army post. It became a National Monument in 1924.

Fort Matanzas National Monument, Florida.

This area of the National Park System preserves a stone defensive tower, built in 1742, that guarded the southern approaches to

St. Augustine. As early as 1569, the site had been occupied by wooden fortifications. Still earlier, the area about Fort Matanzas was the scene of the final episode in the conflict between Spain and France over the Florida country. On September 29, 1565, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had 200 French Huguenots executed, and thereby destroyed France's aspirations in Florida. The ruins of the stone fort, a tower two stories high about 50 feet square, have been stabilized by the National Park Service.

Los Adaes, Louisiana.

To meet the threat posed by the French settlement at Natchitoches, the Spaniards in 1716 established the mission of San Miguel de Linares on a hilltop a few miles southwest of the French colony. In 1719, however, a French and Indian attacking force burned the mission to the ground. Rebuilding the mission two years later, the Spaniards erected the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adayes on an adjoining hill. For the next half-century, it was the capital of the frontier province of Texas. Between 1722 and 1773, the province was administered by 13 governors from Los Adaes.

In 1763, Los Adaes consisted of the fort, a hexagon with three bastions, and a village of about 40 "miserable houses constructed with stakes driven into the ground." The fort was armed with six cannon and garrisoned by 100 soldiers.

According to Bolton, the site of Los Adaes is second only to San Antonio in historical importance in the Southwest. As the eastern outpost of New Spain for many years, it loomed large in the strategic plans of the home government. Even after the post had been officially abandoned for over 30 years, Los Adaes was the scene of the preliminary treaty that led to establishment of the neutral ground between the United States and Spanish Texas in 1806.

Aside from a few unidentified mounds of earth, no physical remains of the presidio of Los Adaes are to be seen today. The site of the post, which was identified some years ago by Bolton, is an attractive ridge lined with timber along the reverse slope. The site appears to be in good condition, although it obviously receives no particular care. An old well, still in use, might be from the fort. Of the approximately 40 acres encompassing the presidio and mission sites, 9.15 acres are owned by the Natchitoches Parish Police Jury. Markers have been erected by the National Society, Daughters by the American Colonists, and by the State.

(Criterion 1; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: William E. Dunn, "Spanish Reaction Against the French Advance Toward New Mexico, 1717-1727," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, II (1915); Eleanor C. Buckley, "The Aguayo Expedition into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1721," Texas Historical Quarterly, XV (1911); William R. Hogan, Special Report on Proposed Los Adaes (Louisiana) National Monument (Ms. Report, National Park Service, c. 1936).

The Cabildo (Casa Capitular), New Orleans, Louisiana.

Replacing two predecessors, both destroyed by fire, the present building was erected in 1795 to house the Cabildo, the Spanish legislative and administrative council which ruled Spanish Louisiana. The building, which has taken the name of the council for whose use it was built, continued as the seat of the Spanish Government of Louisiana for the remaining eight years of Spanish rule. During the brief period of French rule, the building was known as the Maison de Ville, or Town Hall.

In the Cabildo, on December 20, 1803, Louisiana was formally transferred from French to American ownership. On November 30, it had passed from Spain to France.

Composed of a "full panoply of Renaissance architectural forms," the architecture of the Cabildo, according to one authority, shows the "most markedly Spanish influence in Louisiana."[24] A heavy structure of stuccoed brick, it was altered in the 1850's by the addition of a third floor with a steep-sided mansard roof. Since 1911, the Cabildo has housed the Louisiana State Museum.

(Criteria 1 and 4; no record of previous Advisory Board action.)

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24. Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture, from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period (New York, 1952), 267.

References: C. P. Dimitry, "The Story of the Ancient Cabildo," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, III (1920); /H. P. Dart/, "The Cabildo of New Orleans," ibid., V (1922); J. A. Robertson (ed.), Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807 (Cleveland, 1911); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture, from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period (New York, 1952).

San José Mission National Historic Site, San Antonio, Texas.

The largest and probably the finest of the four surviving Spanish missions of San Antonio, San José y San Miguel de Aguayo offers a unique example of eighteenth century Spanish mission architecture and organization. San José was founded in 1720 by Captain Juan Valdez and the famous Franciscan friar Antonio Margil de Jesus. Built on the San Antonio River some five miles from the mission of San Antonio de Valero (later famous as the Alamo), it became the most successful of the missions established by the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. According to contemporary reports, the native neophytes attained a high degree of education and learned to speak Spanish. By the 1760's they had been given complete charge of the mission ranch. In 1794 San José was secularized and became a Catholic parish church.

The present San José mission dates from 1768 and, although it has undergone a series of repairs and restorations through the years, it looks much as it did in the days of the Franciscans. In addition to the church itself, the mission consists of restored

convento, granary, mill, and sets of quarters as well as some ruins of quarters. Doubling as a parish church and an active visitor attraction, San José has been declared a National Historic Site in non-federal ownership, and is administered by the Texas State Parks Board and the Archbishop of San Antonio, with the cooperation of the National Park Service.

Hawikuh, New Mexico.

The abandoned Zuñi town of Hawikuh possesses both aboriginal and historical values. The former will be considered in Theme VIII. The largest of the fabled "cities of Cíbola," at which the early Spanish explorers hoped to find wealth, it was the first pueblo visited by Coronado. There is some question whether it was at Hawikuh or at Kiakima that the Negro, Estevanico, met death at the hands of the Indians in May, 1539, and whether it was Hawikuh or Kiakima that Fray Marcos de Niza viewed from a distance. (The weight of opinion now favors Hawikuh.) But there is no question that Hawikuh was the first pueblo encountered by Coronado.

In July, 1540, Coronado and his army reached Hawikuh. After a sharp skirmish with the inhabitants, in which a few Spaniards were wounded and a few Indians killed, Coronado stormed the pueblo and took possession. The treatment that Coronado and his men accorded the Indians of Hawikuh set the pattern for Spanish-Indian

relations in the Southwest for the duration of Spanish rule. From Hawikuh, Tovar and Cardenas journeyed to the Hopi country and the Grand Canyon, and Alvarado went north and east to Taos and Pecos. Coronado made his headquarters at Hawikuh for several months during the summer and autumn of 1540 before moving east to winter on the Rio Grande. The pueblo was visited by subsequent Spanish explorers, in whose minds it assumed considerable prominence, among them Chamuscado and Rodríguez (1581), Espejo (1583), Oñate (1598 and 1604-1605), and Zaldívar (1599).

A mission, La Purísima Concepcion de Hawikuh, was founded in 1629. The Zuñis in 1632 murdered the resident priest, Fray Francisco Letrado, and fled to another pueblo. They returned in 1635, when the mission was re-established as a visita of the mission at Halona. In 1672 Apaches raided Hawikuh, killed the priest, and burned the church. It was rebuilt only to be destroyed during the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, in which the Zuñis participated wholeheartedly. When the Indians submitted to Don Diego de Vargas during the Reconquest of 1692, they returned to their country but reoccupied only one of the six pueblos, Halona. Hawikuh has thus been abandoned since 1680.

The ruins of Hawikuh cover the nose of a long, low ridge on the Zuñi Indian Reservation in McKinley County, New Mexico, 12 miles southwest of the modern pueblo of Zuñi. The site was excavated in 1917-1923 by an expedition of the Heye Foundation under

the leadership of Frederick Webb Hodge. Sandstone rock walls, in places several feet high, outline the foundations and rooms of part of the pueblo, while mounds of earth littered with rocks mark the locations of other portions. Mounds of eroded adobe, two to three feet high, are all that remain of the mission church and part of the monastery.

Although difficult of access without a guide, Hawikuh receives some visitation each year. The Zuñi tribe would like to make the site more accessible, and realize a commercial advantage from it. There has been some talk among the Zuñis of seeking designation as a National Historic Site in non-federal ownership, but no proposal has been officially advanced.

