A Collection of Book Reviews and Essays

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A Collection of Book Reviews and Essays
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Book Reviews

When Jesus Came, The Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sex, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846, by Ramón A. Gutiérrez

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Presented to Southwest Hispanic Research Institute
University of New Mexico
When Jesus Came, The Corn Mothers went away: Marriage, Sex, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846, Ramón A. Gutiérrez (California: Stanford University Press, 1991, xxxi + 424 pp. $ 17.95)

Review of Parts I and II

As a descendent of Pueblo and Hispanic people of New Mexico, a native with roots in various Hispanic communities and also in Piro, Tiwa, and Zuñi pueblos, I commenced reading When Jesus Came The Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846 (Stanford University Press, 1991), with much personal interest. What could this multi-prize winning and critically acclaimed book tell me about my past -the Indigenous and Colonial New Mexico of my ancestors?

With this in mind I read Ramón A. Gutiérrez's introduction. Gutiérrez, also a native "Hispanic" (it is unknown to me if he is of mestizo abstraction or if he claims any native American cultural connection) and New Mexican received his Doctoral degree from the University of Wisconsin and is Professor of History at The University of California, San Diego.

In the first paragraph of the introduction, Gutiérrez set a tone which became my underline contention while reading the book. Gutiérrez uses the metaphors "window into" and "visions of the vanquished" to instruct the reader of his intent to tell the story of the Pueblo people through the victor's view. He arrogantly purports to "give vision to the blind" and " voice to the mute and silent". This claim is not usually used by social scientists much less by an outsider writing about something that happened some five hundred years ago.

His thesis then, as he tells the reader, is a social history of New Mexico between 1500 to
1846 told through the institution of marriage. Part I, The Pueblo Indian World, is a historical reconstruction of sixteenth century Pueblo culture and social structure using the tribal customs and myths as a point of representation. Part II is about how the Spanish Franciscan theology of the "mystical marriage" conflicts with the native Pueblo's belief of marriage and gender roles.

**Part I - The Pueblo Indian World**

Part I starts with the creation myth of the Acoma people and how the first people, the sisters Iatiku, Mother of the corn clan, and Nautsiti, Mother of the Sun clan, were raised from underneath the earth to bring to life all things in their baskets, which were seeds and fetishes of all the plants and animals that were to exist in the world. The story of creation continues by a description of the cosmology of the Sun, moon, stars and animals that explain the different clans, spirits, and social hierarchical functions (War Chiefs, Medicine man, women, etc).

How Ramón Gutierrez viewed the Pueblo people and how the Colonial Spanish society documented the life of the first New Mexicans is very informative and yet I was hesitant to venture into the understanding of something I was always taught not to try to understand. My environment (Albuquerque is surrounded by the Tiwa pueblo of Sandia to the north, to the east is located their sacred Mountain, the Sandias, to the South is the Tiwa Pueblo of Isleta, and to the west is the Village of Laguna Pueblo) taught me to be part of but never cross the line into what is not fully part of my cultural experience. Respect for the sacred and for certain rituals is an unwritten code that both the traditional Hispanos and Pueblos share alike. Separate yet bound together by our connection to Catholicism and to our sustenance to our common land and water, and our often-shared bloodlines (for not only do Hispanos have Pueblo ancestry, but the Pueblos also could easily claim Spanish ancestry.) Early on in the first pages it became apparent to me
that Ramón Gutiérrez in *When Jesus Came*. has crossed the line and is offensive to me and as I soon found out offensive to many Pueblo scholars, historians and educators of which there commentaries were published in the American Indian Culture and Research Journal 17:3 (1993) 141-177. Consulting with these commentaries from some of the best Pueblo thinkers, I will interject some of their published observations.

**Part II The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico**

Gutiérrez continues with an explanation of what the Spanish mindset was upon entry into pueblo land, and how there was much cultural and religious conflict and also social similarities that possibly made cultural adaptation a little easier.

The Black Katzina, as Gutiérrez called him, was Estebanico, the first to have contact with the pueblos. Estebanico was a Moro (a black North African) who was one of the four ship wrecked survivors who wandered and explored the southwest with the infamous Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. For his experience with the region, Estebanico was chosen to head the De Niza expedition to New Mexico. Guitars explains that Estebanico and the De Niza group were either considered to be Medicine man or even Gods upon their entry into Hawikuh in 1540. "Who were these Gods? the Indians along the road asked " (p.43, *When Jesus Came.*) One Pueblo scholar disagrees with Gutiérrez's assertion that they were viewed as Gods. Allison Freese states that "Pueblos vehemently deny that their ancestors would have seen the conquerors as kachinas." (P.147, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*) In the same Journal Simon Ortiz (p.151) takes up the issue "He [Gutiérrez] treats loosely and casually the meaning of sacred terminology such as katsina which he implies, without even the slightest explanation or qualification, directly to the Spanish conquistadors." Gutiérrez than discusses how the Spanish like the pueblo people view the world before them through their own cultural categories, It appears that Gutiérrez is
now doing the same thing as a modern historian, for none of his references cite modern day Pueblo historians nor did he even consult with them to include their "perspective" in his work, some thing Pueblo scholars are disappointed with.

Gutiérrez continues by explaining the Christian calendar and the symbolism of the sacramental Mass. He manages to join together a mesh of symbolism pertaining to sex (mostly homoerotic), cosmic deities, gender, power, passion, and morality. In concluding part II, Gutiérrez gives reason as to the state of Christian conversion amongst the Pueblos and to why they allowed themselves to be baptized. Though Ramón Gutiérrez did give a good overview and comparison of the Pueblo and Catholic religious cycle he continued to view the Pueblos as one homogenous group and failed to seek the pueblo view as to their view of their native religions and symbols.

The re-telling of the creation story in Part I is not in itself opposed by the pueblo scholars, but rather Gutiérrez's biggest criticism is his research methodology and his negligence in consulting modern day Pueblo perspectives. Pueblo scholars have concluded that *When Jesus came* exemplifies works they categorize as "New Western History," which is basically the practice of drawing on sources that may not support a tenet but look and sound like a logical correlation. In "New Western History" it is acceptable to use selective partial quotes and to deposit that information from one place to another even if it "contradicts the information gathered at the location actually in question". (P.143, American Indian Culture and Research Journal) Gutiérrez does this often throughout Part I, in where he interjects cultural aspects of Yuman, Meso American and other various North American tribes as being those of the Pueblo people. Isleta historian Ted Jojola connects "New Western History" as being part of a whole system of view by modern people (outsiders) who attempt to "mythologise" or resort to "image
making" the pueblo life. This of course is a subjective interpretation. The outsiders seek "their own affirmation, a primitive and exotic humanscape" (p.141, American Indian Culture and Research Journal). This view not only affects the pueblo way of life, but it also negatively affects the life of rural Hispanic New Mexican communities. These communities are rapidly being invaded by outsiders (tourists, movie stars, new agers, investors, etc.) who seek to take what is not theirs (land, traditions, language) in order to connect to something that they have no business connecting to, and than turn around and claim that this is part of their "Southwest Culture." Two buzz words that have surfaced recently come to mind that describe this phenomena are "culture vultures" which suggests that these people hunger for culture, and the other is "Santa Fake" which implies that Santa Fe, the Capital city of New Mexico, is no longer a true traditional community but rather a Hollywood version or Anglo interpretation of how they would like to be.

