

Chronicles of the Trail

ANTONIO

Journal of
El Camino Real
de Tierra Adentro
Trail Association

Crónicas
EQUINOCTIALIS
del Camino

VOLUME 12: NUMBER 2

FALL / WINTER 2016



CHRONICLES OF THE TRAIL

Volume 12, No. 2 — Fall/Winter 2016

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JBC at John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, examining the mid-1500s map that graces these covers.



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10 One of the illuminated manuscripts on view in the *Fractured Faiths* exhibition, New Mexico History Museum.

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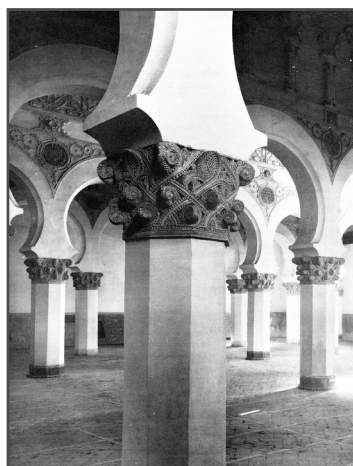
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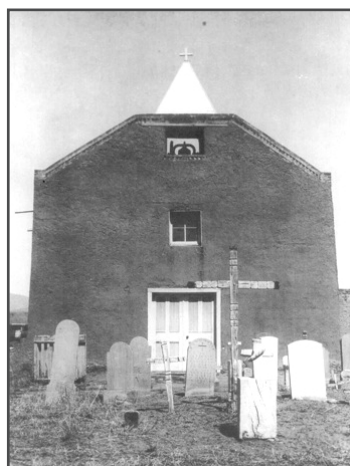
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Printed at State Printing & Graphic Design Services
Santa Fe, New Mexico

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Message from President David Reynolds *Draft*

In the twelve months between this year's annual mid-October meeting and the one that will occur in 2017, I will be filling out the term of the vacancy that occurred when Jacobo de la Serna resigned the presidency. Priority goals for during the coming twelve months include:

- Reviewing and revising of the Association's By-laws (last revised in September 2008). This process will include adapting our procedures in order to utilize appropriate digital communication options.
- Evaluating CARTA's performance relative to the Strategic Plan and Partnership Agreements with the National Park Service for the five-year period between October 2012 and October 2017, with particular attention to public outreach and education, preservation and documentation of Trail segments, fiscal review and planning, establish management priorities. [...]
- Developing Association goals for the subsequent Strategic Planning cycle, 2017-2022.
- Enlisting the particular expertise of every member of the Board of Directors toward the advancement of CARTA
- Expanding membership and enhancing visibility, including developing a more effective website.



Angels and Answered Prayers along El Camino Real?

A budget crisis is looming for *Chronicles of the Trail* in 2017. The National Park Service has drastically reduced funding while printing costs have doubled over the past year. Financial support from the National Park Service may be reinstated for 2018.

If you would like to continue to receive CARTA's award-winning journal through its thirteenth year and beyond, and if you are in a position to make a tax-deductible contribution of \$100 or more, your generous support will be acknowledged on the "Angels along the Trail" page of the 2017 issue or issues. (Two issues per year is the norm; your response to this appeal will determine the outcome for 2017: two issues, or one, or none.)

Your check should be mailed to CARTA, P.O. Box 1434, Los Lunas, NM 87031. Please remember to write "For *Chronicles*" on the memo line. Checks received by December 15th will be acknowledged with a holiday thank-you card from the Editor, who will also appreciate a message via email or telephone to let her know that your donation has been sent. Your support at this time can keep *Chronicles* coming. ¡Muchísimas gracias!

—JBC (Julianne@ucsc.edu; 831 915-4900 mobile)



Los Dos Caminos: Bridging Borders Across the Centuries

The Mexican Ministry of Culture and the National Institute of Archaeology and History (INAH) collaborated with six organizations from the United States in hosting the first of what may become a series of bi-national trail workshops. Following the lead of the National Park Service National Trails Intermountain Region (NTIR), U.S. participants included El Camino Real de Los Tejas and CARTA, among others. The state of Texas was represented by several high-level officials. Mexican participants came from Mexico City, Sonora, Zacatecas, Veracruz, Aguascalientes, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and San Luis Potosí.

In addition to two representatives from INAH, the opening session on June 22 featured NTIR Superintendent **Aaron Mahr** as lead speaker, followed by the Mayor of Laredo, the Mexican Consul to Laredo, the Executive Director of the Texas Historical Commission, (who is also the State Historic Preservation Officer) and **Terry Heslin**, National Scenic and Historic Trails Lead for the Bureau of Land Management in New Mexico. Thanks to NPS funding channeled through CARTA, simultaneous translation in both languages was provided throughout the three-day event. The forty invitees included representatives from education and the non-profit sector as well as government.

The first session addressed trail identification, preservation, and data management, with an hour allocated to four presenters from Mexico—including the **Francisco López Morales**, Director of Mexico's myriad UNESCO World Heritage Sites—followed by an additional hour shared by four presenters from New Mexico and two from Texas. The second session dealt with historical investigation, interpretation and public outreach efforts. The third explored the role of design in trail site development as a means of enhancing public experience at each site, while the fourth focused on storytelling and interpretation. Rather than a fixed roster of speakers, the concluding plenary featured breakout sessions with concrete tasks and challenges. Attendees were encouraged to evaluate the meeting and to develop a work plan for the group they were representing, including measurable goals.

Additional friends of CARTA who made contributions to the workshop were **Michael Taylor, Angélica Sánchez-Clark, Derek Nelson, Carol Wendler** and **Steve Burns Chavez**—all from NTIR. “Enriching an Already Rich Story: The American Indian Perspective” was the title of the lunchtime presentation by **Otis Halfmoon**, member of CARTA's current Board of Directors. Sources report that he had the audience in the palm of his hand.

—JBC (based on the Conference Program)

ANNOUNCING

New Mexico Archaeological Council Fall conference

Co-sponsored by the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology

The Spanish Colonial Period in New Mexico: A Trip along the Camino Real

Saturday, November 12

Hibben Center, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque; registration \$25

Friday, November 11, 7:30-9pm

The public is invited to the kick-off presentation in Hibben 105

“The Catholic Church in the Late Colonial Period” by State Historian Dr. Rick Hendricks





Partnership for National Trails System Workshop

The Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS), sole advocacy organization for the National Trails system, convenes a workshop for representatives from National Historic Trail Associations every other year. (CARTA, a longstanding member of PNTS, hosted a biennial conference in Socorro in 2012.) During the second week of June, 2016, some 75 representatives of the nineteen National Historic Trails attended a workshop in Independence, Missouri—thanks to arrangements made by local chapters of four associations (Oregon-California Trail, Santa Fe Trail, Kansas City Area Trail, National Pony Express) plus the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

This year's program focused on the ongoing development of a forty-mile greenway through the Kansas City metropolitan area that interlaces with the Santa Fe, Oregon, and California National Historic Trails. A devoted cadre of volunteers in various metropolitan Kansas City communities have promoted the greenway for nearly thirty years, thanks to close collaboration between the National Trails Intermountain Region office of the National Park Service (NTIR of NPS) and various local governments.