(Criteria 1, 2, and 3; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: Herbert E. Bolton, Coronado, Knight of Pueblo and Plain (New York, 1949); Frederick W. Hodge, The History of Hawikuh (Los Angeles, 1937); G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (eds.), Narratives of the Coronado Expedition (Albuquerque, 1940); Adolph F. Bandelier, Final Report (Cambridge, 1892); Erik K. Reed, Special Report on Hawikuh, New Mexico (Ms. Report, National Park Service, April 1938).

Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

One of the most historic buildings in the United States, the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe served, successively, as the Spanish, Mexican, and American capitols of New Mexico and the residence of its governors. Part of the royal presidio of Santa Fe,

the palace was built between 1610 and 1612, shortly after the founding of Santa Fe, by the first royal governor of New Mexico, Don Pedro de Peralta. It housed the administrative offices and living quarters of the Spanish governors until 1680. In that year the Pueblo Indians rebelled and the palace, besieged by the Indians, was the key position in the battle for Santa Fe. When the defenders abandoned the palace and broke through the Indian lines, Santa Fe fell. The Pueblos drove all Spaniards from New Mexico, and for 12 years the leaders of the revolt made their headquarters in the palace. When the Spaniards, under Don Diego de Vargas, returned in 1692-93, they subjugated the Indians and once more made the Palace of the Governors the seat of Spanish authority in New Mexico. As such, it was occupied throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After the Mexican Revolution of 1821, Mexican governors replaced their Spanish predecessors and resided in the palace until General Stephen W. Kearny's "Army of the West" captured Santa Fe in 1846. Kearny raised the American flag over the palace and, except during the brief Confederate occupation of Santa Fe in 1862, it housed the American territorial government of New Mexico until 1885. In that year a new capitol building was erected, although the governors continued to live in the palace until 1909. From 1821 until the coming of the railroad in 1880, the palace, to hundreds of trading caravans from the east, was

the end of the Santa Fe Trail, for in the plaza in front of the palace the wagons were parked, unloaded, and readied for the return journey.

For over three hundred years the Governor's Palace has undergone an evolution of successive damage, repair, reconstruction, and restoration. The present structure occupies the original site and, despite modern reconstruction and restoration, much of it is the original building. It occupies one entire side of the historic plaza of Santa Fe. The pueblo architectural style--plastered adobe, flat roof, viga ceiling--is an approximately faithful representation of part of the old palace, which, together with the presidio, was originally a much larger structure. A block-long portal, with projecting vigas, covers the sidewalk in front of the palace, and a large and attractive patio is in the center. Currently headquarters of the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research, the palace houses, besides administrative offices, a fine museum displaying exhibits relating to prehistoric, Spanish, and territorial periods of New Mexican history.

(Criteria 1 and 4; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: Ralph E. Twitchell, The Leading Facts of New Mexican History (5 v., Cedar Rapids, 1912), II; Ralph E. Twitchell, The Palace of the Governors, the City of Santa Fe, its Museums and Monuments, Historical Society of New Mexico Publication No. 29 (Santa Fe, 1924); Paul A. F. Walter, "El Palacio Real," Old Santa Fe, I (January, 1914); Paul A. F. Walter, Old Santa Fe and Vicinity (Santa Fe, 1930); Ralph E. Twitchell (ed.), The Spanish Archives of New Mexico (2 v., Cedar Rapids, 1914); Aubrey Neasham, Special Report Covering the Governor's Palace in Santa Fe, New Mexico (Ms. Report, National Park Service, June, 1939).

Ácoma, New Mexico.

The pueblo of Ácoma, situated on a great mesa rising 357 feet above the plains of western New Mexico, is believed to be the oldest continuously inhabited settlement in the United States. It was probably occupied as early as 1200 A.D. Besides its aboriginal values, which will be treated in Theme VIII, Ácoma possesses important historical values. As a prominent landmark, it became associated with several sixteenth century Spanish exploring expeditions. It was visited by Alvarado (one of Coronado's lieutenants) in 1540, by Rodríguez and Chamuscado in 1581, by Espejo in 1583, and by Oñate in 1598. In part because of their defensible location, the Ácoma Indians were among the most persistently hostile tribes during the Spanish period, and this pueblo, probably better than any other in the Southwest except Taos, exemplifies native resistance to Spanish rule. In December, 1598, the Ácomas lured Captain Juan de Zaldívar, one of Oñate's officers, into the pueblo and murdered him and 14 of his men. Two months later the Spanish, under Oñate's orders, retaliated. Captain Vicente de Zaldívar, brother of the slain Juan, led a force of 70 soldiers against the fortress-like rock. In a bitterly fought battle, the Spaniards stormed the mesa, captured and partially burned the pueblo, and killed about 1,500 people--half the tribe. Although Ácoma was assigned a mission in 1598, the hostility of the

Indians prevented its construction for 30 years. In 1629, however, San Estevan del Rey Mission was founded by the Franciscan missionary, Fray Juan Ramirez. In the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, the Ácomas murdered the resident priest, Fray Lucas Maldonado. Following the Reconquest, they successfully resisted an attack on the mesa by Don Diego de Vargas in 1696 and held out until induced to surrender to Spanish authority in 1699. The mission of San Estevan had suffered relatively little damage in the Rebellion and, with some repairs, continued to serve the Ácomas during the remainder of the Spanish period. It was repaired again in 1902 and 1924.

Ácoma today is nearly deserted. About 20 people live here continuously; the rest of the tribe resides at Acomita, 15 miles distant, and gathers at Ácoma for periodic festivals. The pueblo is little altered from its prehistoric character, recent construction blending with the old. The church of San Estevan, still serving the Ácomas at festival time, is of plastered stone and adobe, as are the adjacent convento and other mission buildings, which are partially in ruins. San Estevan is one of the least altered of New Mexico missions. Measuring 150 by 40 feet, it is also one of the largest. The Ácoma Indians are keeping the church and pueblo in good repair. They charge an admission fee of $1.00 to visit the pueblo, 50¢ to enter the church, and additional fees for taking pictures. They also provide guide service.

(Criteria 1 and 4; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: Herbert E. Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706 (New York, 1916); G. P. Hammond, Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico (Santa Fe, 1926); George Kubler, The Religious Architecture of New Mexico (Colorado Springs, 1940); Leslie A. White, The Acoma Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, 47th Annual Report, 1929-1930 (Washington, 1932); William R. Hogan, Brief Special Report on Acoma (Ms. Report, National Park Service, April 1938); Erik K. Reed, Supplementary Report on Acoma (Ms. Report, National Park Service, February 1942).

Pecos, New Mexico.

The pueblo of Pecos, on the fringe of the buffalo plains, was one of the largest pueblos of New Mexico in the seventeenth century and an outstanding landmark to most of the early Spanish explorers. At Pecos in 1540 Coronado found the Indian his men called "The Turk," who guided the Spaniards on their journey in search of Quivira. Castaño de Sosa attacked and subjugated Pecos with 19 soldiers in 1590, and Oñate was peaceably received there in 1598. By 1620 the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciuncula had been founded at Pecos. It was described by Benavides in 1630 as "a very splendid temple of distinguished workmanship and beauty."[25] Other Spaniards who visited it used equally glowing terms. The people of Pecos participated in the Rebellion of 1680, burned the church,

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25. E. A. B. Ayer (ed.), The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630 (Chicago, 1916), 231.

and, 500 strong, joined other Indians in besieging Santa Fe. After the Reconquest, the mission was re-established on the orders of Governor Don Diego de Vargas. Pecos began its decline in the middle eighteenth century, as smallpox and warfare with the Comanches and Apaches of the plains reduced the population. In 1782 the mission was abandoned, and in 1788 an epidemic all but annihilated the pueblo. In 1838 seventeen survivors moved to Jemez to live with kinsmen, and left the pueblo and mission abandoned. The ruins became a well-known landmark to traders using the Santa Fe Trail, which passed by Pecos.