Ted Jojola accounts to this view towards the pueblo world when he writes, "There has been two distinct and often parallel aspects of this image-making. One is promulgated by social scientists in the fields of anthropology, ethnology, and history" Gutiérrez pulls from all three of these disciplines "The other is touted by entrepreneurs of tourism and popular culture. Among social scientists New Mexico early became a living laboratory. Among entrepreneurs and state boosters, New Mexico became a living backdrop."(P.141, American Indian Culture and Research Journal)

Another major point of argument the Pueblo scholars maintain is that of Gutiérrez's claim that in the sixteenth century there was cultural pluralism between the various pueblo tribes. He continues throughout his book with a unitary Pueblo worldview, using as his main source historian Alfonso Ortiz, New Perspectives on the Pueblos. According to Allison Freese, information specialists, Native American Studies, UNM, Albuquerque, Gutiérrez misinterpreted
Ortiz, which instead "describes late twentieth-century Pueblo culture and was not an attempt to reconstruct a unitary worldview in the 1500s, as Gutierrez maintains." (P.144, American Indian Culture and Research Journal)

One final area in where Gutiérrez's revisionist writing falls short of his claims in the introduction is his insistent reference to Pueblo women as offering their bodies to men, Sexual orgies and nudity. Joe Sando, the foremost authority of Pueblo history, in referring to this issue states "In my early years I never witnessed or experienced any activity mentioned in the book. We are not in Florida or the Caribbean. I never heard of nor knew what a berdache was until I was in the navy during World War II. (P.153, American Indian Culture and Research Journal) As noticed by other pueblo scholars, Gutiérrez relentlessly goes on about the sexuality of the pueblo culture. Rina Swentzell, from Santa Clara Pueblo, gave her opinion that "he [Gutiérrez] is obsessed with sexuality and places that personal obsession on the Pueblo people. (P.161, American Indian Culture and Research Journal) An educator from the far northern Pueblo of Taos speaks of Gutiérrez's broad generalization that pueblos had no shame and they ran around almost completely without clothing, "Again which group or groups are being referred to? In Taos, people would have died of exposure!" (P.162, American Indian Culture and Research Journal)

Throughout the introduction and Parts I and II of When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers went away, one who is exposed to Pueblo and Hispanic cultures of New Mexico, will in many instances find some of Ramón Gutiérrez's claims to be offensive and questionable. The dialog he proposes to initiate in this work is difficult to take seriously. Possible the only dialog that should take place in the minds of the reader is whether or not to accept the methodology that Ramón Gutiérrez employs in his book.
Mickey Mouse History: And Other Essays on American Memory. Mike Wallace. (Temple University Press, Philadelphia 1996 xiv + 318 pp. Photos, notes, $18.95.)

In this collection of essays, written over the past fifteen years, Mike Wallace, professor of history at John Jay College, City University of New York, gives the reader a subjective overview of the state of historical memory in the United States. These essays examine how the American culture uses selective memory for the preservation, distortion, and denial of history in the public setting.

Mickey Mouse History explores not only the chronological evolution of history museums, but also offers observations, possibilities, and challenges to curators on how to create exiting exhibits which stimulate the public to think not only of the past, but the present and the future as well. To accomplish this, Wallace suggests that relevant subject matter such as gender, culture and class be presented instead of the more traditional themes. In addition, he believes that the museums role is to promote social consciousness in its patrons. This fair and progressive approach will help museums avoid superficial and celebratory “Mickey Mouse” history.

The idea of “Mickey Mouse” history, Wallace tells us, is the portrayal of history in a fanciful utopian fashion, where negative and unwanted episodes (tragedies of war, public health, pollution, slavery, racism, labor unrest, etc.) of history, are conveniently absent. Wallace likens this to a “vacuum cleaning of the past” or “selective amnesia” (p. 137).

The vanguard of Mickey Mouse history is the Disney institution, hence the name given to this book. With its many profitable theme parks, Disney has almost single handedly controlled the public perception of history. Wallace notes that, “As tens of millions of people visit these attractions [theme parks] each year, one might fairly say Walt Disney has taught people more history, in a more memorable way, than they ever learned in school.” (p.134).

This view of history most likely has its roots in the exhibits of the earliest museums in the United States. Wallace traces the evolution of museums, noting that they were initially memorials to the American revolution. These early patriotic shrines were designed to fend off
subversive beliefs supposedly brought by “alien” immigrants. It was the elite, the political leaders, the middle class professionals, and the capitalists such as Rockefeller and Ford who funded these early attempts to celebrate the American past. They used these exhibits to associate themselves with a grand past, full of what they considered the values and principals of the founding fathers. This romantic and unsophisticated patriotism, which started in the 1850’s, continues up to this day.

Recently individuals have attempted to revert back to the archaic romantization of United States history. As an example, Wallace uses ex-president Ronald Reagan. Along with his politically right wing cronies, Reagan laid a blow to the historic preservation movement. They had a “less government” view of the past material culture, therefore they “considered protecting the past as objectionable as imposing health and safety rules on corporations” (p. 179). Ex-President Reagan, who started his career as a Hollywood actor, often would confuse Hollywood movie scripts with actual history, consequently distorting history. Reagan, in the White House, and later, talk show host Rush Limbaugh and politician Newt Gingrich (all purported to know history, but only Gingrich holds a Ph.D.) attempted to revise history to meet their own conservative agenda.

While the conservatives are holding on to their idea of the past, the modern digital age has begun to carve its niche in the public history arena. Wallace gives the reader a fascinating view of the “cyberspace” museum, as well as projections of history museums in the future. Combined with his final essay, which addresses the vulnerability of museums to private and political factions (Enola Gay episode), Mike Wallace’s essays present a critical view of how museums depict the history of the United States and offers an optimistic vision toward a more realistic and global representation of public memory. This book is written with contemporary scholarship and provides provocative anecdotes using a simple and direct style. This is not a “Mickey Mouse” book.
In this collection of eight essays, editors Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt offer a collective voice, which analyzes the battles between the “revisionist” historians and the “commemorative patriots”. These “history wars” (thus the name of this book), take place in the public arena.

The battlefront is the emotional controversy surrounding the Smithsonian’s failed attempt to mount an exhibit on the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The National Air and Space Museum’s Enola Gay exhibit, as it was called never got past the 1995 script because it hit a nerve with patriotic conservatives and their lobbyists. The veterans who “were there” claimed to be the only ones who could interpret this history. They wanted to remember the role of the United States decision to bomb Japan as a necessary measure to save millions of American lives and to end quickly World War II.

Various historians disagreed. They rethought the historiography of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki bombing and found that many documents indicated evidence that the bombing wasn’t necessarily the best and “just” option to end the war. They proposed a “new social history” which stresses the history of the ordinary people and the effects on them made by the actions of the policy makers. In the case of the Enola Gay exhibit, they sought to emphasize the tragedy of what happened below the cloud of dust of the Atomic bomb. These views challenged the conservative patriotic view.

Those that the “commemorative right” (American Legion, the Air Force Association, Congressman and other conservatives) vehemently opposed were the Smithsonian historians, whose profession is to seek out the motives and consequences of an event. Labeled by the right as “revisionist” historians, they believed the opposite to be true. The authors of History Wars showed that those that were actually revising history were those that opposed the Enola Gay exhibit and the suggestions and interpretations made by the historians.
Those conservatives who use double talk and throw the label "revisionist" at historians see the Smithsonian interpretation as an attack on the nation and its "innocent" history, what Engelhart calls the "American Narrative" (p.212). This effort to describe historians as unpatriotic is a deviant attempt to discredit them. Author Paul Boyer, in defense of the historians' craft, accepts the label and wittingly states that "these scholars were revisionists only in the sense that all good scholars are revisionists, continually questioning and revising standard interpretations on the basis of new evidence, deeper analysis, or the fresh perspectives offered by the passage of time". (P.131)

The issues raised by the Smithsonian's attempt to exhibit the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is complicated. The battle continues as to how to incorporate the many opposing views of history. *History Wars* has succeeded in analyzing the academic and public attitude toward the most important event in history. It is intelligent, informative and stimulating scholarship.
The Romanticization of the Spanish Borderlands:
The Historiography and Education of American Memory.

Samuel E. Sisneros
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The historiography of the United States of America's Hispanic legacy with its origins in the sixteenth-century hispanophobic propaganda of the Black Legend along side the romanticized and pro-Spanish ideologies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continues to be a prevalent element in the present American historical memory. The former invariably re-surfaces and the latter often encounters both acceptance and criticism. These viewpoints and their respective branches are periodically drawn from to socially and financially benefit various groups.