Featured speakers gave an overview of the greenway project, including history of the concept and acknowledgment of the passionate diligence required to keep it moving forward toward completion. Local organizers reinforced the development overview with two field trips along the corridor. On the first bus tour, well-informed guides narrated the route through Independence, Raytown, and Kansas City prior to the dedication of a large bronze medallion on the lawn of the Jackson County Courthouse in Independence.

Other presentation topics included how to recruit board members (by internationally renowned speaker Carol Weisman of Board Builder) as well as how to inventory, map, monitor and protect trail resources. On the final day, another bus tour along a different portion of the corridor culminated in the dedication of a pedestrian bridge over I-435 in south Kansas City—the first such bridge over a national highway to be designed specifically for walkers and bicyclists in order to link national historic trails.

—Jere L. Krakow, CARTA Board Member

You're Invited

CARTA Board member Dr. Enrique Lamadrid
will be the featured speaker at the annual meeting of
Friends of El Camino Real National Historic Trail
at the Socorro Library on October 20 at 7pm

His topic "**Niños Héroes del Camino Real, 1805: How Dr. Cristóbal Larrañaga
and His Hero Children Saved New Mexico from Small Pox**"
is drawn from one of his award-winning books.

El Santuario de Chimayó Marks Two Hundred Years

Through April 2017,
the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art
in Santa Fe
features a multimedia exhibition
commemorating the construction of
El Santuario in 1816
*Chimayó:
A Pilgrimage Through Two Centuries*



Other key dates in the history of what is believed to be the most visited Roman Catholic pilgrimage site in the United States include 1929 and 1970. In 1929, members of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society based in Santa Fe arranged to purchase buildings and grounds from a descendant of builder Bernardo Abeyta (1771-1856) in order to donate them to the Archdiocese of Santa Fe. In 1970, the site was declared a National Historic Landmark.

This issue includes an excerpt from a book-length study of the Black Christ of Esquipulas, represented in New Mexico by the life-size crucifix attributed to Molleno and positioned in the center of the altarpiece at El Santuario. The authors connect the Chimayó shrine to the town of Esquipulas in Guatemala and other worship sites between the southernmost and the northernmost centers of this intriguing and widespread devotion. (See Essays section for the related article on the pilgrimage of an emblematic crucifix.)
—JBC

Two Articles of Interest

The fall 2016 issue of *El Palacio* (121:3) features two articles of particular interest to CARTA members: a **10th anniversary tribute to El Camino Real Historic Site** (pages 25-27) and “Blood Oaths” (pages 80-87)—a **ground-breaking essay on Adelantado Juan de Oñate’s converso heritage**, written by CARTA member, and accomplished historian/genealogist **José Antonio Esquibel**, of Denver, Colorado. (For another reason why experts are engaging with Oñate, see David Malakoff’s article in the **Essays** section of this issue.)

FELICITACIONES I
CONGRATULATIONS I



“A” for Apricot Festival



One of the pleasures of spending the summer months in Santa Fe for the first time was experiencing the changing bounty that falls from above. After harvesting hundreds of perfect bing cherries *per branch* from the twin trees in my neighbors' front yard (with permission, of course), and before early-season pear and apple windfalls, I took my pick from weeks-long showers of apricots—sun-warmed, sunset-hued, just waiting to be collected from sidewalks and streetside planters. One productive apricot tree, protected by an iron fence, blesses the Palace Avenue courtyard at the Drury Hotel, near the entrance to Eloisa Restaurant.

Santa Fe's apricot season was waning by the first Saturday in August when **Chef John Rivera Sedlar**, who spent childhood summers in Abiquiú under his grandmother Eloisa's apricot tree, brilliantly prolonged and enriched it. Sedlar evoked those memories in his welcoming comments.* En route to the indoor seating area, attendees of Sedlar's Inaugural Apricot Festival passed a high table beautifully arrayed with labeled apricot varieties and bite-sized samples. During the program, restaurant staff passed tray after tray of apricot tarts and small glasses of iced apricot-coconut liqueur. Thanks to a golden roster of guest speakers introduced by former *Chronicles* Editor **Catherine López Kurland**, attendees were also served generous helpings of apricot lore, apricot science and apricot inspiration.

Independent scholar and consultant **Dr. Estevan Rael-Gálvez**, a former New Mexico State Historian whose career path has taken him from New Mexico to Washington D.C. and back to Santa Fe, took the audience on a round-the-world quest for origins. Beginning with his impressions of Turkey and its apricot trees, that journey laced with memories, stories and poetry eventually included El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, where apricot trees introduced from New Spain via Old Spain were bearing fruit by the 1620s, as witnessed by Fray Alonso Benavides in his report of 1630.

In December 2015, organic farmer **Don Bustos** was honored with a James Beard Foundation Award for developing programs that sustain marginalized communities financially as well as nutritionally by teaching year-round farming methods and marketing strategies. A nationally recognized advocate for effective farm legislation, Bustos is also custodian of a strip of land in Los Llanos/Española area that has been cultivated by his ancestors for some four hundred years. Apricot trees on that property are heritage varieties in two senses: introduced early on, they continue to be enjoyed and stewarded by generation after generation.

Two additional presentations completed the program. **Dr. Richard Ford**, an ethno-botanist relocated from the Midwest, explained why apricots rather than peaches are the ideal stone fruit for the Santa Fe climate, why heritage trees are superior to newer varieties, and why traditional doorstep planting encourages best results. Spirits consultant **Natalie Bovis** began by describing herself as a “cultivator of cocktail culture.” As she listed the five generic components required for a liqueur and the specific elements assembled for this occasion, her attentive audience sampled the result of her inspiration.

Like a memorable meal, the Chef John Sedlar's Inaugural Apricot Festival at Eloisa Restaurant was much more than the sum of its parts. Lingering to converse after the applause subsided, audience members marveled at how the myriad elements came together in such complementary ways to create a perfectly rounded whole, and how a seasonal phenomenon that many take for granted can open the door to a deeper understanding of the place of culture and the culture of place.

—JBC

*See “Eloisa's Apricots” in the *Three Trails Conference Program Guide* (2015).

EL CAMINO REAL DE LOS TEJAS NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL ASSOCIATION

Tom Byrd, M.S., Houston and Santa Fe

Most CARTA members are aware of another Spanish colonial road stretching across Texas, also designated as a National Historic Trail and administered by the National Park Service in partnership with a citizens' group. El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Association, CARTA's Texas counterpart, shares some similarities while facing unique challenges rooted in the differences between the geographies and histories of the two road systems as compared in the following three sections.

Origins

El Camino Real de los Tejas is younger than El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro by a century. Its beginnings date to the 1690s, following the Spanish discovery of incursions into La Bahía, the northern Gulf of Mexico region, by French explorer Sieur de LaSalle. The Spanish effort to secure the territory now known today as Texas followed a century of missionary and settlement activity in Nuevo México and other *reynos nuevos* across New Spain's northern frontier. During those beleaguered missionary efforts, "growth and retrenchment" was a common experience (as is also to be expected in organizations like ours).

New Mexico's retrenchment in the aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt included a decade of unregulated trading and raiding, which accelerated the competitive growth of Plains horse cultures—soon to be further enabled by trade with Spain's French adversaries, who had no compunction about supplying up-to-date weaponry to roving bands of Indians. As reconquista/ restoration/resettlement initiatives resumed on the Upper Rio Grande, Franciscans in present-day East Texas and Louisiana extended their missionary efforts to Caddoan groups—clusters of agricultural villages that mission-promoters likened to the Pueblos of New Mexico, although in fact they had developed in a completely different environment.