The pueblo and mission, located 18 miles east of Santa Fe, are now incorporated in a State Monument. The massive adobe walls of the mission, visible from the highway, rise as high as 50 feet in places. These walls have been stabilized by the State, but heavy rains in recent years have done some damage. The church has been excavated. Adjacent mission buildings have not been excavated, but low walls outline the pattern of the convento. The pueblo, west of the mission, was partially excavated and stabilized in 1915-25. The exposed portions, of stone construction, give a good sample of the pueblo pattern and architecture, but by far the largest portion of the pueblo still lies underground. Mounds indicate terraced houses four stories high that have not been excavated. One large kiva has been restored and is open to visitors. The stone defensive wall that

once surrounded the entire pueblo has been rebuilt to a height of three or four feet. A small, one-room museum briefly interprets the history of Pecos. The State Monument is under the care of a resident superintendent.

The significance of Pecos rests on both aboriginal and historical grounds. Its aboriginal value will be detailed in Theme VIII. It is of exceptional historical importance because of its close association with many early Spanish explorers of the Southwest, because its missionary activity spanned nearly the entire period of Spanish settlement, because of its major role in the Rebellion and Reconquest, because it vividly exemplifies in its hostility to the Spanish and its extermination byepidemic the impact of Spanish rule on the native population, and because, finally, it exhibits fine surviving remains to illustrate all of these values.

(Criteria 1 and 3; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: Alfred V. Kidder, "The Story of the Pueblo of Pecos," El Palacio, Vol. 58 (1951); F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington, 1910), I; C. W. Hackett, Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773 (Washington, 1937), III; F. W. Hodge, G. P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey (eds.), Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634 (Albuquerque, 1945); George Kubler, The Religious Architecture of New Mexico (Colorado Springs, 1940).

Taos, New Mexico.

Lake Ácoma, the great terraced pueblo of Taos exemplifies native resistance to Spanish rule during the seventeenth century. Its aboriginal values will be treated in Theme VIII, but its exceptional historical values qualify it for consideration as a significant historic site. This Tigua pueblo was well-known to the early Spanish explorers, who gave it a variety of names but left no doubt that it was Taos they described. Hernando de Alvarado, one of Coronado's officers, visited it in 1540; Francisco de Barrionuevo, another member of the Coronado expedition, the following year; and Don Juan de Oñate in 1598.

Franciscan friars built the mission of San Geronimo de Taos, one of the earliest in New Mexico, next to the pueblo early in the seventeenth century. The reception accorded them was something less than cordial, and several friars won martrydom at this mission during its long existence. It was destroyed twice and rebuilt before 1680.

Popé, the medicine-man who plotted and directed the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, made his headquarters at Taos, which became one of the first adherents to his doctrine. The warriors of Taos revolted on August 10, 1680. They again razed the church and murdered the priests, then descended the Rio Grande and, joined by Indians from other pueblos, attacked Santa Fe. Popé and the Taos Indians held

positions of leadership in Santa Fe during the decade that the Spanish were absent from New Mexico. They were among the last to submit when Don Diego de Vargas returned to re-assert Spanish authority. When he reached Taos in July, 1693, the occupants fled to the mountains and refused to return to their homes. The Spanish sacked the town and departed. By the end of 1694, the Indians were once more in the pueblo, and had accepted Spanish priests. Two years later, in June, 1696, the Taos people again revolted, and, with Indians from other pueblos, killed five missionaries and 21 other Spaniards. Again de Vargas returned and, after a mouth-long siege of the Indians in a fortified canyon, forced them to surrender and go to their homes.

De Vargas found the ruined mission in use by the Indians as a stable, and ordered the remains torn down and a new edifice built. His orders were not carried out until 1706, when the friars returned once more to Taos.

When the Pueblo Indians in 1847 revolted against their new American rulers and murdered Governor Charles Bent at Taos, an American army under Colonel Sterling Price was sent to punish them. Seven hundred Indians barricaded themselves at San Geronimo church and were besieged by the soldiers, who bombarded it with artillery and killed 150 Indians.

Reduced to ruins by the artillery, the church was never rebuilt. The eroding adobe walls stand today just west of the Taos

pueblo. Aside from a roofless bell tower, low walls are all that remain. They enclose an Indian cemetery. No work has been done to preserve the mission, and disintegration will certainly continue. The adobe pueblo of Taos, however, is still an inhabited village. Although drastically reduced in population, mainly because of wars with the plains Indians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is still probably the best-known and most picturesque pueblo in the Southwest.

The exceptional historical importance of Taos rests primarily on the key role its people played in organizing the Rebellion of 1680 and resisting the Reconquest of 1692-1696, which were probably the most outstanding and dramatic events of Spanish history in the Southwest. Added significance stems from the visits of early Spanish explorers, and from the long record of sacrifice and failure that attended Spanish efforts to missionize the pueblo. Few modern features have encroached on Taos. The pueblo, its inhabitants, and the crumbling ruins of the adjacent mission, faithfully preserve the historical setting and enhance its illustrative value.

(Criteria 1 and 4; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: Frederick W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington, 1912), II; Charles W. Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, XV (1911); J. Manuel Espinosa, Crusaders of the Rio Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico (Chicago, 1942); George Kubler, The Religious Architecture of New Mexico (Colorado Springs, 1940).

Gran Quivira National Monument, New Mexico.

The ruins of the Spanish mission of San Buenaventura de las Humanas, and the ruins of the adjacent village of Humanas, or Gran Quivira as it was later called, is a unit of the National Park System commemorating seventeenth century Spanish missionary activities among the Salinas pueblos of central New Mexico. A small church was built on this site by Fray Francisco Letrado in 1627, and replaced by the larger mission of San Buenaventura, built under the supervision of Fray Francisco de Santander, in 1659. The missionary venture among the Humanas was abandoned sometime between 1670 and 1678 because of Apache raids, drought, and crop failure.

The area today preserves and interprets 18 ruined house mounds of the pueblo of Humanas and the ruins of the two missions. The massive sandstone walls of the mission, which included a church and a convento, crown a hilltop and dominate the surrounding country. This ruin is one of the largest of its kind in New Mexico.

El Morro National Monument, New Mexico.

El Morro--the great "Inscription Rock" of western New Mexico--is another unit of the National Park System possessing historical values relating to the Spanish colonial period. Carved on this

massive sandstone mesa-point are inscriptions and names of Spanish soldiers and missionaries. Don Juan de Oñate, the founder of New Mexico, left an inscription on the rock in 1604, and in 1692 Don Diego de Vargas carved a record of his reconquest of New Mexico. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spaniards bound east or west on exploring, trading, missionary, or punitive expeditions carved their names on El Morro. In the American period soldiers, traders, trappers, and emigrants likewise left a record of their passage on the rock.

Tubac, Arizona.