In his prize-winning book *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, David J. Weber, historian and authoritative voice of the history of the Spanish borderlands, gives a comprehensive summary of the historiography of Spanish North America. Weber traces historian Eugene Bolton’s attempts to counter the distorted and biased accounts of the Black Legend with an overly romanticized rendition of the Spanish borderlands history. Weber’s analysis continues by examining the works of Bolton’s followers, Bolton’s critics, and finally the creation of the new myth of the Chicano Aztlán.

Weber suggests that all historical perspectives are valid though not equal in merit and what is important is our understanding of this history and “not only what we imagined it to be, but what we will continue to make of it.”¹ Though not discrediting the importance of documentary evidence, Weber notes that we are restricted by our knowledge since we weren’t witnesses to certain historical events, stating that “lacking omniscience and possessing only a partial record of the past, we humans reconstruct time and place in highly imperfect ways, employing stories that often tell us more about the teller than the tale.”²

This essay will examine these different “tales” and explain how and why they surface and resurface in the historical memory of America, the “teller.” In addition this work will look at how to present these varied and contradicting views of the history of the Spanish Borderlands in the classroom in order to teach a more balanced curriculum than what is traditionally taught.

²Ibid.
The Spanish borderland historiography did not commence with the pen of an historian but rather by propagandists from the heated rivalries of European nations starting in the sixteenth century with the “tale” of the Leyenda Negra.

Fear, spite and dislike of the Spanish, the premise of the Leyenda Negra (Black Legend), surfaced shortly after Columbus’ New World discoveries. Those nations that clashed with Spanish power despised Spain’s large holding of the American continent. Together with failed diplomatic relations, which evolved into racism and anti-Spanish propaganda, the Protestant Reformation of 1515 caused dramatic divisions in Europe which led to further misconceptions and stereotypes towards Spanish and Portuguese who remained loyal to the Catholic church. Those nations which reformed to Protestantism: England, France, Germany and the Netherlands, were the main instigators of the Black Legend, which portrayed the Spanish as bigoted, lazy, violent, cruel conquistadores, and exterminators of the Native Americans.

Adding fuel to the anti-Spanish propaganda were the writings of Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, though it was not his intention to do so. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas presented to the king data which sustained that the Spaniards were abusive to the Indians in México and the Caribbean. He was attempting to protect the Indians by calling for reform, which resulted in the reformists laws in 1542, and later the laws of 1572 which brought the period of conquest to an end.³ Translations of Casa’s reports continued to circulate in England and France into the seventeenth century which perpetuates the hatred and mistrust for the Spanish and Hispanics.

The Hispanophobia of the Black Legend, with its early beginning of jealousy towards Spain and struggle for world power, exists today in the United States in the form of anti-immigrant anti-Hispanic disposition directed towards Latin Americans and in particular Mexicans. In the 1800s the transferring of these views to Mexicans and Hispanic Americans in general appeared to be a ploy to justify American expansion into northern Mexico. Many Anglos viewed Mexicans in a racist and vindictive light. Commenting about Mexicans, an anonymous

person in the early 1800s wrote that their “occupation seems to consist, principally, in removing fleas and lice from each other, drinking pulgue, smoking cigars....and sleeping”.

Though the negative beliefs and stereotypes of Hispanos and Mexicanos still exist, a shift in thought towards a romantic view of Spanish America, initiated by historians and others in the late 1800s, remains simultaneously along with the Black Legend in the American psyche today.

The romantic creed of the Spanish borderland history was solidified with Herbert Eugene Bolton, who in 1921, coined the term “Spanish Borderlands” and set the stage for a whole new area of historical research. Employing social history principles, Bolton proposed that a more balanced view of the United States’ history should include the influences of the Spanish, Indian, and French. In addition he countered the excepted anti-Spanish belief that the Spanish’s participation in the borderland area was strictly as explorers and conquistadores and not as settlers.

Previous to Bolton’s bestowing identity to the new field of history, documents, journals, and accounts existed going back to the 1500s which chronicled Spanish wanderings and expeditions in what is now the Southeast and Southwest United States. These early documents are only recently being studied. One is Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca’s first hand description of his journey into Florida and the Pacific coast and northern Mexico. Another, Historia de la Nueva Mexico, printed in 1610 and recently translated into English, is a poetic account of the conquest and settlement of New Mexico in 1598 by the chronicler Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá. These narratives though contemporaneous to the time period were self-glorification rhetoric and didn’t have wide spread audiences like Bolton’s writing.

Herbert Eugene Bolton, a student of Frederick Jackson Turner, contended that unlike Turner’s view that the American frontier is what formed the rugged and individual character and

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4Ibid., 7.
6Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Naufragios (Barcelona, Editorial Fontamara, S.A., 1982)
democracy of Anglo America, the Spanish “Frontier” was impacted by the Spanish themselves. They changed the environment with their livestock and practice of acculturating and converting the native peoples. Since Turner and Bolton, many historians have applied their opinions of the frontier advancing the study of the Spanish Borderland frontier and continuing the shared tendency of both schools to romanticize and idealize the frontier Spanish borderland.8

Despite current re-awakened stereotypes along with the disgraceful 1898 United States war with Spain, an appreciative view of the Spanish legacy became mainstream in America’s historical memory in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. It became fashionable for Anglo writers such as Washington Irving, William Prescott, Walt Whitman and California’s premier historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, to glamorize things Spanish. They reinterpreted the Hispanic past by glorifying the missions of California, the splendor and gallantry of the conquistadores, fandangos and the care free life of the Spanish Southwest culture.9 This new nostalgia surfaced not only for the aspects of the life of the Hispanics people but also for their architecture. "Thus", Weber comments, “just as they converted the californios’ mundane daily lives into picturesque days of the dons, California romanticizers also reinvented their dwellings and places of worship”.10

Restoring the missions in California, which became cultural symbols, was a preoccupation of hispanophiles led by the flamboyant Charles Fletcher Lummis. Commercial possibilities arose from the new face lift and visibility of the mission churches of California. This gave birth to a new form of tourism which spread outside of California (up to this point the most concentrated area of romantic enthusiasm) to New Mexico.11

Everything in New Mexico that was once despised by early Anglo “pioneers” became cherished by many artists, writers, poets and health seekers who forged their way into New Mexico. The santos or saints (also kachina figures) that were despised by Anglo foreigners are

10Ibid., 343.
11Ibid., 346.
now collected and displayed in homes as beautiful and quaint objects of art. The adobe houses of the native people were once viewed as disgusting mud huts by Anglos up until the early twentieth century, when, as Weber notes “Spanish-Pueblo styles were rediscovered and the so-called Santa Fe style came into vogue.” So much is the Santa Fe style in practice that the City of Santa Fe enforces building codes that regulate construction around a prescribed distance from the plaza of Santa Fe which must fit into the “Santa Fe style.” Besides traditional architecture, many traditional Hispanic cultural events are now under Anglo regulation and have been reinvented to fit an alien agenda.

An illustration of this is the Santa Fe Fiestas, which were once traditional fiestas culminating with the procession of La Conquistadora, the patron saint of Diego de Vargas’ expedition. This tradition was altered by Anglo interpretations and inventions when in the early 1900s a Hollywood film team arrived in New Mexico to film a movie about Diego de Vargas. The native people of Santa Fe were given costumes to use during the procession. In addition the film crew added a pageant complete with a Spanish king, queen and court. Later the burning of Zozobra or old man gloom was added by an Anglo artist seeking personal publicity. Consequently these invented practices continue today under the guise of tradition. Around 1950 a Fiesta council was created which took the fiestas out of the direction of the Catholic church. This intervention by Anglo outsiders shows that romanticization can also take the form of alteration of an existing tradition replaced by invented customs and practiced as if it were the original tradition. Why this was allowed to happen is not completely understood, but one can surmise that financial pressure played a role, as it often does today in Santa Fe.