As in New Mexico, Franciscan missionaries sent from New Spain to Texas experienced predictable tensions with civil and military authorities. However, given the threatening presence of the French, logistical support from that quarter was highly motivated. Notwithstanding, Franciscan efforts met with mixed success. Repeated setbacks and failures occasioned a string of growth-and-retrenchment episodes stretching across the wide Texas frontier—a borderlands buffer zone where the only prospective riches were souls for saving.

When the Caddo missions failed, missionaries shifted to making intermittent contact (let's call it "community outreach") with a diverse array of indigenous groups constantly on the move across a landscape shared by mounted Apache and Comanche raiders as well Old World rivals. In 1717, a mission and presidio were established at Los Adaes, just fifteen miles from the French outpost at Natchitoches.

While the origin of the Texas Camino Real is attributed to seventeenth-century entradas, it was in fact an eighteenth-century development. Real status can be attributed to the 1729 designation of a provincial capital at Los Adaes. Thereafter, the route connecting it to Mexico City meets our contemporary (capital-to-capital) requisites for achieving National Historic Trail status.

Competition with the French and the resulting contraband economy affected the entire borderland region during much of the eighteenth century. In 1771, eight years after France ceded Louisiana to Spain, retrenchment efforts relocated the capital to San Antonio de Béjar. As eastern missions were abandoned or secularized, they were reestablished in that water-rich region.*

CAMINANTES HERMANOS



FELLOW TRAVELERS



During the last two decades of the eighteenth century, “peace” with the Comanches—achieved through the efforts of two governors: Juan Bautista de Anza in New Mexico and Domingo Cabello in Texas—allowed the growth of ranching in the San Antonio and La Bahía regions on the initiative of presidial soldiers and others. Previously removed by authorities, the Spanish *Adaseño* settlers in East Texas again enjoyed the freedom to re-establish themselves at Nacogdoches and the vicinity beyond the Sabine River, engaging in a continuing contraband trade with Louisiana under the guise of controlling it. The first two decades of the nineteenth century saw a boundary dispute with the expanding United States, the beginnings of Anglo immigration into Texas, and the end of Spanish sovereignty in much of the Americas.

Geography

While twenty-first century tourists (Texans in particular) are surprised to learn that the capital of Texas was once in Louisiana, they can appreciate the length and breadth of the territory covered by El Camino Real del los Tejas—2,580 miles of interconnected trails spanning the 550 miles between Mission San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande and Natchitoches in Louisiana. During 130 years of Spanish-era use, the Trail’s footprint expanded to a breadth of up to 100 miles, its branches accommodating dispersed colonial assets while avoiding intermittent threats like flooding and Comanche raiders. Certainly the Spanish presence was thinly spread across that huge terrain. Today, the length and breadth of the territory presents a similar challenge to our Association.

New Mexico’s geography and climate confined agriculture, settlement and El Camino itself to a focused corridor along the Rio Grande or parallel mountainous terrain. In many places, the intimidating desert climate has preserved portions of El Camino that can still be experienced today. The Texas terrain, in contrast, is comparatively gentle. With the exception of the Balcones Escarpment, most of the Trail crosses shale and sandstone substrates supporting prairies, oak woodlands, and mesquite-covered brush country. Climate zones in Texas range from Coahuilan desert in the west to rain-drenched Piney Woods in the east. The country is well watered by myriad rivers, an important resource and locus of missionary efforts while also posing a barrier to travel.

Los Caminos Reales in both Texas and New Mexico remained active transportation arteries into the twentieth century. Continued use of New Mexico’s focused corridor maintains and reinforces a strong link to the region’s multi-cultural identity as well as continued genealogical awareness because so many families arrived along El Camino Real. In Texas, the Camino was important to Anglo immigration, but population growth, widespread farming and other economic developments shifted transportation corridors, eclipsing the old Camino. In Texas, land holdings are predominantly private, lacking the access offered by New Mexico’s extensive public lands. Different circumstances require different approaches. On the one hand, private ownership restricts access, but on the other, it may preserve sites from the depredations of pothunters and vandals. Natural features that have managed to survive Texans’ axes and plows will continue to yield to the forces of nature. Climate, vegetation and dynamic geomorphology pose challenges to both identification and preserving the integrity of El Camino Real de Los Tejas.



The Association

El Camino Real de Los Tejas became a National Historic Trail in 2004. The Trail Association was formed in 2007, four years CARTA. In 2009, the Association hired Executive Director Steven Gonzales to set priorities as well as manage operations, communications and membership. Our National Historic Trail and affiliated Association cover 41 counties and 2 parishes, divided into four regions. Our thirteen-member Board of Directors is composed of nominees representing each region plus a balance of at-large positions. Located near the University of Texas campus in the capital at Austin, our office enjoys access to Trail Network partners as well as state government representatives, historical resources, and student interns.

Our emphasis is community outreach—spreading public awareness of El Camino. Abetted by research from academic institutions and other organizations across the state, the Association has developed lesson plans for fourth and seventh grade Texas history curricula in public schools across the state. We also provide speakers for community groups upon request. Like our counterpart in New Mexico, we operate a website and promote relevant community events as well as tourism along our Camino. In addition, the Association serves as custodian of National Park Service signage at approved trail segments, and also acts as “initiating facilitator,” working with County Commissioners to implement installation of signs by the Texas Department of Transportation—an ongoing responsibility.

Preservation efforts have included the Association’s purchase of the four-acre Lobanillo Swales Site in the East Texas forest. Features visible Camino Real wagon ruts, it is conveniently located near a highway. In addition to saving the property from clear-cutting, the Association secured its protection as a State Antiquities Landmark and National Register of Historic Places site. Currently, the Association is working with community partners including the Texas Historical Commission, National Park Service, and National Forest Service to implement a plan for development, preservation, and interpretation in order to accommodate public viewing. The Association is also sponsoring a new archeological project known as Ranchería Grande in Milam County along a tributary of the Brazos River. This broad area was possibly a contact zone between the entradas of Domingo Ramón in 1716 and a large congregation of indigenous groups at the short-lived San Xavier Mission, established in the 1740s.



Our Association’s efforts are spread thin across a wide territory. Unlike in New Mexico, few of our diverse urban populace—a changing demographic of millennials along with immigrants from other states and other Spanish-speaking countries—have specific ties to El Camino Real. The challenge of raising awareness and recruiting membership is aided by the desire of Texans to be different from the rest of the United States. (Louisianans likewise!) Historians of Texas have long acknowledged El Camino Real and promoted it as part of public school curricula. Many Texans celebrate the state’s Spanish heritage, which it shares with New Mexico, California, Arizona, southern Colorado, and Florida. Our Association

welcomes the challenge of engaging all potential constituencies, increasing awareness while recruiting members and volunteers from individual enthusiasts (like me) to businesses and other entities that cater to the tourist experience.

* In 2014, the five Franciscan missions in and around San Antonio, administered by the National Park Service, became a UNESCO World Heritage site (*Patrimonio de La Humanidad* in Spanish).