The most northerly Spanish military outpost of Pimería Alta between 1752 and 1776, the presidio of Tubac possesses exceptional historical importance as the base from which Anza opened an overland route from Mexico to California and founded the colony that grew into the city of San Francisco. The presidio was established in 1752, on the site of a Pima Indian village, to protect the Franciscan fathers who had been driven from Pimería Alta during the Pima Rebellion the preceding year. Spanish settlers, attracted by mining and agricultural possibilities, founded the pueblo of Tubac, and built the church of Santa Gertrudis de Tubac. In 1774 the presidial commander, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, led 34 men

on the first overland expedition to California, thus blazing the trail by which the new California settlements were to be supplied. In 1775 he organized a caravan of 250 settlers at Tubac and led ? them to San Francisco Bay, where he founded the colony of San Francisco. In 1776 the presidio of Tubac was abandoned and a new outpost established at Tucson. It was not abandoned long, if at a

During the 1850's and 1860's, after southern Arizona had been annexed by the United States as a result of the Gadsden Purchase, Tubac and Tucson were the only towns in the region. The fortunes of Tubac during the territorial era were erratic. In 1849 hostile Apaches sacked and burned the town, but in 1854 it revived when Charles D. Poston moved in and set up the headquarters of his Sonora Exploring and Mining Company. The Weekly Arizonian, first newspaper in Arizona, opened its offices in Tubac in 1859. When federal troops withdrew from Arizona at the outbreak of the Civil War, the town, because of the Apache menace, again declined and by 1864 had been entirely abandoned. After the war, residents began to filter back, but the Apaches prevented Tubac from regaining its pre-war stature.

Tubac today is experiencing a transition. Until recently a typical small Mexican village of adobe huts, it has become the seat of an artist colony that has attempted to restore the picturesque qualities of the past. The State has acquired property

in the town plaza, where the Spanish presidio once stood. Adobe ruins of nineteenth century buildings rest on exposed foundations that almost certainly supported the eighteenth century presidio. This site is to become the first Arizona State Park. The State plans to excavate the presidio site and, if possible, restore the presidio. The probable foundations of Santa Gertrudis Church, likewise, remain to be excavated.

(Criteria 1, 2, and 3; no record of Advisory Board action.)

References: Herbert E. Bolton (ed.), Anza's California Expeditions (5 v., Berkeley, 1930); Elliott Coues (ed.), On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (2 v., New York, 1900); H. H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco, 1889).

San Xavier del Bac Mission, Arizona.

The mission of San Xavier del Bac, one of the finest surviving examples of Spanish mission architecture, commemorates the missionary activities in Pimería Alta of the Jesuit Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino. San Xavier, founded by Kino in 1700, was the northernmost of the chain of 24 missions in Pimería Alta. Kino died in 1711, but his successors carried on until the Pima Rebellion of 1751, when the mission was abandoned. Following the founding of Tubac Presidio, the fathers returned and were active until 1767. In that year the Jesuits were expelled from all Spanish colonies and their places taken by Franciscans. No sooner

had the Franciscans established themselves, however, than the Apache Indians attacked and destroyed San Xavier. The fathers promptly began building the present mission establishment. It was consecrated in 1797. When the mission lands were secularized during the Mexican regime, San Xavier was again abandoned, but reoccupied in 1859, after the lands south of the Gila River had passed to the United States under the Gadsden Purchase.

The mission had fallen into disrepair when, early in the twentieth century, the Catholic Church began restoration. The old plans were generally followed, although some changes, mainly in the atrium and dormitories, were made. Of Spanish Renaissance architecture, the buildings are constructed of burned adobe brick and lime plaster. Still an active parish church as well as a visitor attraction, it is attended mainly by Papago Indian parishoners.

San Xavier is of exceptional importance principally because of its surpassing architectural and artistic qualities, combined with its excellent state of preservation. Its only rival for the rank of the finest surviving example of Spanish mission architecture in the Southwest is San José Mission at San Antonio, Texas. San Xavier derives added significance from its historic role as the spearhead of the eighteenth century mission frontier in Pimería Alta, and from its close association with one of Spain's foremost pioneer padres, Father Kino.

(Criteria 1, 2, and 4; approved by Advisory Board.)

References: Herbert E. Bolton, Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer (New York, 1936); Herbert E. Bolton (ed.), Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta (Cleveland, 1919); Cleve Hallenbeck, Spanish Missions of the Old Southwest (New York, 1926); H. H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco, 1889); Aubrey Neasham, Special Report on the Mission of San Xavier, de Bac (Ms. Report, National Park Service, January 1940).

Tumacacori National Monument, Arizona.

The mission frontier in southern Arizona is commemorated and interpreted by the National Park Service at Tumacacori National Monument. Like San Xavier del Bac, this mission was a link in the chain of missions that covered Pimería Alta. The stabilized and partially restored church, the mortuary and cemetery, and some ruins of convento and Indian quarters are included in the area. The nearby Indian village of San Cayetano de Tumacacori was visited several times between 1691 and 1698 by Father Kino, who laid the foundations for subsequent missionary activities among the Sobaipuri Indians of the vicinity. In 1698 the village became a visita of the mission of Guebavi. Following the Pima Rebellion of 1751, the village moved to the present site of Tumacacori and was named San José de Tumacacori. The Jesuit missionaries soon thereafter built the first mission of Tumacacori, and the presidio of Tubac was established three miles to the north. In 1767, the Jesuits were

expelled from all Spanish colonies, and Franciscans replaced them at Tumacacori. Because of Apache raids on Guebavi, they moved the headquarters of the mission district to Tumacacori in 1773. Construction of the present church was not begun until 1800, and completed about 1822. Following secularization of the missions by the Mexican regime, Tumacacori was abandoned in the early 1840's. Tumacacori National Monument is located on U.S. Highway 89 eighteen miles north of Nogales, Arizona.

Coronado National Memorial, Arizona.

Coronado National Memorial, another unit of the National Park System in Arizona, also deals with early Spanish activities in the Southwest. It commemorates and interprets not only the Coronado expedition, which passed through this vicinity, but also the expeditions of other Spanish explorers. The Memorial is located in a wild region on the Mexican border, about 30 miles west of Bisbee, Arizona.

San Diego Presidio, California.

The San Diego Presidio commemorates two great events in the history of the Pacific Coast--the founding of the first colony and the first mission in California. Here in July, 1769, the land

and sea components of the Portolá-Serra expedition united. "The first band of Spanish pioneers on the soil of Alta California"[26] formally took possession of the new land for Spain. The same month, Father Serra founded the mission of San Diego de Alcalá on the spot. The Presidio of San Diego also marks the site of the first permanent European settlement on the Pacific Coast of the United States. For half a century the town of San Diego was located within its adobe walls. It served as a base of operations from which expeditions put out to explore new routes and found new missions; it was the seat of military jurisdiction in southern California; and under Mexican rule it was for a time the residence of the governor.

Vestiges of the structures that once formed the Presidio still remain in grass-covered mounds in Presidio Park, San Diego, which suggest the ground plan and outlines of walls and buildings. Junipero Serra Cross, in the center of the Presidio, was built in 1913 from bits of brick and floor tile found on the spot. It bears this inscription: "Here the First Citizen, Fray Junipero Serra, Planted Civilization in California, Here he Raised the Cross, Here Began the First Mission, Here Founded the First Town - San Diego, July 16, 1769."

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26. Bolton, Spanish Borderlands, 262.

(Criteria 1, 2, and 3; no record of Advisory Board action.)

References: George W. Ames, San Diego Presidio Site, California Historical Landmark Series (1936); H. H. Bancroft, History of California (7 v., San Francisco, 1884-90); Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, San Diego Mission (San Francisco, 1920); William E. Smythe, History of San Diego, 1542-1907 (San Diego, 1907).

Royal Presidio Chapel, Monterey, California.

For three-quarters of a century, Monterey was the stronghold of Hispano-Mexican civilization on the Pacific Coast. It was the capital of California from 1776 until shortly before the American occupation--the center of most of the important social, military, and political activities. The historical importance of the Royal Presidio Chapel depends in part upon its intimate relationship to the political government of California, for in addition to routine religious services, the Chapel was the scene of the many brilliant and colorful ceremonies that were part of the affairs of state. The Royal Presidio Chapel, worshipping place of the royal governors of California under Spanish rule, is the only remaining presidio chapel in California, the sole remaining structure of the original Monterey Presidio, and the only architectural remains of eighteenth century Spanish origin within Monterey. "If Mission San Carlos Borromeo was the most important of the California churches from the ecclesiastical standpoint," wrote Newcomb,

"La Capilla Real [The Royal Chapel], now San Carlos Church, Monterey, was just as truly the most important church in a political sense."[27]

The Presidio and Mission at Monterey were dedicated at impressive ceremonies on June 3, 1770, the culmination of long years of preparation and a thousand-mile trek by Portolá and Serra from Lower California in search of a site upon which Spain would occupy Upper California. A year later, Father Serra moved the mission to the Carmel Valley, the church at Monterey continuing to serve the members of the Presidio and their families.