Another aspect of the romanticization of the Spanish borderland that thrives today, particularly within the historic memory of the Hispanic community in New Mexico, is the “the fantasy heritage” as Carey Williams, one of Bolton’s earliest critics, calls it. This fantasy

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Ibid.

13 From personal conversation with Felipe Mirabal, graduate student at the Art and Art History Departments at the University of New Mexico, and Fellow of The Center for Regional Studies, UNM.
heritage, also known as the Spanish myth or the parachute theory (the belief that the people of New Mexico arrived here by plane thus by-passing México), over-emphasizes the Spanishness of the Southwest and neglects the historical fact that most of people of New Mexico, Texas, California, and Arizona are genetically mestizo and culturally Mexican. This view first came out of the romantic literary works of Bancroft and Lummus. The latter, in his picturesque travel guide, *Land of Poco Tiempo* (1895), glorifies the Spanish conquistadores and is credited for using the new romanticized history to write about the history of New Mexico. Chicano historian John R. Chávez gives Lummus this dubious credit stating that he (Lummus) “opened the way for the thorough romantic hispanization of the people, culture, and history of New Mexico and Colorado.” An example of Lummus’ romanticization is when he makes the absurd claim, with no support from primary documents, that New Mexico is of purer Spanish stock than Spain itself. Soon the Spanish myth/heritage found itself in the thoughts of the Mexican mentality in New Mexico, many who now prefer the misleading term of Spanish-American to describe themselves.

Following the lead of californio Guadalupe Vallejos, whose 1890 writings internalized the elitist Spanish-American myth and romanticization of the past, nuevomexicano writers, politicians and locals espoused similar views. Folklorist Aurelio Espinosa was one of the earliest from the New Mexican area to write in this manner. Espinosa, born in southern Colorado in 1880, was a professor of Spanish at Stanford, University of New Mexico, and University of Chicago. His research in folklore and linguistics was used as an attempt to prove his assertion that New Mexico was pure Spanish in culture and blood.

Seventeenth-century archaic Spanish words and folklore that survived in New Mexico, Espinosa believed, were phenomenan traceable back to Spain and unique to New Mexico. This, along with his claim that New Mexico Hispano population never intermingled with the Pueblo

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Indians of New Mexico is absolute perpetuation of the Spanish myth. One needs only to skim over the 1750 and the 1790 censuses of New Mexico or survey the sacramental records from the Archdiocese of Santa Fe to see that their was indeed a large percentage of people of mixed parentage who were listed as Mestizos, Coyotes and Mulatos. Concerning folk art, each area in Mexico and Latin America has its own isolated and regional variations of crafts, religious artifacts, folk plays and folk dances with ties to Spain just as “unique” as in New Mexico. No professional historian would defend Espinosa's thesis today considering the amount of primary and secondary sources available to do more objective scholarly research.

The first to repudiate Espinosa's assumptions was folklorist Arthur L. Campa. Born in Sonora, Dr. Campa moved to New Mexico in 1920 and in the 1930s, studied New Mexican folklore and taught at the University of New Mexico, Columbia University and University of Denver. Campa argued that Spain's influence in New Mexico was filtered through Mexico and "to ignore the latter country was not only an injustice but also an affront to good scholarship." Furthermore Campa challenged Espinosa's premise that New Mexico's folklore was more Spanish than that of México by listing words that the "linguist" Espinosa failed to mention as being of Mexican Indian origin. Regarding race in New Mexico, Campa states that not all Hispanos in New Mexico were pure Spanish because a large Indian population of entire villages, Indian prisoners of war, and house servants (Genizaros) were absorbed into the Hispano families. Campa differentiated the Nuevomexicano and the Mexicano only in that the Nuevomexicano, because of his close cultural contact to American life, has been “dehispaniziced” and in fact is less Spanish than the Mexicano in Mexico who retains his Spanish language, literature and Latin culture. The dichotomy of whether the people and culture of the Southwest are Spanish or Mexican still exists but less so in academia and more so in the arena of non-academic historical memory and public history. The Spanish myth parallels the over-all romanticization movement.

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18 Ibid, 100.
A more contemporary exemplification of romanticization of the Spanish borderland in public history can be seen with the popular illustrations of El Paso artist José Cisneros. The drawings by Cisneros, which appear in many books, have become icons in Southwest historical literature. Drawn in a distinctive cross hatch style, Cisneros’ illustrations, though containing meticulous detail as to the correct clothing of the time period, are pure romanticization. Most figures he draws are isolated individuals mostly men, who have stereotypical features of the conquistador (sharp, long nose, long thin face and always a small nicely trimmed goatee beard on a protruded chin) on horseback without contextual background. Even the few Indian subjects he draws have some of the same conquistador features complete with light rosy skin. His figures appear to be stoic, flat one dimensional renditions of some park statue. An early example of Cisneros’ picturesque work is found in *The Spanish Heritage in the Southwest*, part of the Carl Hertzog series, in which his drawings attest to the gallantry, pageantry and festive celebration of the Spanish aristocracy which is a recurring theme in Cisneros’ illustrations.\(^{19}\)

A contemporary of Cisneros, who also used his illustrations in his books, was historian, genealogist and Franciscan priest, Fray Angélico Chávez, who did pioneering research on the founders of New Mexico. Though Chávez’s works are based on scholarly research of primary documents his early books are sprinkled with Spanish myth and romanticization of New Mexico. In one of Chávez’s work; *My Penitente Land: The Soul Story of Spanish New Mexico*, he metaphorically writes, in a similar vein with Villagrá’s epic poems, of New Mexicans and New Mexico as being the “chosen people” and the “Holy Land” respectively.

He likened the New Mexican conquistadores as Holy prophets, the battle of Acoma to the biblical battle of Jericho and weaved the land itself into a romanticized mosaic placing the New Mexico landscape together with that of Spain and Palestine. Chávez, in comparing New Mexico to other geographical areas in the United States (he fails to recognize that New Mexico has many

\(^{19}\)A large selection of Cisneros’ work is on display on the fourth floor of University of Texas library in El Paso, Texas. As further evidence that Cisneros’ drawing exhibit a romantic theme, one only needs to read the following title caption to the exhibit signed by José Cisneros - "This group of pictures giving emphasis to the El Paso region depicts the pageantry, the picturesqueness of horsemanship of Mexico and our Spanish Southwest from Cortes down to contemporary cowboys and Charros"
geographical regions within its own political boundaries), claims that “the New Mexican landscape has something they all lack. It is Holy Land.” It is well known amongst Native American people, anthropologists and social historians that there are many other “holy lands” or sacred locations in the United States, not to mention in Mexico. Chávez continues on this subject “What is Palestinian and Castilian New Mexico cannot be platted in surveyors’ squares; nor are there any sea boundaries, as with Spain, to trace its limits. It is simply an uneven area determined by mood as well as by topography, or rather, by a certain landscape subtly affected by a mood that can be felt”.

The entire book with its metaphors of New Mexico to Spain and biblical lands is a poetic collection of illusions which enhance the romanticization of New Mexico. Chávez who used the media of literature to romanticize and revise history, died just before the this years Quincentennial commemorations which have brought the Spanish romanticization to the forefront of public history.

These commemorative anniversaries or events are taking place throughout the Southwest in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Spanish presence in the United States with the 1598 entrada of Juan de Oñate (El Paso’s first thanksgiving) and the first permanent settlement in the present-day Southwest in New Mexico’s upper Rio Grande valley. Mirroring the 1992 attempts of the nation to celebrate the Quincentennial (1492-1992) commemorations of European colonialism in America, these events demonstrate that the legacy of Spain still remains as historical memory. Many seek meaning as to what this means to them and how it serves their own interest, be it tourism, cultural pride, hatred or possibly vindication from non Indians.