Fractured Faiths: Spanish Judaism, The Inquisition, and New World Identities

Exhibition at the New Mexico History Museum through December

Dianne R. Layden, Ph.D., Albuquerque

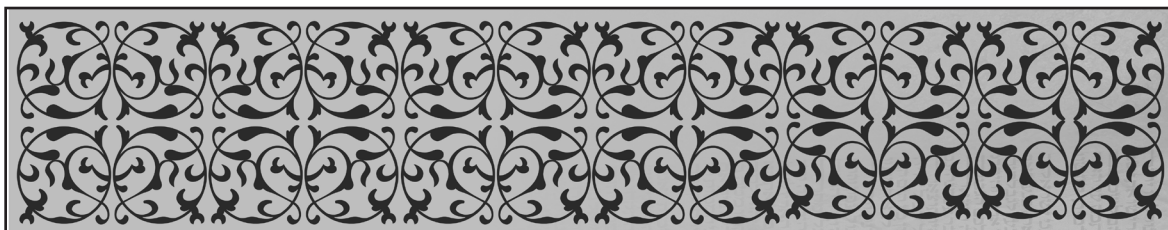
For a period of 400 years, from 900 to 1300, a golden age of cultural expansion and exchange known as *La Convivencia* (The Coexistence or, literally, “living together”) flourished in Spain among Muslims, Christians, and Jews. This peaceful era was characterized by cooperative advancement in science, art, architecture, philosophy, and literature. Beginning in the ninth century, Jewish sources recognized Sepharad, the Hebrew word for Spain, as “a distinct community of the Jewish people.” The associated adjective and collective noun—Sephardic / Sephardim—distinguish Jews of Iberian heritage from Azkenazi Jews of Eastern European heritage.

With the onset of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478, Spanish kingdoms newly unified under a Christian crown disavowed both Jews and Muslims. In 1492, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand issued an Edict of Expulsion requiring all Jews to convert to Christianity or to depart from Spain, never to return, on penalty of death. The choice was stark: “Abandon your home or abandon your religion, your identity, and your soul.”*

Jews who forcibly converted were called New Christians or *conversos*. Conversos who secretly practiced Judaism—and anyone perceived as maintaining Jewish practices—were called *judaizantes* and subject to accusations of heresy, making them targets of the Inquisition. Relentlessly, officials and hostile neighbors “scoured people’s homes and habits for evidence of heresy—most especially for those who professed Christianity but secretly practiced Judaism.... With that, an ancient culture fractured....” Inquisitors imprisoned, examined, tortured, and rendered judgments against the accused, with punishments of death carried out by civil authorities in *autos da fé* staged in large plazas where public attendance was mandatory.

Sephardic refugees spread across the known world. Despite prohibitions against the immigration of non-Christians, many eventually found their way to the Viceroyalty of New Spain (today’s Mexico) and New Mexico. In 1571, eight decades after the Edict of Expulsion was issued, the Holy Office of the

*Except as noted, this and subsequent quotations are from *Fractured Faiths: Spanish Judaism, The Inquisition, and New World Identities*, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, May 22, 2016-December 31, 2016, <http://nmhistorymuseum.org/calendar.php?&id=2605>.



Inquisition was established in Mexico City, capital of New Spain. There in the decade between 1590 and 1600, ten judaizantes were publicly burned at the stake. The vigor of anti-Jewish campaigns waxed and waned during the long colonial period.

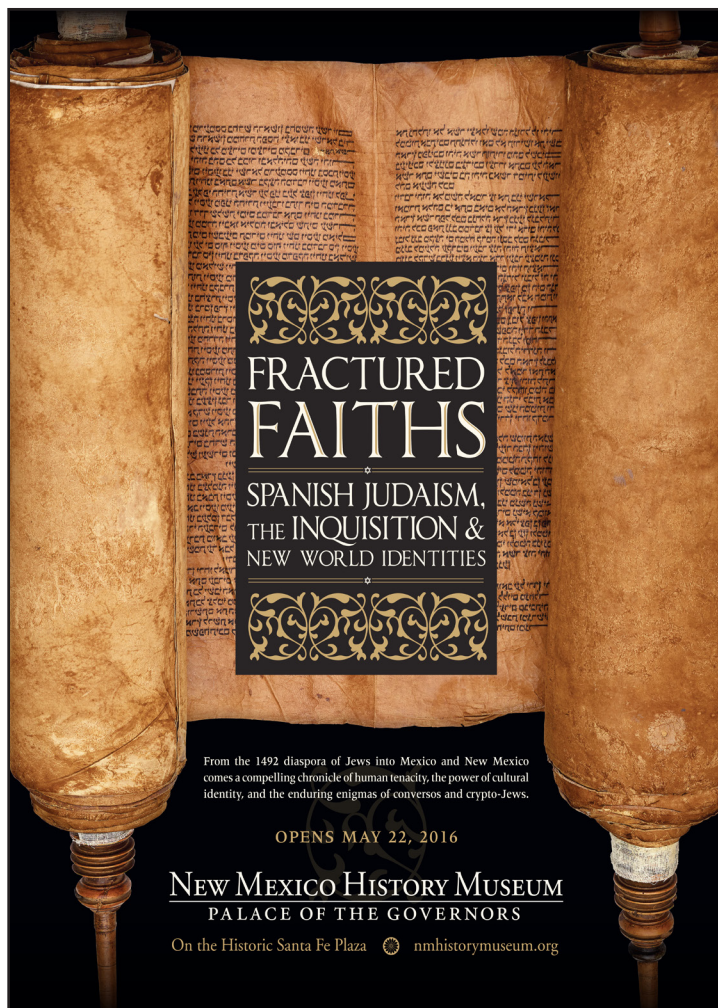
In 1663, Doña Teresa Aguilera y Roche and her husband, Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal, were arrested separately in Santa Fe. Based on allegations of secretly practicing Judaism, they were jailed at Santa Domingo Pueblo and transported in separate conveyances down El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro to the Inquisition prison in Mexico City, where they were subjected to prolonged investigation and trial. By the time Doña Teresa's case was finally suspended without either conviction or acquittal, her husband had expired in his cell. (See the review of *Doña Teresa Confronts the Inquisition*, in this issue.)

The Inquisition in Mexico was abolished along with Spanish sovereignty in 1821. The dearth of objects associated with Jewish ritual in Mexico and New Mexico may be due to the risk they posed to their owners. Possessing a clandestine Torah or menorah could result in a death sentence: "What remains are carefully guarded ancestries, whispered stories, and faith memories within tightly knit families." Today in New Mexico, many descendants of "crypto-Jews"—converts to Catholicism who continued to practice Jewish rituals in private—grapple with a dual religious heritage, Jewish and Catholic.

Fractured Faiths, the unprecedented exhibition at the New Mexico History Museum in Santa Fe through December of this year, guides visitors on a journey from medieval Spain to colonial Mexico

to contemporary New Mexico. In the exhibition hall, high arched colonnades echo the interior of Santa María La Blanca synagogue in Toledo, Spain. Completed in 1180, the structure symbolizes cooperation among the three cultures that populated the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages: constructed in Christian territory by Moorish architects for Jewish use.

Beginning with the trio of chronological "tablets" near the entrance, the sections exploring Jewish experience in Spain and New Spain feature unusually detailed explanatory labels and text panels in English and Spanish. Artifacts include Spanish tombstones with Hebrew text; an ancient Torah; a marriage contract; ceramics and metalwork with pronounced Moorish influence; treasures from El Tránsito Synagogue in Toledo, converted into a Catholic church in 1492; a period copy of the Edict of Expulsion; records of arrests and executions of "heretics;" shackles used to restrain prisoners;



seventeenth-century jewelry with the emblem of the Inquisition in myriad versions; and exquisitely illuminated manuscripts commissioned by families who went to great lengths to certify their “purity of blood” (i.e., uninterrupted descent from Old Christians).