The present Royal Presidio Chapel, which replaced the original mission church, was begun in 1789 when Governor Pedro Fages laid the foundation. The stone and adobe structure was completed in 1795, and has been in constant use for more than a century and a half. After the secularization of the California missions in 1833, it became a parish church, and when Mission San Carlos (Carmel) was abandoned many of the relics were removed to the Royal Presidio Chapel, where some still may be seen. Although a wing, the transept, and the altar are nineteenth century additions, the basic structure is original. However, other less harmonious alterations, such as the addition of Gothic stained glass windows,

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27. Rexford Newcomb, The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California (Philadelphia, 1925), 238.

have also been made. One of California's best examples of Mexican architecture, it is the handiwork of Mexican Indian laborers, whose native renderings of religious motifs are notable examples of primitive art. The Stations of the Cross are originals, as are the statues of St. John, the Sorrowful Mother, the Spanish Madonna, and the bas-relief of Our Lady of Guadalupe, carved in chalk rock above the entrance, on one of the most ornate faces among California mission churches.

An adjoining museum houses the most precious Catholic relics in California, including the iron safe used by Serra, a rudely carved reliquary case of Indian make, and Serra's own chasuble, cape and dalmatics, and his altar service of beaten silver. Close by the church are the buildings of the Saint Joseph convent and school, a Franciscan community established in 1898.

(Criteria 1 and 4; Monterey has been approved by the Advisory Board.)

References: H. H. Bancroft, History of California (7 v., San Francisco, 1884-90); Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, Missions and Missionaries of California (4 v., 1908-15); Rexford Newcomb, The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California (Philadelphia, 1925); George Tays, Royal Presidio Chapel of San Carlos Borromeo, California Landmark Series (1936); Olaf T. Hagen, Historic Sites Survey Report, Monterey, California (Ms. Report, National Park Service, 1940).

Carmel Mission, Monterey, California.

Mission Carmel (Mission San Carlos Borromeo) was the most

important of the California missions from an ecclesiastical standpoint. Its importance rests not upon the number of Indian converts or the beauty of the mission architecture, but upon the fact that Mission Carmel was headquarters of the two great Franciscans, Fathers Serra and Lasuen, under whose guidance and inspiration the California mission system was established. Eighteen of the 21 missions were established by Serra and Lasuen, who carried out their work from Mission Carmel. Here were housed the mission records and a library of 2,500 volumes. From Mexico came the missionaries and supplies with which new missions were founded and the old strengthened. And in Mission Carmel are the graves of Serra and Lasuen. Serra's statue is one of the two representing California in the capitol building at Washington.

In 1771, the year following establishment of the mission and presidio at Monterey, Father Serra moved the mission to nearby Carmel Valley, away from the corrupting influence of the soldiers. Here, in humble, primitive quarters, Serra and his devoted companion Father Crespi spent the remainder of their lives in the furtherance of the California missions. Nine missions were established by Serra during his presidency, during which time he travelled regularly on official visitations from Carmel to his missions to encourage and to counsel. Ascetic, humble, and meek, yet a vigorous fighter in defense of the religious against the

political order, he rightfully earned the title of spiritual father of California.

In 1784 Lasuen became padre presidente at Carmel, succeeding Father Serra, who had died the previous year. His career was distinguished by his abilities as an administrator, by his tactful handling of the governors and the military, and by his excellence as a builder of sound architectural structures for the missions. In 1793 he laid the foundation of the present Mission Carmel church, using sandstone from the slopes of Carmel Valley, and manufacturing lime from abalone shells. The finished church was dedicated in 1797.

But the general decline of the missions had already begun. Lasuen died in 1803 and his successor moved the Franciscan headquarters to Santa Barbara. After the order of secularization in 1833, the padres were ousted, the neophytes scattered, the herds confiscated, and the buildings left to fall into ruin. When offered for sale by Governor Pico in 1846, the buildings had crumbled almost beyond repair, and no bids were received. In 1852 the church roof collapsed and the tiles were carried away.

In 1884 the church was rededicated and with aid from interested citizens restoration of the church begun. Restoration proceeded gradually over the years, sometimes with more zeal than accuracy. Since 1936 the work on the buildings has continued, based on more

careful research and the use of native materials. The ornate facade, with its slightly irregular and star-shaped window of Moorish design, is original and one of the most distinctive of the California missions. In the baptistry beneath one of the belfries is the ancient stone font where the Indians were baptized. Before the altar are the graves of Serra, Crespi, and Lasuen. Throughout the church are many original paintings and statues.

(Criteria 1 and 2; Monterey has been approved by the Advisory Board.)

References: H. H. Bancroft, History of California (7 v., San Francisco, 1884-90); John A. Berger, The Franciscan Missions of California (New York, 1941); Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, Mission San Carlos Borromeo, ed. by Fr. Felix Pudlowski (Santa Barbara, 1934); Mrs. Francis Norris Smith, The Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Berkeley, 1921.)

Santa Barbara Mission, Santa Barbara, California.

Of the 21 missions of California, Santa Barbara is outstanding for its unusual and continued vigor, and many believed it to be the most notable of the Spanish mission churches of California. It is perhaps the best preserved and today it presents, with only minor changes, the same appearance as in the days of the padres. Architecturally, Santa Barbara is one of the finest of the mission churches and its architectural features have had considerable influence on California construction generally. It is the only

California mission in which the sanctuary light has never been extinguished, the only one to remain in Franciscan control after the secularization of the missions. With its strikingly beautiful facade and its spectacular location in the foothills of the mountains overlooking the Channel Islands, combined with its long and colorful history, Santa Barbara has come to be known as the "Queen of the Missions."

In 1815 work was begun on the fourth church to occupy the Santa Barbara site; it was completed and dedicated in 1820. The padres had available a Spanish translation of the ancient Roman architectural compiler Vitrurius, which contained plates of the orders of architecture. The famous classic facade of Mission Santa Barbara is a close copy of one of these plates (the book is still in the mission library). The ponderous walls of sandstone blocks, delicate molding, and intricate carving were all the product of Canalino Indian labor.

Mission Santa Barbara alone survived the secularization of the California missions decreed by the new Mexican Republic in 1833. During the transitional period, it became the Franciscan capital of California, home of the last father-president, and in 1842 California's first bishop arrived at Santa Barbara to establish his see at the mission, and to administer the affairs of his diocese, which included all of Alta and Baja California. Soon

after the Gold Rush, a missionary college was established at Santa Barbara to train English-speaking priests. Thus, while most of the other California missions were deserted and fell into ruins, Santa Barbara continued to be occupied by the Franciscans. As the parish church, the see of the bishop and an apostolic college, the substantial mission buildings and the church were kept in repair.

During early mass on June 29, 1925, Mission Santa Barbara was struck by an earthquake. The following year restoration began, using the old materials as far as possible. The present church is therefore little changed from its original construction, except that steel rods and plates anchored to the buttresses hold the walls together and heavy I-beams support the floors. The priceless treasures of the mission in its library and museum are almost without number. There is the original altar, adobe bricks indented with the footprints of bears and mountain lions, the beautiful Stations of the Cross brought from Mexico in 1797, and original paintings creased in their journey from Spain by pack trip across Mexico.