These events tend to be more dishonorable than celebratory and cause more divisiveness than understanding. An example is the Oñate Commemoration in New Mexico which is found offensive by many Pueblo Indians along with groups of Hispanos. The commemorative events took on heightened racial overtones with the establishment of the Hispanic Cultural Preservation

League in Albuquerque. The League promotes the installation of a Statue honoring Juan De Oñate similar to controversial Statue that had the left foot cut off at the Oñate Center in Española, New Mexico. The group which is adamant about not including the history of the Pueblos or mentioning the birth of Indo-Hispano cultures has caused much divisiveness among the Pueblo and Hispano people. This commemoration brings to surface many ideologies which have caused many to re-examen their own thinking about Spanish borderland history.

The most recent school of thought, the antithesis of Spanish romanticization, is the Chicano movement which appeared in the 1960s. Deriving from civil activism, the movement embraced the under dog of the Spanish-Mexican history. Chicanos identified with their Indian and Mestizo background, rejected the Spanish elitist attitudes of the romantic view, and created the myth of Aztlán as a symbol of their movement and unified historic past. Chicano historians explained that Aztlán (present area of California, Texas, Arizona and New Mexico) is the mythical home of the Aztecas who migrated south to found the great city of Tenochtitlán, the Capital of México. Though Chicano historians no longer subscribe to the myth of Aztlán as a physical place, they still strive to recount the Native American element and give it its rightful place in the borderland history.

The conflict of the romanticization of the Spanish borderland is still much debated not only in the public historical memory, or the academia, but also in the area of public education. In 1996 two teachers in New Mexico were fired for teaching Chicano Studies curriculum in the local Middle and High School. The Board, which was entirely Hispanic New Mexican, found particularly detestable the units on César Chávez, the curriculum 500 Years of Chicano History designed by California educator Betia Martínez and, unbelievably, the “Teaching Tolerance” materials prepared by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Apparently, the Board was

23 This recent information written to me trough e-mail correspondence was originally sent from Edwordo Hernández Chávez, director of Chicano Studies at the University of New Mexico. Both teachers Pasty Córdoba and Nadine Córdoba no longer live in Vaughn, NM but are working in Educational positions at the University of New Mexico and the Albuquerque Public Schools.
threatened by the teaching of a different view of the Southwest history other than the status-quo of either the static anti-Spanish textbook viewpoint beckoning back to the Black Legend or the other textbook history of the popular romantic and exclusive history from Bolton's doctrine. Recently the two teachers were vindicated when they won a half million dollar court case against the Vaughn, New Mexico school board. How then should educators teach the Spanish borderland history in the public schools?

One approach to answering this question is to realize that documented history and historical heritage play an important role in understanding the present, and together they can be used to educate about the past. A curriculum can be designed to be inclusive of all the historiography of the Spanish Borderlands. To understand the theoretic differences between history and heritage and their influence on historical memory, the first step is to look into current theory on this issue.

David Lowenthal in his book *Possessed by The Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* does an exceptional comparative study of the roles history and heritage have in American culture. Lowenthal makes the following distinction: "History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes." Educators must attempt not to let the historical facts be "opaqued over" and yet they should demonstrate why heritage exists and to what present "purpose" can it serve the public. Romanticization of the past in the form of nostalgia, fantasy or heritage can serve a purpose by giving a sense of belonging to a certain community and a pride in ones ancestry, but it does a disservice to the community when it is conceived as history. Exploring the purposes of why the "teller" wants to tell a "tale" as Weber suggests is what is important.

Though there has been a metamorphosis in the historiography of the Spanish borderlands and in Americans' historical memory be it myth, imagination, legend, heritage, romanticization

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25Ibid, x.
or fact, the history of the Spanish in North America remains as many things to many people. Some see it as a slaughter of the native people and their cultures, others as a celebration of the first European settlement in the Southwest and Eastern Pacific regions. Some hold on to mythic associations of Italian navigators, Spanish conquistadors, savage Indians, and lazy Mexicans. Many people who live in the Southwest view this history with passion and personal interest since they are directly affected by Spain’s long rule of power and possibly descend from the Spanish colonizers or from their colonized subjects the Native Americans or perhaps from both, a new breed of native people, the Chicano.

The history of the Spanish Borderlands remains a complex tale of victors and victims and of acculturation and accommodation. Regardless of ones viewpoint, be it hispanophobic rhetoric, pro-Spanish romanticism, or inclusive of both, understanding the historiography of the Spanish borderlands is important in order to better educate the public about this engaging aspect of United States history. As we move into the new millennium of recorded history, Spain’s four hundred years in North America takes on additional importance in the wider scope of human history.
Bibliography


Memorial to the First Settlers of El Paso de Norte: 
An Alternative to the Twelve Travelers Memorial of the Southwest.

Samuel E. Sisneros
History 3342
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In modern times when history is displayed in the public, through the representation of a memorial, it often causes mixed reactions between various groups, whether they come from the academic, political or public sector. Memorials of historical figures throughout Europe, Latin America and United States, traditionally depict persons from the elite upper classes of society. Those that usually determine what person or persons are to be memorialized also belong to the dominant classes. Controversy arises when there exists discord because of separate views about a certain memorial.

Recently, in the spring of 1998, with the commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the entrada of Juan de Oñate into New Mexico, a debate has risen that has caused divisions as to how to memorialize Spain’s settlement in the Southwest. Dovetailing these Quadricentennial events is the Twelve Travelers Memorial of the Southwest.¹

In El Paso, Texas a series of memorials to honor the “Twelve Travelers” are to be installed throughout downtown El Paso. These memorials will highlight twelve persons who have passed through El Paso. The selection of these figures are part of a practice in public history that goes back to the 1800s in the United States, that of depicting a romanticized patriotic figure or event to remember a selective “heritage” but not necessarily history. The people selected to be American heroes are most often military men or the elite of society. These superficial and celebratory icons to American heritage “Patriotic shrines”² as one historian calls them, exist throughout the United States and are connected to the promotion of tourism which usually exclude certain uncomfortable memories such as slavery, oppression of women, and poverty.

One of the “travelers” proposed is Juan de Oñate. The commemoration of Oñate has become controversial not only in El Paso but more so in New Mexico, where it initially started

¹These commemorations overshadow the 150th anniversary of the Treaty of Guadalupe, which ended the war between Mexico and the United States in 1848. To some this treaty is very important because it represents 150 years of United States colonization, which apparently is not in the historical memory of the general public.

²Mike Wallace, Mickey Mouse History: and Other Essays on American Memory. Temple University Press, p 18.
by a few academics preparing for the *cuatrocentenario*, and quickly spread to commerce and the public. During the *cuatrocentenario* the issue eventually became divisive in the Hispanic and Pueblo communities in New Mexico.

Initially certain Hispanics saw this as a means to demonstrate that their ancestors were here ten years before the Mayflower arrived at Plymouth Rock. Some find psychological comfort in holding on to this fact. For others the "we were here first" belief has a flaw in that the Pueblos were here well before Oñate's colonizers. Ironically those that claim the "we were here first" deny their own Native American ancestry which would offer them a much stronger argument to claim the title of first ownership.

While scholars were holding symposiums the public quickly took off on an emotional detour which caused heated dialog between the Pueblos and the Hispanics with the media as its mediator (or instigator). The four hundred year relationship between Pueblo and Hispanic people of New Mexico seemed to be threatened. Some have suggested these turn of events are an attempt by the dominant encroaching Anglo society to "divide and conquer". Along the same lines, others have likened it to "them" (the media or the Anglo society) putting "us" (Pueblo and Hispanic) into a jar, shaking it up and watching us fight, as if we were ants. Most of the misunderstanding is partly a reaction to United States racism towards minorities (a sort of internalized racism) and a persistence from both groups to hold on to myths about their shared history and identities.

The commemoration has also allowed for the opportunity for healing and for finding common ground. At a symposium on The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo held in Santa Fe, a group of Pueblo officials and scholars spoke on how the Pueblos and Hispanics share not only bloodlines, but also culture and religion (Catholic). Together, they said, we can both benefit

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3 Because of this controversy and initial friction with some Pueblo groups, these Hispanic individuals, headed by Millie Santellanes, an Albuquerque county clerk, and Old Town resident, formed the Hispanic Anti-Defamation League. Because of pressure from the N.M. Anti-Defamation League, the group changed its name to the Hispanic Cultural Preservation League and continues with the same agenda.