A wall-size plan of Mexico City reveals the prevalence of Catholic institutions there. Nearby, a richly detailed eighteenth-century canvas depicts an *auto-da-fe* in Mexico City, complete with clowns and children at play on the fringes. Other paintings



depict Biblical events known to both Christians and Jews, illustrating the shared heritage of both religions. The concluding New Mexican section features an absorbing collection of photographs from *New Mexico Crypto-Jews: Image and Memory* by the late Cary Herz, including gravestones inscribed with Hispanic names along with six-pointed Stars of David, seven-branched candelabra (menorahs), and Christian crosses.

A recessed vitrine containing several objects that belonged to Doña Teresa Aguilera y Roche can be found in an alcove that features a looping, life-size video tableau with a lovely, dark-skinned actress representing Doña Teresa, who was born in Tuscany to an Irish mother and a Spanish father. In the vitrine, the bound pages of the exhaustive defense she wrote in her prison cell—attributing the allegations against her to the malicious envy of clergy, citizens, and servants at the Palace of the Governors—is one of the most notable artifacts in a rich assembly drawn from over fifty institutions and individuals spread across three nations.

Fractured Faiths is the result of years of planning by dedicated museum professionals and researchers, including Frances Levine, former Executive Director of the New Mexico History Museum (NMHM), who currently oversees the Missouri History Museum; Josef Díaz, curator of Spanish and Mexican colonial collections for NMHM; Roger Martínez-Dávila, professor of history at the University of Colorado–Colorado Springs, who is completing a book about the religious and cultural blending of Jewish and Catholic families during the fifteenth century; anthropologist and publisher Ron D. Hart, author of *Sephardic Jews*; and Stanley Hordes, former New Mexico State Historian and author of the pioneering study *To the End of the Earth: A History of the Crypto-Jews of New Mexico*.

The individuals mentioned in the preceding paragraph and other leading scholars contributed essays to the handsomely designed bilingual volume that complements the exhibition by providing a framework of knowledge. Edited by co-curators Josef Díaz and Roger Martínez-Dávila and “content expert” Ron D. Hart, the volume includes adept two-way translations by two New Mexicans: historian-linguist Jerry Gurulé, retired from the National Park Service, and folklorist Enrique Lamadrid, University of New Mexico Professor Emeritus of Spanish and Portuguese.

According to co-curator Martínez-Dávila, as quoted by Norma Libman, the exhibition “helps explain the origins of Hispano Catholics and crypto-Jews, and demonstrates that the efforts of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand to eliminate the Jewish faith from Catholic Spain. . . ultimately failed . . . because we remember. We remember our family lineages, our cultural practices, and we honor our past of two faiths—Catholicism and Judaism.” In addition, the exhibition’s evocation of religious persecution reminds viewers of the dire need for more harmonious cultural coexistence in our contemporary world.

Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand intended the removal of the Jews to be everlasting. In response to their decree, a rabbi predicted that Spain would one day recognize and regret its error. Half a millennium later, the Spanish government is finally making efforts at rectification. In October 2015, Spain enacted legislation to restore Spanish citizenship to Sephardic Jews worldwide who can demonstrate that their ancestors were victims of the Inquisition, and who retain linguistic and cultural ties to Spain. According to Albuquerque-based journalist Dan Herrera, an estimated 3,500,000 Jews with Spanish ancestry are spread across the globe. As of August 2016, some 4,300 Sephardic Jews have been granted Spanish citizenship.

Fractured Faiths is a remarkable accomplishment made possible by curatorial vision, committed funders, tri-national cooperation, and exceptional efforts by staff at participating organizations. The exhibition will not be touring to other cities. It can only be experienced while on view in Santa Fe, and is well worth whatever effort is required to do so. Like the ornate wooden jewelry chests on stands throughout the exhibition space, where visitors who insert the right key into the corresponding drawer unlock mementos from a different life story each time, *Fractured Faiths* brings histories too long kept in the dark into the light of understanding.

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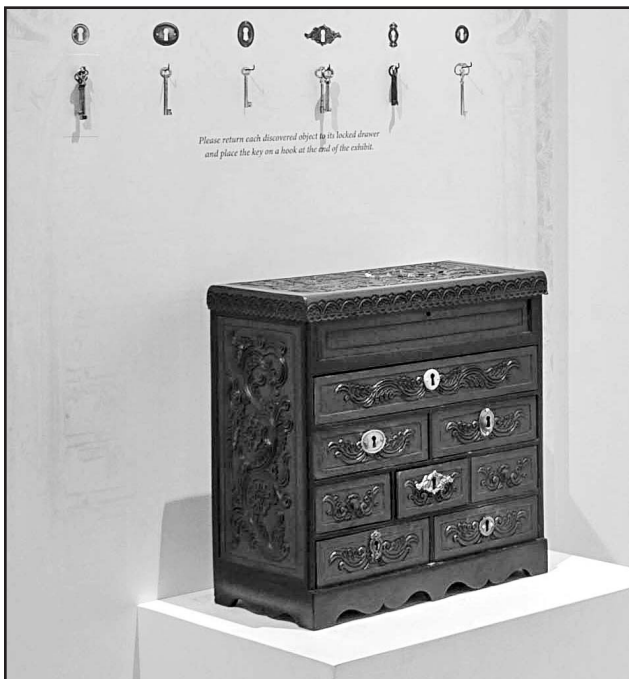
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Exhibition photographs above and on facing page by Blair Clark, courtesy of the New Mexico History Museum.



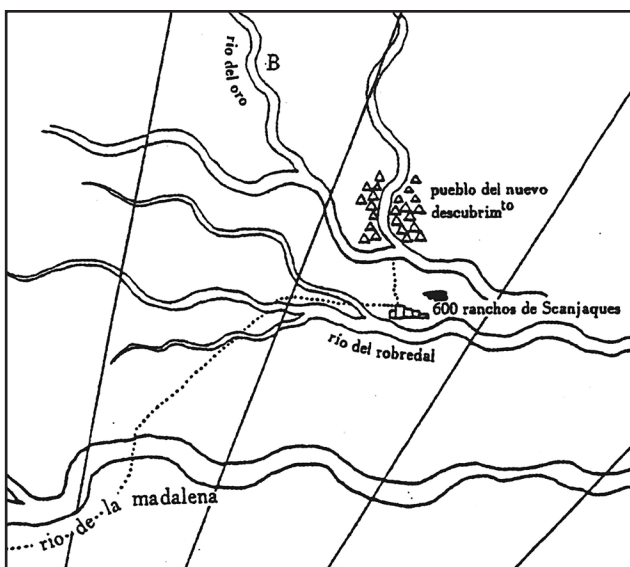
East to Etzanoa: Fresh Translations & Recent Archaeological Finds Validate Reports from Oñate's 1601 Expedition to "Quivira"*

David Malakoff, Alexandria, Virginia

On June 23, 1601, *Adelantado* Juan de Oñate, founder of the first authorized Spanish colony in the Kingdom of New Mexico, set off on a search of Quivira, a fabled "city of gold." For its time and place, the expedition was impressive: at least 70 soldiers armed with four cannons, a dozen priests, a large contingent of Indian allies and some 700 horses, mules and oxen. Guided by the lone survivor of a disastrous earlier expedition, Oñate marched east from the struggling colony at San Gabriel, the renamed Tewa Pueblo of Yunque (west of today's Española) to assemble his troops at San Cristobal Pueblo (Galisteo).