(Criteria 1 and 4; no record of Advisory Board action.)

References: H. H. Bancroft, History of California (7 v., San Francisco, 1884-90); John A. Berger, The Franciscan Missions of California (New York, 1941); Fr. Zephrin Engelhardt, Missions and Missionaries of California (4 v., 1908-15).

Cabrillo National Monument, San Diego, California.

Cabrillo National Monument, administered by the National Park Service, commemorates the discovery of the coast of California by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, a Portugese navigator in the service of Spain, on September 28, 1542. His landfall at Point Loma, on which the National Monument is located, and his entrance and landing in San Diego Bay, mark the first contact of Europeans with this part of the New World.

Lost Sites

Three important Spanish sites cannot be precisely and unquestionably identified. Therefore, they must at present be considered as "lost sites." In other respects they meet the criteria of exceptional value. If documentary and archeological investigations in the future permit exact identification, these sites will then be eligible for classification as exceptionally valuable.

Landing Place of Columbus, Puerto Rico.

On November 19, 1493, during his second voyage to the New World, Christopher Columbus discovered Puerto Rico. He landed on the west coast of the island and claimed it for Spain. This was the first spot within present United States territory on which Columbus set foot. Where along the west coast he landed has not been determined. One claimant is the town of Aguadilla, where a small commemorative park has been established. Another is the nearby town of Aguada, which has erected a marker. Still a third is Cabo Rojo. This must be classified as a "lost site" at present; and, in view of the paucity and vagueness of contemporary accounts, it seems unlikely that it will be possible to make a final determination.

San Francisco de los Tejas Mission, Texas.

The first mission in East Texas, San Francisco de los Tejas was an expression of Spain's policy of defensive expansion, and represented her determination to hold Texas as a borderland against French encroachment from Louisiana. La Salle's attempt to colonize the Texas Coast, although ending in disaster, frightened Spain into occupying East Texas. The mission of San Francisco de los Tejas was founded in May, 1690, by Franciscan fathers accompanying the expedition of Governor Alonso de León. They built a log chapel in the midst of the Tejas village of Nabedache. When the French threat receded and the Indians grew hostile, the friars in 1693 burned the mission and left Texas. Following renewed danger from French ambitions, the mission was re-established in 1716, although at a new location, eight miles from the old, and under a new name.

Texas historians have been active for almost 60 years in trying to locate the site of Nabedache and San Francisco de los Tejas Mission. Documentary research and field reconnaissance by Bolton and Albert Woldert located the approximate site. Archeological evidence sustained their conclusions. The village stood on San Pedro Creek about six or eight miles west of the Neches River, immediately northwest of the town of Weches. The State has erected a one-room

log chapel as a replica of the mission, and placed a commemorative marker nearby. It is pleasantly set in a pine grove one-half mile north of Texas Highway 21. Prominent directional and interpretive signs have been placed on the highway. The replica and marker almost certainly stand within 500 to 800 yards of the precise location of the mission, but, until exactly identified, it must be classified as a "lost site."[28]

San Juan (San Gabriel), New Mexico.

The first European settlement west of the Mississippi and the first capital of the Spanish province of New Mexico, San Juan, or San Gabriel, was founded by Don Juan de Oñate in 1598. The exact location and name of this colony have been debated by historians and archeologists for many years, but the following interpretation seems to be the most logical. When Oñate expedition in July, 1598, reached the Tewa pueblo of Yugeuingge, in

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28. For the research that led to identification of the approximate site of Nabedache and San Francisco de los Tejas, see: Herbert E. Bolton, "The Native Tribes About the East Texas Missions," Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, XI (1907-1908); Bolton, "Nabedache," in Hodge, Handbook of Indians North of Mexico, II, 1-4; Bolton, Spanish Exploration and Settlement, 414-17, 376, 380; Albert Woldert, "The Location of the Tejas Indian Village (San Pedro) and the Spanish Missions in Houston County, Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (1934-35), 203-212; Carlos E. Castaneda, The Mission Era: The Finding of Texas, 1519-1693, Vol. I of Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936 (Austin, 1936), 353.

the northwest angle formed by the confluence of the Chama River and the Rio Grande, the Indians turned their dwellings over to the Spaniards and moved across the Rio Grande to the east bank. Here they settled in another pueblo, which the Spanish, to honor the generosity of the Indians, named San Juan de los Caballeros. The new capital, established at Yugeuingge, the Spanish called San Juan. By September, they had completed the chapel of San Francisco de los Españoles, later called San Gabriel. There is some evidence to indicate that, in 1601, the settlement was moved south of the Chama to a new site that has never been located. It is definitely known, however, that in 1601 the name was changed to San Gabriel, which designated the capital until the founding of Santa Fe in 1609. Confusion of terminology has derived from the fact that the name San Juan identified both the first capital (Yugeuingge) and the Indian pueblo east of the Rio Grande, and that the name San Gabriel identified not only the chapel at San Juan (Yugeuingge) but also, after 1601, the capital itself.[29]

The probable site of San Juan (Yugeuingge) lies north of the Chama, about three miles north of the town of Española and adjacent

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29. Although this hypothesis appears to be the most reasonable explanation, the evidence leaves much room for other interpretations. For a listing of conflicting accounts, see p. 29, note 16. See also Erik K. Reed, Report on San Gabriel (Ms. Report, National Park Service, September 1936).

to the abandoned railroad siding of Chamita. In 1944 the Museum of New Mexico excavated the ruins of this site. Cultivation and adobe-making have all but obscured it, although one mound of considerable size may still be seen. The site of San Juan de los Caballeros (the pueblo on the east bank of the Rio Grande to which the Indians of Yugeuingge moved) was probably at or very near the modern Indian pueblo of San Juan.

Other Sites Considered

Fort San Geronimo, San Juan, Puerto Rico. One of the early defensive works of San Juan Harbor, constructed in the seventeenth century.

Sites in St. Augustine, Florida. First European settlement within the continental boundaries of the United States, St. Augustine was the principal colony of Spanish Florida. Aside from Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments (see p. 82), several buildings date from the Spanish period, and display, with varying degrees of integrity, the features of Spanish domestic architecture. The more important are the "Oldest House," the Llambias House, and the Spanish Treasurer's House. Also of importance are two historic sites: Anastasia Island, where several of the early settlements of St. Augustine were located and where coquina used in the construction of Castillo de San Marcos was quarried; and the first settlement at St. Augustine, where, on one of two tracts of land north of the Castillo, Menéndez founded the original settlement in 1565.

Santa Elena, Parris Island, South Carolina. Site, not definitely located on the 8,000-acre island, of the northernmost extension of Spanish Florida in the last half of the sixteenth

century. Inventoried under Theme V, French Exploration and Settlement, because of the probable location on the same island of the first French settlement in present United States.

St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, Louisiana. Second church to occupy the site, this structure was built in 1794, during the Spanish period, but extensive alterations have almost entirely obscured the original appearance of the building.

San Saba, near Menard, Texas. The restored presidio of San Luis de las Amarillas, near the site of San Saba Mission, illustrates Spain's disastrous attempt in the eighteenth century to missionize the Apaches.

Sites in San Antonio, Texas. Once the most important settlement of Spanish Texas, San Antonio has several notable structures that have survived. San José y San Miguel de Aguayo Mission has already been treated (see p. 86). Also in good condition and still in use as Catholic parish churches are the missions of San Juan Capistrano,[30] San Francisco de la Espada, and Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepcion. The chapel of San Antonio de Valero Mission, better known as the Alamo, is maintained by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas

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30. Erik K. Reed, Special Report on San Juan Capistrano Mission San Antonio, Texas (Santa Fe: National Park Service, September 1938).

as the shrine of Texas independence. Also in the heart of the city is the restored Governor's Palace, owned by the city, which the San Antonio Conservation Society has furnished as a house museum.