4 I found over twenty articles, opinions, and commentaries in the Albuquerque Journal related to the Oñate Memorial, in the month of April 1998. This is significant compared to the ten articles I found in the El Paso Times for the same month.

from the ramifications of the Treaty of Guadalupe. During the question and answer period Rubén Salas, a self proclaimed historian and spokes-person for the Hispanic Cultural Preservation League, asked, in an attempt to continue divisive dialogue, who they (Pueblo scholars) would select as a icon to commemorate settlement of the Spanish in New Mexico. They unanimously answered that though its not part of their beliefs to single out one person nor to make statues to represent heroism, the symbol or person they believe best represents the Spanish contribution to the Southwest is the figure of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. They also agreed that the social system of compadres and comadres that both communities share should also somehow be memorialized. Rubén Salas, who appeared to be looking for a fight, quickly sat down, humbled by their answer. The Oñate Memorial has caused much controversy and reconciliation in New Mexico. In El Paso the Twelve Travelers Memorial has just begun to tap into the public’s awareness but it appears not with the same amount of passion and tension as in New Mexico.

The Twelve Travelers Memorial in El Paso has not caused as much controversy as the Oñate Memorial in New Mexico; perhaps because the artist has not completed the statue of Oñate or perhaps because El Paso is not surrounded by Pueblo communities like most Hispanic towns are in New Mexico. The first sculpture or memorial has already been out in the public. The sculpture is a larger than life figure of Fray García de San Francisco y Zuñiga located across the street from the El Camino Real Hotel. The other “travelers” selected to be finished by the artist John Houser within the next eight years are as mentioned don Juan de Oñate (in progress), Alvar Nuñez de Cabeza de Baca, Antonio de Espejo, Fray Austin Rodriguez, Diego de Vargas, Zebulon Pike, Juan Ponce de Leon, James Magoffin, Alexander Doniphan, and Big Foot Wallace.

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6I attended this symposium in Santa Fe, February 13-15, 1998. The panel members on the Native American Perspective were Dave Waren, Former Deputy Director of the National Museum of the American Indian, Dr. Sam Suina, Cochiti Pueblo, Dr. Joe Suina, Governor Cochiti Pueblo, and Joe Sando, Director, Pueblo Indian Cultural Center. This entire symposium was video taped by the Hispanic Cultural Center of New Mexico. Rubén Salas is presently promoting his new book and uses propaganda to protest the proposal to install a statue of Pope in the Hall of Statues in Washington DC. Of course he is interested in placing a sculpture of Oñate instead.

7El Paso Times, April 24, 1998. There has been some opposition by the Tigua tribe of Ysleta, Texas.
Several inaccuracies in the concept of the Twelve Travelers suggest that a more appropriate theme is imperative. The first inaccuracy is the misrepresentation of the actual location of El Paso. Present day El Paso, Texas shares a separate history from its name sake, the original El Paso del Norte (present day Ciudad Juárez). With the exception of the last five “Travelers” listed above, the rest pre-dated the settlement of El Paso, Texas. To be true to its locality and actual history of El Paso, Texas, then, Doniphan, Wallace, Pike, Ponce de Leon and Magoffin are the only ones that would be appropriate because they are connected to the actual history of El Paso, Texas. The original settlements were the rancho of Ponce de Leon (downtown El Paso), Concordia (Hugh Stevenson’s ranch) Magoffinville, and Franklin (the land of Benjamin Franklin Coons).8

Besides the fallacy of connecting all these individuals to the city of El Paso, Texas is the erroneous use of the word “traveler”. The suggestion that these people just passed through here doesn’t have as much historical value as some one who settled the area. The only ones that would fit this category of settlers, thus they were not “travelers”, are Fray Gracia, Ponce de Leon and Magoffin. The notion of memorializing the settlers is more historically meaningful because they participated in founding and the growth of a new American border town. Although the three persons above merit recognition they were not the first settlers of the El Paso del Norte de Rio Grande valley.

An alternative to the Twelve Travelers Memorial is a memorial that honors not the travelers but the early settlers. El Paso de Norte de Rio Grande does not necessarily have to be depicted as a place that people passed through but rather as a place where people have settled evolved and thrived.

I propose a series of brass relief sculptures (two-dimensional) that do not single out individual people but instead groups of people who inhabited the El Paso del Norte Valley.9

8Timmons, W. H., El Paso: A Borderlands History. Texas Western Press. pp.105-113
9This concept is more in line with New Social History which attempts to portray the history of those traditionally not represented, the poor, women, slaves and those that were victims of the people usually memorialized in museums and parks.
Narratives that give historical information in Spanish and English should accompany each panel. These panels are to be relocated periodically to different locations throughout the valley including downtown El Paso, Socorro, Ysleta, Ciudad Juárez and the Juárez valley. The memorial would be composed of the three settlements, which will include a graphic scenario along with an accompanying narrative. These settlements are as follows.

1) A depiction of the life of the original pre-historic people to inhabit the Valley, culminating in the culture of the Humanos and the Mansos who were there when the Spanish arrived. The scenario will display every day life of these hunters and gatherers, including symbols from Hueco canyon and other material culture. The narrative will include the migrations, cross cultural exchanges with the Anazasis and other Mexican native peoples and finally their encounter with the Españoles.

2) The 1659 founding of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos del Paso del Norte and a depiction of life of the Manso people who were placed there by Franciscan missionaries.

3) The refugees from the Pueblo revolt who settled into Soccoro, Ysleta, Senecú, San Lorenzo and El Paso de Norte. The narrative will include an explanation of their life in New Mexico and events of the Pueblo revolt and how more than half of these refugees didn’t return to New Mexico but remained to populate the El Paso de Norte valley. This panel will include a description of the families, Spanish, Mestizo and Indian. A map of these settlements can be incorporated into the motif along with a list of names taken from the 1692 census.

The three groups of settlers mentioned are not the only groups to make the El Paso de Norte Valley their home, but they did settle the earliest communities. Additions to this proposed alternative commemoration could include the Nineteenth century Anglo settlers, and also immigration movements from Mexico, such as the Bracero program and the repatriation efforts.

Because of public apathy and lack of strong grass root opposition, the Twelve Travelers Memorial will most likely be completed in the future. Once again public history will be determined by those who have the money and the time to promote their own agendas by
choosing who they wish to memorialize. Hopefully the ideas of the mentioned alternative memorial will also someday become a reality.
Bibliography


Escucha, nuevomexicano,
La voz de tus antepasados.
Tienen tanto que decirnos
Para el tiempo en que vivimos.
La voz sale de la tierra,
sube sola de la alta sierra,
baja triste al hondo valle,
A decirte lo que vales.

Sabino Ulibarri

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Esteban Padilla was born the illegitimate son of Diego de Padilla, a Spanish landowner and Juana María, a genizara Indian servant, in 1711 at Bernalillo, New Mexico. Growing up not only as a mestizo but also as the natural child of Diego de Padilla and half brother to his legitimate children, Esteban was a marginalized member of the most prominent family in the community of Los Padillas. This situation initially caused Esteban difficulty in being accepted into this large extended Rio Abajo family.

Esteban eventually elevated himself from this dilemma to accomplish his most desired goal and the goal of most Colonial Nuevo Mexicanos of any social class, that of having a large family and enough land to supply for the family’s sustenance. Not only did free access to land provide for the needs of the physical (food) and the economic (barter with food products or parcels of land) but also for the spiritual (connection to the seasons, the four elements) and the social/political (status that can provide prestige and power within the Spanish social ladder). Underlying all these reasons for acquiring land is the basic need to leave something behind for one’s descendants. It is apparent that Esteban’s father Diego Padilla did not have in his heart the desire to leave behind anything for his natural son Esteban, who later would have to fight for his place in his family’s inheritance and in the Hispanic society.