The explorers crossed the Pecos River (known to the Spanish as Río Salado), then followed the Canadian River (Magdalena) toward its confluence with the Arkansas near the current Oklahoma-Kansas border—a place they believed to be the heart of Quivira. They were among the first Europeans to describe the lush prairies of the Great Plains, with "grasses so high that in many places they hid a horse."** Encountering herds of bison along their route, they marveled at the "most monstrous cattle" as well as the Apache hunters who stalked and felled them.

But the group's most eye-popping discovery was still to come. In September, when the expedition reached what is now the state of Kansas, they came upon a river lined with more than a thousand large thatched-roof buildings. Forewarned, most of the inhabitants had taken the precaution of fleeing. Oñate's astonished scouts reported that the town—scattered among cultivated fields of corn, beans and squash—stretched on and on. "The end of the houses was not in sight," soldiers later informed Spanish officials, estimating that some 20,000 people lived in the settlement that they dubbed Etzanoa (a name of unknown origin, neither Spanish nor Basque).



* Adapted by the author from "Searching for Etzanoa," *American Archaeology* 20:1, spring 2016, 26-31, with permission.

** Translations by John H.R. Polt courtesy of the Cibola Project, University of California—Berkeley.

Detail from Enrico Martínez's 1602 map of New Mexico, featured on the front cover of the preceding issue, showing Etzanoa as "pueblo del nuevo descubrimiento" (newly discovered permanent settlement), in contrast to *ranchos* (temporary camps) to the south.

Oñate, himself a descendant of Basques, did not stick around long to learn more. Fearing for his safety and that of his men—with reason, for his army had angered the locals by taking hostages—he reversed course. As his troops began the long trek back to New Mexico, they fought a last, fierce battle against local warriors.

For centuries, many scholars discounted Oñate's account of Etzana, noting that conquistadors had a reputation for exaggerating in order to impress their royal patrons as well as church officials who were eager to save souls. Archeologists and anthropologists were also skeptical. According to the conventional wisdom, Plains tribes of that time lived in relatively small, scattered settlements, and there was little evidence of an Etzana-sized community along Oñate's likely route. "The argument was that the accounts didn't really seem to add up with what we'd observed," said archeologist Susan Vehik, professor emerita at the University of Oklahoma.

Newly translated accounts of Oñate's expedition, together with recent archaeological discoveries, are challenging previous assumptions. Researchers have found preliminary but persuasive evidence of Etzana in southeastern Kansas, along the Walnut River near Arkansas City. The evidence includes signs of extensive habitation and even ammunition fired during the battle between Spanish soldiers and locals. If the evidence holds up—and making those determinations will require extensive work—Etzana would be recognized as by far the largest Great Plains community of its era, joining the older and larger Cahokia Mounds settlement in southern Illinois as an early North American urban wonder. The find would also produce "a profound transformation in the way we think about Plains societies, and how they were organized," said Vehik, who is cautiously supportive of the new claim.

"I think the earth just shifted under our feet," says Donald Blakeslee, an archaeologist at Wichita State University, who catalyzed the re-examination of Etzana and is the leading proponent of recognizing it as a proto-city. He believes that the community likely thrived from roughly 1450 A.D. into the 1600s, at its height housing some 20,000 people related to the modern Wichita tribe. "We didn't really have a clue that [Plains] communities could be this massive," he said. "So we're going to need to rethink a lot of things."

Blakeslee's interest in Etzana came about in a circuitous way. Early in his career, he began retracing the spider web of trails used by early Plains peoples—and later European explorers—to navigate as well as move goods across the vast, grassy landscape. He eventually became involved in efforts to retrace routes used by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, the famous conquistador who led the first expedition from New Spain (today's Mexico) to Kansas in the early 1540s. That research gave Blakeslee a healthy appreciation of both the promise and the peril of using historical accounts to guide archeological research: "Sometimes the translations aren't very good, and you have to be very careful about who and what you are willing to believe."

So he was intrigued but cautious in December 2013 when he discovered new translations of two key documents associated with Oñate's Etzana expedition. *The True Report* and the *Valverde Interrogatory* (<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/7162z2rp>) were translated by John H.R. Polt and edited by Jerry R. Craddock of the Research Center for Romance Studies, University of California–Berkeley, where the Cíbola Project is dedicated to publishing historic documents from the Hispanic Southwest in the original Spanish with state-of-the-art translations.

The documents are the product of extensive bureaucratic intrigue and political infighting, to put it mildly. *The True Report* is Oñate's own account of his expedition, no doubt carefully constructed to put him in the most favorable light and downplay discord among his followers. At one point, for instance, he reports that his men "marched along cheerfully and in high spirits; and being good soldiers and eager to serve Our Lord and His Majesty, they were not daunted by the absence of four or five cowardly soldiers who, being inexperienced, took fright at the travails of military life and turned their back on it even as our expectations of seeing great things were at their peak."

Part of an official inquiry into the expedition and Oñate's leadership of the New Mexican colony, the *Interrogatory* was conducted in Mexico City in 1602 by a Spanish official named Francisco Valverde y Mercado. The inquiry was prompted by complaints made against Oñate by residents of San Gabriel, who out of desperation and want had abandoned the colony while their leader was out searching for Quivira. As part of the inquiry, officials interviewed several participants of the expedition, as well as a Native American taken captive by the explorers, renamed Miguel by the Spaniards.

As Blakeslee began to read the testimony of Miguel and the others, his wariness about historical accounts turned to excitement: "I was blown away by the quality of the translations; there was none of the murkiness I'd seen before," he recalled. And he was particularly taken by "the wonderful level of detail" provided by the accounts. "They describe the landscape and the landmarks they saw, how far they traveled, the directions they moved. They even count and measure the houses in the villages they visit, and tell the distances between the structures and the fields."

Soon, Blakeslee was systematically comparing the accounts with modern maps, rosters of known archeological sites in Kansas, and artifacts in his university's collection. He quickly homed in on a five-mile swathe of land near Arkansas City, a town of about 12,000 people at the confluence of the Walnut and Arkansas rivers. Other researchers, including Vehik, had already fingered the area as a possible location of Oñate's encounter with Etzanoa. Some two dozen archaeological sites had been documented there, several occupied around the time of Oñate's visit. "I began to wonder if the boundaries of those sites weren't a bit artificial," Blakeslee said. "Maybe they were all part of one big site, instead of being a bunch of smaller occupations."

Still, Blakeslee tread cautiously, making reconnaissance trips to the area to see if he could locate the landmarks mentioned in the reports. "That went better than it should have; it all started lining up," he recalled. "I found a hill they mentioned... and the place where they said they had to swing to the east with their ox carts because the route got rough." For confirmation, however, Blakeslee realized that he would need to arrange for field surveys.