Sites near Goliad, Texas. The Goliad area was the Bahía del Espíritu Santo settlement in the eighteenth century. The mission of Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga has been authentically restored by the National Park Service and is the central feature of Goliad State Park. Several miles to the east, on a hill overlooking the San Antonio River, are the chapel and crumbling compound walls of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de la Bahía, now used as a Catholic parish church. West of Goliad are the ruins of the mission of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de los Cujanes. Twenty-nine miles south of Golaid, at the town of Refugio, is the site of the mission of Nuestra Señora del Refugio.[31]

Puaray, New Mexico. Once believed to be the site of Coronado's winter quarters, 1540-1541, Puaray is now considered merely one of many possibilities. The evidence is so vague that it will support no definite conclusion.[32]

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31. Aubrey Neasham, Special Report on the Historic Sites of Goliad, Texas (Ms. Report, National Park Service, January 1940).

32. Erik K. Reed, Preliminary Special Report on Tiguex (Kuaua and Puaray) (Ms. Report, National Park Service, April 1938); Reed, Supplementary Report on Coronado State Monument (Ms. Report, National Park Service, October 1940). Puaray was once approved by the Advisory Board.

Sites in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Capital of Spanish New Mexico from 1609 to 1821, and of Mexican New Mexico from 1821 to 1846, Santa Fe is still a distinctively Spanish city. The Palace of the Governors has already been evaluated as an exceptionally valuable site (see p. 89). Other important relics of the Spanish period are San Miguel Mission, built in the seventeenth century and still used as a parish church,[33] Rosario Chapel, built by De Vargas and rebuilt in 1816, and Guadalupe Church, dating from the early nineteenth century and also still serving as a parish church. Numerous buildings used as residences and business establishments also date from the Spanish period.

San Gregario de Abo and La Purísima Concepcion de Quarai Missions, near Mountainair, New Mexico. These two missions, together with San Buenaventura de las Humanas (see Gran Quivira National Monument, p.100), served the Salinas pueblos of central New Mexico during the middle seventeenth century. Imposing ruins of both missions have been stabilized and are maintained as State Monuments by the Museum of New Mexico.[34]

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33. Aubrey Neasham, Special Report Covering San Miguel Chapel in Santa Fe, New Mexico (Ms. Report, National Park Service, June 1939).

34. Erik K. Reed, Special Report on Abo State Monument, New Mexico (Ms. Report, National Park Service, December 1940).

Awatovi, Arizona. Site of a large pueblo visited by Cardenas, Tovar, Espejo, Oñate, and De Vargas, and of the mission of San Bernardino, 1629-1680. The village was destroyed by other Indians in 1700-1701 and never reoccupied. Extensive ruins of both pueblo and church have been excavated.[35]

Crossing of the Fathers, Utah. Site in Glen Canyon of the Colorado River where the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition on November 7, 1776, finally succeeded in crossing the river. Steps chiseled in the canyon wall by the Fathers will be inundated when Glen Canyon Dam is completed.[36]

Plaza of San Juan Buatista, California. Grouped around the central square are several structures that constitute one of the best preserved examples of Spanish-Mexican days. The Castro House was built in 1825 by José Castro, twice acting governor of the province and commanding general of Mexican forces in the north during the American conquest. The Plaza Hotel, whose first story was

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35. Erik K. Reed, Special Report on Awatobi (Ms. Report, National Park Service, April 1938); and Reed, Supplementary Report on Awatobi (Ms. Report, National Park Service, August 1938). This site was once approved by the Advisory Board.

36. See David E. Miller, The Discovery of Glen Canyon of the Colorado, contract study for the National Park Service (University of Utah, 1957).

reportedly built in 1792, was first a dwelling, later a popular hostelry. Mission San Juan Buatista (1803), also facing on the square, is one of the best preserved of the California mission churches. Except for the mission, the buildings are preserved as a State Historical Monument.

Petaluma Rancho, Sonoma, California. The largest adobe structure in northern California, the Petaluma Rancho, or "Casa Grande," was built in the 1830's by General Mariano Vallejo, military governor and an outstanding figure of the Spanish-Mexican-American period of California history. A small army of Indians raised crops, tended the vast cattle herds, and engaged in the weaving, milling, tanning and other crafts typical of the rancho period. Although one wing of the two-story casa was destroyed, it is being restored as a State Historical Monument.

San Francisco Presidio, California. Establishment of the San Francisco Presidio overlooking the finest harbor on the Pacific Coast of North America constituted the high point of the Spanish advance into Alta California. The Presidio, from which grew the city of San Francisco, has had a continuous existence as a military post under the flags of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. A portion of only one building today remains, much altered, from the early Spanish occupation.

La Purísima Concepcion Mission, Lompoc, California. Of the 21 Spanish missions of California, La Purísima Concepcion, an outstanding restoration, perhaps best recreates today the total picture of mission life and institutions in Spanish California. In 1935 the State of California acquired ownership of the mission property as a State Historical Monument; using CCC labor the National Park Service carefully restored the major buildings, including the church. (Approved by Advisory Board.)

Los Angeles Pueblo, California. The Los Angeles Pueblo is the only remaining Spanish pueblo site with original buildings in California. It was founded in 1781 by Rivera with families recruited in Mexico, and for the next hundred years the square, or plaza, remained the hub of community life. A number of structures from the Spanish-Mexican period survive, including the Avila Adobe (c. 1820), residence of the Alcalde, and the Plaza Church (c. 1818). A four-block area, including colorful Overa Street and the Plaza, is now under development as a State Historical Monument, with several million dollars appropriated for land acquisition and restoration work.

De la Guerra Adobe, Santa Barbara, California. Built between 1818 and 1826 by Don José Antonio de la Guerra, commandante of the Presidio of Santa Barbara, a man of considerable prominence and

influence. His home was the center of military and political gatherings, and social events, one of which is described in Dana's Two Years Before the Mast. The de la Guerra adobe, with its additions, is occupied by fashionable shops and studios and has become the center of "Old Spain" in Santa Barbara.

Los Cerritos Rancho, Long Beach, California. The rise of such great ranchos as Los Cerritos marked the romantic era of pastoral California. Bjilt in 1844 by the Yankee trader John Temple, who acquired a Mexican wife, Los Cerritos is said to have been the largest and most impressive private residence put up in southern California during the Spanish-Mexican period, and is today the largest extant adobe structure in southern California.

Site of the Discovery of San Francisco Bay, California. At this site on Sweeney Ridge, near Millbrae, members of the Portolá expedition in 1769 became the first white men to view San Francisco Bay.

Old Town, San Diego, California. The first Spanish settlement at San Diego was grouped around a central plaza at the foot of Presidio Hill. Now known as "Old Town," this section contains a number of structures dating from before the American conquest, including, among others, the Casa de Estudillo, a venerable adobe

built in 1826, its 12 rooms grouped around three sides of a patio, and the spacious and broad balconies of the Casa de Bandini, built in the 1820's.

Los Alamos Rancho, California. A fine example, inside and out, of the period when California was a remote province of Mexico and life centered upon the great ranchos.

Sites in Monterey, California. The town of Monterey epitomizes the history of California during the Spanish-Mexican period. It contains more sites and structures of historical importance than any other place on the Pacific Coast, sites that highlight the political, economic, religious, social, and strategic importance of the Spanish capital of California. Many buildings still standing represent the distinctive "Monterey" architecture, a blend of Spanish and Cape Cod styles that have been copied throughout the United States. Prominent among examples is the Larkin House, built in 1835 by Thomas Larkin, later first U.S. Consul in California and a prominent figure in California affairs. Other structures of note are the Old Custom House, Casa Amesti, Casa del Oro, the Old Pacific Hotel, Colton Hall, the French Consulate, and the "House of Four Winds." Monterey is also the site of the Vizaíno-Serra Landing Place, a memorial to Vizcaíno's landing in 1602 and the arrival of Serra and Portolá in 1770.