Esteban Padilla was born at the beginning of the eighteenth century when Spanish, Mestizo and some Pueblo people were newly resettled back in New Mexico after twelve years of living in exile in El Paso de Norte. Many of these people of Reconquista had first hand memories, or at least second generation family history, of the brutality of the revolt, the exodus from their homelands, and the starvation and living conditions that they experienced as refugees. Some of the elders had memories of life before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680; others like Esteban’s father only knew the life of their newly formed villages in the El Paso de Norte de Rio Grande valley. Many had to make the difficult decision of staying in El Paso de Norte or illegally migrating south into the interior of Chihuahua and beyond, or return to New Mexico and start over. To began to understand Esteban’s story it is necessary to understand the past of his father.

Diego de Padilla was born in El Paso del Norte one year after the Pueblo Revolt, the son of José de Padilla and María López (Millán). José de Padilla was born in Querétaro, México and

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1The information presented in this essay is part factual and part hypothetical. Because documentary evidence of some of Esteban Padilla’s life is missing, it is the aim of this essay to fill in the missing pieces of the puzzle in an attempt to give an educational surmise of his life. Most of the framework of his family is actual and is presented here being a product of several years of genealogical research. This paper is personal because I descend from Esteban Padilla through the paternal and maternal ancestry of my mother Rosalia Padilla, born in Los Padillas, New Mexico.

2Rio Abajo in English means lower river. The term designates the region of New Mexico below Santa Fe.

3Chávez, A Distinctive American Clan in New Mexico, Fray Angélico Chávez, Limited Edition, Santa Fe 1989, p.35
lived a few years in Rio Abajo before he and his family escaped to the El Paso del Norte as a result of the Pueblo revolt in 1680. There they settled and founded the Pueblo de Senecú where Diego began to acquire a large household. Diego, listed as twelve years old in the 1692 census, would soon migrate north to the land of his ancestors and start his adult life.

Bernalillo, the town that Diego first moved to after his arrival with the DeVargas settlers after 1692, is located on the east bank of the Rio Grande, seventeen miles north east of Albuquerque. During the time of Coronado’s expedition in 1540, the area was occupied by Tiwa people and used as a campsite by Coronado, later to be settled by families from the Oñate colonizers prior to 1680. In Bernalillo Diego married Catalina de Salazar in 1706. They had one child named Pedro Nolasco. Catalina soon died leaving Diego a widower with young Pedro and a natural son born prior to their marriage but reared by them. Because Catalina was of a family who were of mestizo class who mainly remained in El Paso del Norte, Diego apparently did not acquire a large dowry at marriage. After the death of Catalina he was still landless. He settled in with a female Indian servant of one of his Chávez compadres from Bernalillo, named Juana and together they conceived a son Esteban.

Diego, dissatisfied with his new life and social status of having three sons and living in concubinage with Juana, desperately sought to improve his situation. He found hope in his marriage to María Vásquez Baca, the daughter of José Vásquez de Lara, a Spanish soldier of the reconquest, and María Magdalena Baca, descendant of the original Baca family of Bernalillo. Although this union did not bring him acquisition of land it did raise his social status and possibly gave him the backing to acquire some livestock, thus enabling him to take his new wife and three sons, along with Juana the mother of Esteban, to live in a modest home in Albuquerque. Here the family began to grow with additional legitimate children of Diego and his wife Maria. While the family increased in numbers, Diego began to farm and build structures in areas that he understood were lands of his maternal grandparents, Francisco de Valencia and

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4The 1692 Census of El Paso de Rio de Norte, Enumerated by Diego de Vargas, The Hispanic Genealogical Research Center of New Mexico, 1995. The Pueblo of Senecú lists two households; that of Alcalde Mayor and Capitán de Guerra Joseph de Padilla and that of Lázaro Moraga. Joseph’s household numbered thirty-two persons of which twenty-one were listed as servants. Moraga’s household included twenty-nine persons, which included fourteen servants. The fact that these two households had listed such a large amount of servants indicates that Padilla and Moraga were encomenderos and their servants were most likely the Piros from New Mexico who also fled south with the Tiguas and Spanish in 1680.


7This is my educational guess as to how Diego came to father Esteban. The Chávez compadre and servant Juana are fictional.

Maria López Millán, in and around the Isleta Pueblo, before they fled south along with their Tigua neighbors and compadres from Isleta Pueblo.9

It was while Diego, along with his young sons including Esteban, and some servants were routinely working the land (growing mostly crops of corn, [milpas] and wheat), and herding his growing cattle and sheep herds, that he saw the opportunity to finally acquire his claim to family land. In Santa Fe Diego petitioned the Governor and Capitan General Don Antonio Balberde Cossio, Capitán of the Royal garrison of El Paso del Norte, for land. He testified that he was a "vesino of the Villa de Albuquerque and claims he finds himself without land to grow and to maintain his family."10 The land was granted to him on May 14, 1718. Balberde Cossio ordered Chief Alcalde of the Isleta jurisdiction, Captain Alonzo García, to give possession of the land, under the boundaries which Padilla named to be used according to his will. These boundaries are:

On the east, the Sandia Mountains; on the north, the bluff of the sand hills of Ysleta; on the west, the said Del Norte River; on the south, with land and houses that my grandfather Balencia formerly owned.11

Captain Alonzo García granted the decree made by the Governor and gave royal possession to Diego Padilla, "whom he [García] took by the hand [Padilla], conveyed over said grain growing lands and he [Padilla] pulled up weeds and threw stones and [García] pointed out the boundaries to him."12 This land was initially christened Puesto de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de lo de Padilla and later was called Lo de Padilla, San Andres de Los Padillas, Rancho de Padilla, or El Tajo tract. Presently it is known by Los Padillas. It totaled 24,889.925 acres, which was about thirteen miles long and three miles wide. Though this land was given to Padilla and his heirs, the Governor could partition parts of it off to individuals for settlement. The standard land given for the peones, those of inferior status or laborers, called a peoneria, amounted to four hundred acres. The higher status or gentlemen were entitled to receive a Caballería, which granted them two thousand acres. In consulting later censuses of this area it is apparent that the Governor did indeed grant portions of this land to individuals; some of who intermarried with the children of Diego.

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9The names of Diego’s grandparents I ascertained after noticing that Diego mentioned in land claim documents his Valencia grandparents. Most likely the Francisco de Valencia and Maria López Millán, who lived in the Isleta jurisdiction during the seventeenth century, were the parents of Diego’s mother Maria Lopez, making them Diego’s maternal grandparents. This connection has not previously been made. See Origins of New Mexico Families: P. 109.
1050th. Congress 1st Session, Senate Exec. Doc No. 38, 1887, Private Land Claim #146, p.1
11Idem
12Idem p.2
The children of Diego and his second wife were Francisco, husband of Isabel Baca, Manuela who married Francisco Xavier Chávez (the first governor of the "Departamento" of New Mexico when México won its independence from Spain in 1821), Diego who married Maria Luisa Chávez, Bernardo married Quiteria Chávez, Tomasa the wife of Tomas Chávez, Pedro married Victoria Chávez, and María Barbara married to Antonio Chávez. All of these Padilla siblings married into the large and affluent Chávez family of Rio Abajo. In almost all documents they and their children are listed as Españoles.\textsuperscript{13} Some of these new Padilla family units settled in other areas around Los Padillas, a few stayed to live on the land they inherited at the death of their father Diego in 1736.