The fieldwork began in earnest during the summer of 2015, after Blakeslee and his colleagues won approval from leaders of the Wichita tribe and local landowners. In early June, a small army of archeologists from Wichita State University, National Park Service and the Kansas Historical Society, as well as dozens of students and local volunteers, staged their own march on Etzanoa. Instead of oxcarts, that army was accompanied by a truck-mounted mobile laboratory led by archaeologist Linda Scott-Cummings of the Paleo Research Institute in Golden, Colorado. The lab's instruments, including sensitive x-ray and infrared devices, enabled researchers to do quick preliminary analyses of the composition of artifacts and to detect food residues. Instead of guns, researchers wielded metal detectors and magnetometers—instruments that enable them to look below ground without disturbing the soil in order to identify features such as postholes, fire pits, and trash deposits.

Over the span of a week, workers scoured half a dozen locales totaling several acres along the Walnut River. Where fields were plowed, volunteers conducted surface surveys, marking the presence of stone flakes, arrow points, and tools with brightly colored flags. In some places they found so many artifacts that, from a distance, the clusters of tiny flags resembled bouquets of flowers. Other teams, led by Christine Nycz and Steven DeVore of the National Park Service's Midwest Archaeological Center, used the magnetometers to survey six sites non-invasively. The team even mapped a golf course at night so as not to disrupt tee-times. "Oh my, was it hard to see what we were doing... took us forever, but paid off in the end," Blakeslee recalled.

At the conclusion of the surveys, Blakeslee was even more certain that researchers had found a huge settlement. The surface surveyors had "found so much stuff associated with habitation—mostly stone flakes with a few pieces of pottery—that they could hardly keep going." Results from the mobile laboratory suggested that some of the artifacts had been used for butchering game and cooking food. After failing to see much during some early scans, the magnetometer teams "hit paydirt" at the golf course and a few other sites, "[finding] features all over the place" that fit the historical descriptions of clusters of buildings surrounded by farm fields. Also according to Blakeslee, one particularly intriguing magnetometer image shows what appears to be a trio of houses surrounded by pits used for cooking or trash disposal: "Everything we got in terms of the structure of the site matches what the documents say, but the real clincher was finding the battlefield."

During his reconnaissance trips, Blakeslee had noted a rocky gully near the river because it looked suspiciously like the site of the battle that Oñate's soldiers reported waging as they retreated from Etzanoa. In the spring of 2015 he led a group on a preliminary sweep of the gully. They had just about given up on finding anything interesting when the teenage son of the landowner "came along with this iron ball he'd found with a metal detector."

Blakeslee was puzzled. He knew the Spanish used lead shot, but wasn't expecting iron. Back at his office, however, additional research revealed that Spanish explorers sometimes filled their cannons with canisters of iron buckshot. When Blakeslee looked at the iron ball under a microscope, "I saw all these little pits and facets that are consistent with being shot from a gun." During the field week, surveyors found another iron ball at the gully, along with a lead pellet—"right where we thought [the Spaniards] would have aimed their guns," added Blakeslee.

He concedes that such evidence "doesn't prove" that researchers have found Etzanoa, or that the settlement was as big as Oñate and his men claimed. One remaining task is mapping the full extent of the various sites and how they were likely connected. "A big step will be filling in the blanks and showing that there are more sites in between the ones we already know about," said Blakeslee. That could be complicated, he noted, because parts of Etzanoa most likely now sit beneath the back yards, parking lots, and buildings of Arkansas City.

Another challenge is documenting that the sites were occupied during Etzanoa's hypothesized heyday in the 1400s and 1500s. "The question that needs to be resolved is: Were all those sites and structures contemporaneous? It will take a lot of dating to do that," said Vehik. The dating process could be difficult because common methods—such as using distinctive changes in pottery and artifact styles to determine when a site was occupied—don't work particularly well at Plains sites of that time period. One alternative, as Blakeslee has suggested, might be using carbon dating of animal bones to work out the chronology.

Despite those caveats, archaeologists who have not been involved in the work are intrigued. Blakeslee

The Black Christ of Esquipulas: From Guatemala to Chimayó via El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

José de la Cruz Pacheco Rojas, Ph.D.,
with Rebeca Treviño Montemayor, Ph.D., State of Durango, Mexico

This preliminary study of the history of El Cristo Negro de Esquipulas emphasizes its importance as a sacred Roman Catholic figure infused by ancient Mesoamerican deities and rituals. The essay proposes that this syncretic acculturation of Christianity with pre-Hispanic religion laid the foundation for a particular kind of cultural and social relationship between conquered peoples and the Spanish in North America.

This essay traces the image of the Black Christ across time and space, examining its differing modes of integration as it made itself at home along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. The emergence of different cults to the same image warrants greater attention from both historical and religious perspectives in order to achieve a deeper understanding of how El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro facilitated not only the transit of goods but also of cultural elements that Mexicans and New Mexicans continue to share today. The Black Christ of Esquipulas and Our Lady of Guadalupe should not be considered solely as Americanized Christian images but also as fundamental hieratic symbols in the formation of a new Hispano-American society, particularly its articulation of religious belief.

Chimayó

The Black Christ of Esquipulas, the life-size crucifix by the santero known as Molleno in the center of the altarscreen at El Santuario de Chimayó in upper New Mexico, represents the northernmost extension of Hispanic cultural influence, both Christian and Mexican. During the colonial era, that influence gave rise to a particular social formation—Novohispano frontier society—that continues to span the border between the northern portion of Mexico and the southwestern portion of the United States. The Black Christ is a symbol of that shared identity.

It is supposed that the crucifix was brought to Chimayó directly from Esquipulas in Guatemala and that it might have been acquired by a traveling merchant, most likely a New Mexican who traveled as far south as Central America. This account of its origin, reproduced in Elizabeth Kay's *Chimayo Valley Traditions*, is not improbable. However, as the present study has demonstrated, the spread of The Black Christ throughout New Spain has diverse origins, and in Tierra Adentro its spatial and temporal dissemination has been a complex process. We can therefore risk supposing that Chimayó's Lord of Esquipulas traversed the same historical and social route as other representations associated with El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

Although not indicative of the presence of the image itself in the lands of New Mexico, parish registers do confirm the existence of the name. The Book of Baptisms for Santa Cruz de La Cañada lists an infant was listed with the given name Juan de Esquipulas in 1805. He was the nephew of Bernardo Abeyta, a prominent local personage who, eight years later, would baptize his own son with the name Tomás de Esquipulas.

Translated and adapted by Editor JBC from *Religiosidad y Cultura Popular en el Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: Tres Ensayos Socio-antropológicos*, by José de la Cruz Pacheco Rojas and Rebeca Treviño Montemayor. Published by Editorial de la Universidad de Juárez del Estado de Durango, 2011. The authors' principal source for the Santuario de Chimayó section, cited multiple times, is *Chimayo Valley Traditions* by Elizabeth Kay, Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1985.

ENSAYOS 3



ESSAYS 3

The introduction of the devotion to the Black Christ of Esquipulas in New Mexico is attributed to this same Bernardo Abeyta (1771-1856). His fervent attachment to the image prompted him to make an appeal to the priest of the Santa Cruz parish, Frail Sebastián de Alvarez, in 1813, the year of his son's birth and baptism. On behalf of nineteen families living at El Potrero de Chimayó, he requested permission to build a chapel in honor of the Black Christ of Esquipulas.