Sites Also Noted

Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Socorro Mission, near El Paso, Texas.

Corpus Christi de la Isleta Mission, near El Paso, Texas.

San José de Giusewa Mission, Jemez, New Mexico.

San Felipe de Neri Church, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Santa Cruz, New Mexico.

San José de Laguna Mission, Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico.

Santa Rita Copper Mines, near Silver City, New Mexico.

San Francisco de Assisi Mission, Ranchos de Taos, New Mexico.

San José de Tucson Presidio, Tucson, Arizona.

Santa Cruz de Quiburi Presidio, Arizona.

Los Alamitos Rancho, Long Beach, California.

Sonoma Plaza, California.

Casa Carillo, Santa Barbara, California.

El Cuartel, Santa Barbara, California.

El Molino Viejo, Pasadena, California.

Placerita Canyon, Los Angeles, California.

Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, California.

Drake's Bay, California.

Appendix

POSSIBLE SPECIAL STUDIES

This study and investigation of sites illustrating the history of Spanish exploration and settlement reveals several sites where special study, both documentary and archeological, might lead to positive identification and clearer appreciation of significance. Two of the lost sites previously discussed, San Francisco de los Tejas Mission, Texas, and San Juan, New Mexico, might well, through such investigation, be rescued from the category of lost sites.

In California, a promising area of study is San Diego, where the whole story of Spanish exploration and settlement of the Pacific Coast might be told. The considerable mound and foundation remains of the presidio have never been excavated, and undoubtedly would yield a mass of evidence on the early period. At nearby San Diego Old Town, there are a number of Spanish-Mexican adobe structures eminently worthy of preservation. Cabrillo National Monument has already been established to commemorate the Spanish discovery of California and San Diego Harbor. The three areas might therefore very well be interpreted under a unified plan, and represent the entire period of Spain in California, from discovery to American occupation.

Also worthy of further study is the presumptive site of the "Yuma Crossing" of the Colorado River, a ford of considerable historical significance in the Spanish period as well as in later years. The arduous trek over the desert from Sonora to California by padre, soldier, and colonist, including the two great expeditions of Anza, were by way of Yuma Crossing.

In New Mexico, documentary research is necessary before the true significance of the Salinas missions and pueblos can be established. These seventeenth century missions were Abo and Quarai, both now State Monuments, and San Buenaventura, now Gran Quivira National Monument. So vague and sketchy are the source materials for these missions that their history, hence their significance, is understood only in the most general way. Research in Spanish and Mexican archives might reveal enough information to eliminate this vacuum in the Spanish history of New Mexico.

Appendix 2

Note: The following information was received after the foregoing pages had been reproduced.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
National Park Service
Region One
Richmond, Virginia
March 3, 1959

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region Three

From: Regional Director, Region One

Subject: National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings: Theme IV, Spanish Exploration and Settlement

By now, Historian Utley undoubtedly has received notice of the following action taken in regard to Theme IV sites located within the bounds of Region One by the Special Committee:

1. San Marcos de Apalache, Florida, is to be removed from the list of sites recommended for classification and included in the list of sites recommended for further study.

2. Los Adaes, Louisiana, is to be retained on the list of sites recommended for classification, but further study also is to be recommended for it, in order to pinpoint the physical features of the site.

3. Fort San Lorenzo, Panama Canal Zone, is to be removed from the list of other sites noted, and is to be included in the list of sites recommended for classification. The justification for Fort San Lorenzo is attached to this memorandum, as well as negatives and prints of two photographs.

Mr. Utley should also add to the description of Salt River Bay (Columbus Landing Site), St. Croix, Virgin Islands, the information that the Virgin Islands Legislature at its 1958 session passed a bill providing for the acquisition of two tracts totaling 50.05 acres at Salt River Bay, to be developed and maintained by the Government of the Virgin Islands as a historical and public recreational area.

/s/ Elbert Cox
Regional Director

Attachments

Fort San Lorenzo, Panama Canal Zone.

The Isthmus of Panama is identified with the earliest history of Spain in the New World. Christopher Columbus, during his fourth voyage in 1502, lay at anchor for several days off the mouth of a river which probably was the Chagres. Twenty-five years later the stream was explored by Hernando de la Serna.

After the discovery of gold in Peru in the early 1530's, the Isthmus became an important link in the transportation of precious metals and other produce from that province and Chile to the Caribbean, whence the Spanish treasure fleets sailed for home. Two main routes were developed across the Isthmus from Panama, on the Pacific coast, to Portobelo on the Caribbean. One, the Camino Real, was impassable during the rainy season. The other was a land-and-water route from Panama to Cruces on the Chagres, thence down that river and along the Caribbean coast to Portobelo. At Cruces, the transhipment point, a warehouse was built for storage of the precious cargoes.

Pirates, attracted by the rich booty, began hovering off the mouth of the river within a few years, but not until 1571 did they become sufficiently bold to threaten Cruces. The Spanish Crown, not slow to react to the threat, nevertheless moved slowly in fortifying the vital stream. Not until Sir Francis Drake's raid of 1596 was a tower begun at the mouth of the river and a log chain stretched

across the stream. These feeble defenses nevertheless turned the raiders back.

The next year, construction of Fort San Lorenzo was begun at the mouth of the river by Bautista Antonelli, an Italian military engineer. Formally named Castillo de San Lorenzo el Real, the fort was more familiarly known as Castillo de Chagres. It had a garrison of 15 men and consisted of a water battery at the face of the headland, with a tower rising against the cliff face.

Rebuilt on the same plan in the early 1620's, the fort was destroyed after its capture by Henry Morgan's privateers in 1681. Again reconstructed in the period 1672-77, the fort became a military prison in the last years of the 17th century. Improved along more modern lines in 1729, it was captured by Admiral Vernon's force in 1740 and again destroyed. After its reconstruction in 1750, it was never seriously attacked, though it did play a part in the Central American revolutions of 1819-21. When Fort San Lorenzo was rebuilt in 1750, another fortification was built a few miles upstream and named Fort Gatun.

Nothing remains of the 1597 Fort San Lorenzo, and most of the extant ruins are from the period of the last reconstruction. Of sandstone, limestone and brick, the ruins are extensive but in poor condition. Portions of the wall on the river side are in imminent danger of falling into the water, and a number of the building walls

are probably beyond repair. Some 24 iron cannon, ranging from 6-pounders to 24-pounders, are located in and around the fort.

Fort Gatun has been inundated by the canal, but on Gatun Hill, overlooking the fort site, are some well-preserved stone trenches which probably constituted a part of the outlying works. They are about four miles upstream from Fort San Lorenzo.

Although the Chagres River basin above Gatun Hill has been flooded to form Gatun Lake, an integral part of the canal, the lower five miles of the river retains its primeval appearance.

A large part of the 15-mile-long Cruces Trail still exists. One especially desirable portion of it is located in the Madden Forest Preserve on the Continental Divide, at an elevation of 500 feet. There the stone paving, at intervals laid in the form of a cross, is in good condition. The Madden Forest Preserve is located some 25 miles from Fort San Lorenzo.

All of these sites are located within the Canal Zone, the occupation of which has been granted in perpetuity to the United States by the Government of Panama.

References: Albert Manucy and Joseph A. Gagliano, "Spanish Colonial Sites in the Panama Canal Zone" (Ms. National Park Service September 1958); John Esquemelin, The Buccaneers of America. . . . (London, 1893); Diego Iniguez Angulo, Bautista Antonelli, Las fortificaciones Americanas del siglo XVI (Madrid, 1942); Clarence H. Haring, The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the XVII Century (New York, 1910).