Esteban Padilla was not listed as an heir of Diego's land nor did he have a similar fate of belonging to the same social and marital standings as his brothers and sisters. He did not marry into the Chávez clan; instead he married a woman of his same social and racial class. Her name was Jacinta (Martin or Martina) Delgado. Not much is known of her origins, only that there are no Delgado families in Rio Abajo area. Most likely Jacinta was brought to the area by Fray Carlos Delgado, a priest serving the Isleta jurisdiction at this time. On several occasions Fray Carlos Delgado returned after missionary excursions outside of Rio Grande Valley with large groups of Indian children or \textit{indios de rescate} and baptized them in the San Agustín de Isleta church.\textsuperscript{14}

The life of Esteban, Jacinta and their children must have been a difficult one. Most likely they started their new family on property that belonged to one of Esteban's half brothers. They married on the fourth of June 1742, at the mission church of San Agustin at Isleta Pueblo. The marriage entry in the sacramental books of San Agustín de la Isleta lists Esteban Padilla and Jacinta Martina as Españoles, which indicates the optimism that both the priest who performed the sacrament, Fray Carlos Delgado, and the witnesses, Joseph Baca and Doña Josepha Gallegos, had for this couple.\textsuperscript{15} This class/racial distinction didn't last long for subsequent documents list them and their children as Mestizos or Coyotes. They had a total of ten legitimate children all recorded as being baptized at San Agustín except for one who was baptized at San Felipe de Neri in Albuquerque. At the baptism of their first child Bernardo, the \textit{padrinos} perhaps were more honest for in the margin of the baptismal record of the entry of Bernardo is written the word "Español" which is crossed out, and above it is written "Lobo segun los padrinos."

\textsuperscript{13}This title does not necessarily denote race or nationality. In many cases it is a categorization of one's social hierarchical standing.
\textsuperscript{14}Indios de rescate are rescued Indian children that were captives of one tribe taken in warfare with another tribe. Mostly plains Indians, these children called criados, servants, and later Genizaros were put into Spanish homes so that they could be raised as Christians. For retribution they were to function as a servant until they married. These detribalized Indians culturally became Hispanic, and eventually intermarried with the rest of the Spanish and Mestizo people of New Mexico. Initially some groups of Genizaro people were granted land in Belen, Abiquiu, and possibly San Miguel del Vado.
\textsuperscript{15}Archives of the Archdioceses of Santa Fe, Isleta Marriages.
\textsuperscript{16}Item, Isleta Baptisms, 22 August 1747.
Lobo is used for a person who is of lesser degree of Spanish ancestry than a Mestizo is, about three quarters Spanish. According to the Godparents Bernardo was not full Spanish. From this point on all the children were noted either as Mestizos or Coyotes. Interestingly the records of the first five children list the mother as plain Jacinta (no surname, a practice used for Indian people whose last name was unknown) or Jacinta Martin. And in the records of the rest of their children Jacinta is listed with the last name Delgado. The children of Esteban and Jacinta were Bernardo, Joseph María, Antonio de la Cruz, Juan Francisco, Juan Francisco (the first Juan Francisco died as a baby, and as custom the following child was given the same name), María Soledad, María Manuela Agustina, Antonio, Micaela, and María Catarina.

If Esteban inherited anything from his father it must have been his persistence in acquiring land and the means to provide for his family's livelihood. Sometime before 1750 Esteban was able to climb up the social latter and in a sense finally legitimizing himself to his father by purchasing parcels of the Lo de Padilla land tract from his half brothers and sisters. In his own testimony Esteban gives the following account of this land purchase:

Account and memorandum of the money that I gave to Diego Padilla for the title [and] property that I bought of him both in the open and uncultivated land in the whole tract of San Andres; it is as follows: Five dry cows, four milk cows, also, fifty sheep, make three hundred dollars.
Also; for a corn field that Diego Padilla gave me, I paid him a dry cow and a red bull and six sheep.
Also; of Tomas Chaves, I bought a corn field; for said corn field I gave him a horse that cost me two dry cows; that make forty dollars.
For a little piece of open land that I bought of Jeh. Antonio Padilla, son of Francisco Padilla, I gave him for said land a sword that cost me twenty dollars; and as this is true, and it may so appear, I signed it.

Esteban Padilla[Rubric]

Although, Esteban does not mention his relationship to the people cited in the above memorandum, in later land courts concerning the Los Padillas tract, sworn statements were given by many who said they knew Diego was the father of Esteban, and the others mentioned by

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Esteban were also his relatives. The Diego mentioned in Esteban’s statement is not his father but his brother of the same name.

Esteban and his family were now full members of the land owning farming class of the Rio Abajo society. They even had in their household in 1750 two servants. In the early spring the whole family worked hard cleaning out the acequias that ran near the fields, Esteban would show his oldest sons how to open and close the compuertas that diverted the water from the acequia madre which was the main irrigation drain coming directly from the river. In the summer they would water the fields which had smaller compuertas that had to be watched so that the water wouldn’t over flow into someone else’s field or home. The family would work hard at irrigating and planting. In the fall they would harvest corn and chile and pick apples from the large mansanos growing throughout the Los Padillas valley. They would participate in trade at the plaza of Albuquerque selling apples or corn or they would go to Isleta pueblo to barter for blankets or other produce.

The only time they would take a break from their rigorous chores was to go to Mass on Sunday at San Agustin Church, which meant a four to five mile walk. Not all the family would be able to go because some would have to tend to the animals or watch the water if they were irrigating. Others would have to stay home because they didn’t have shoes to attend mass. Some members of the family perhaps at least Esteban would join in on the peregrinos from Laguna, Acoma, Los Padillas, Pajarito and other villages near Isleta, making the annual pilgrimage to San Agustin church for Good Friday mass. The people of Los Padillas would also attend the feast day of San Agustin de Isleta church on August twentieth, or perhaps other feast days during the liturgical church calendar. This would have been and still is a time of celebration along with traditional Tigua dancing and rituals. It was a time for the people of Isleta and from the neighboring Hispanic villages to strengthen their kinship. There still is a strong compadrazco today.

Most likely in the fall of 1760 the whole family traveled to Isleta to see the first visitation of a Bishop to New Mexico, Dr. Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, the sixteenth bishop of Durango. It must have been a wondrous sight if not peculiar to see such a high representative of the church and crown of Spain. Many, Pueblos and Españoles alike, must have had no clue what to expect, coming from agrarian villages so far from metropolis cities like Durango or Mexico City. This

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18Olmsted Virginia Lagham, Spanish and Mexican Censuses of New Mexico 1750-1830, New Mexico Genealogical Society, 1981. p. 93
19This paragraph is based on conversations I had with my maternal grandfather Flavio Padilla y Padilla and observations while visiting Isleta Pueblo. These are accounts of some of the things that happened in my grand father’s own lifetime. I placed them at the time period of Esteban Padilla’s life.
20Bishop Tamarón’s Visitaton of New Mexico. 1760 Elenor B. Adams, Historical Society of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1954.
certainly left an impression on the people of New Mexico and also on Esteban who had become increasingly visible in church functions at San Agustin.

Because of his new legitimacy as a land owner or because of his faith to the Catholic religion, or his age, Esteban along with Jacinta apparently were considered people of importance in Los Padillas and in the Pueblo of Isleta. They were Padrinos or testigos together or separately over thirty times in baptisms or marriages for their family or fellow parish members, Spanish, Mestizo and Indians alike.21

Although Esteban and his family were successful, frontier life in the eighteenth century New Mexico was a troublesome time to live in. There were droughts, famines and continuous raids by Apache warriors. In 1791, Esteban Padilla, senile, and widower (for his compañera Jacinta had died the previous year), was left in the care of his children.22 He died at the age of eighty.

Despite all his hardships, Esteban managed to raise his family and overcome in some means the racial and economic stigmas of Spanish Colonialism. He left the land he bought in Los Padillas to his children and grandchildren as a legacy of his hard work and determination.

21 New Mexico Marriages and Baptisms San Agustin de la Isleta Church, Transcribed by Lila Armijo Pheuer and Margaret Buxton, New Mexico Genealogical Society, 1996. See index of Godparents, Grandparents, & Others. In the Hispanic culture Padrinos hold an important and prestigious role in the extended family.

22 New Mexico Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses, Olmsted Virginia Lagem, 1790. New Mexico Genealogical Society, 1975, p 27. In the 1790 census Esteban is listed as a Coyote and the age given him would have him born in 1717. Censuses are notorious for giving incorrect dates of birth. I placed his birth year at 1711, because fifteen baptismal entries in the sacramental book of San Agustin, where Esteban was the testigo, give his birth year closer to 1711.
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