The priest's response was unclear, but Abeyta did not give up. In 1814 the residents of El Potrero gave him permission to construct a church on the site now occupied by El Santuario de Chimayó, with the approval of Father Francisco de Otocio, who was in charge of the New Mexico missions. Made of adobe brick, the church is 60 feet long and 24 feet wide, with pine ceiling beams and walls three feet thick. The nave and choir loft are typical of the region. Adjacent to the Sacristy on the northeast is the little well called El Pocito—a hole in the floor that provides access to the sacred soil (*tierra bendita*) so highly valued by parishioners and pilgrims for its curative qualities.

Later, as the site continued to grow, other images were added to the church, including the Holy Child of Atocha (venerated in Mexico at Plateros and Zacatecas); the unique, beautifully painted wooden altar screens; and the long, narrow hall adjacent to the nave, its walls covered with symbolic offerings known as *exvotos* or *milagros*. Fortunately, the traditional New Mexican-style structure has not been significantly altered since the mid-nineteenth century.

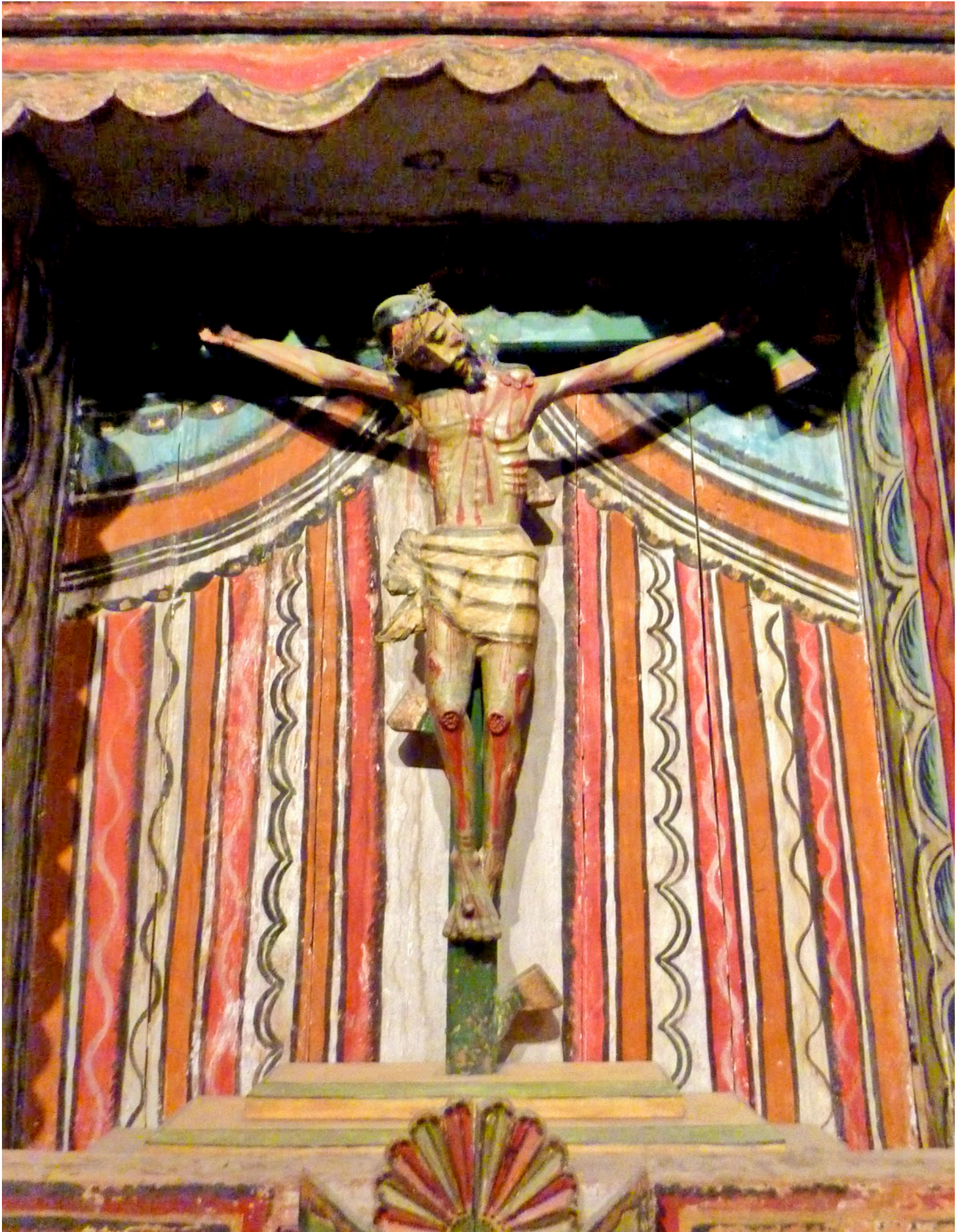
The image of El Cristo Negro de Esquipulas also presided over the Penitente Brotherhood (Los Hermanos de la Fraternidad Piadosa de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno), a pious organization beyond the administrative umbrella of the Roman Catholic Church. According to a number of nineteenth century Penitente documents, Bernardo Abeyta served the Chimayó region as an elder brother. The connection to other brotherhoods like those dedicated to Our Lord of the Warriors at Tizonazo in the Mexican states of Chihuahua and Durango seem obvious. They are likely branches of a common trunk: devotional societies organized by Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries during the colonial era around a particular sacred image.

In addition to Santa Cruz de La Cañada and the surrounding region, the devotion to Chimayó's Black Christ of Esquipulas extends to a number of towns and villages in the northern part of New Mexico—including Santa Fe and Ranchos de Taos—and possibly southward as well. His primary celebration takes place on Holy Thursday and Good Friday, with thousands of pilgrims processioning to the sanctuary from near and far. This occasion coincides with the procession at the Temple of San Juan de Dios in the city of Durango, where the image is carried through the streets to guide the procession of pilgrims.

Conclusion

However diverse the origin stories of the various devotional images of Our Lord of Esquipulas, almost all provide an explanation for the black skin color, with most attributing it to a miraculous transformation occasioned by divine will. Our research indicates that the majority of the acts of miraculous revelation attributed to the Black Christ convey a clear sense of indigenous identity. Based on our analysis, the figure symbolizes the condition and fate of the indigenous population as a suppressed and exploited multi-ethnic people who can only find hope in the martyred Christ because, like them, he was persecuted by his enemies who consigned him to the cross. The crucifixion therefore should be understood as a reflection and Christianized reification of the drama of Spanish conquest. The Lord's resurrection offers to indigenous peoples a symbolic space of resistance as well as hope for their own liberation.

The original syncretism of the image—its fusion of symbols from pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican as well as Christian imaginaries, eventually linked to commercial agents who broadcast the image—loses meaning when confronted with the ethnic blending that resulted from the Spanish conquest. First indigenous peoples and later peoples of mixed race (*mestizos*) symbolically re-appropriated the image, making the Black Christ their own.



Agua Fría Across the Centuries:

From Pre-contact Trading Center, Locus of Early Spanish
Land Grants, and Agrarian Provider for Santa Fe
to a Twenty-first Century Conundrum:
Urban Spillover or Rural Sustainability?*

Hilario E. Romero, Ph.D., Agua Fría Village



Photograph by Lois B. Mee, 2015; designed by Morrow, Reardon, Wilkinson, Miller, Ltd. 2013.

*Developed from a two-part article that appeared in *Green Fire Times*, May and June of 2015, with permission.

Introduction

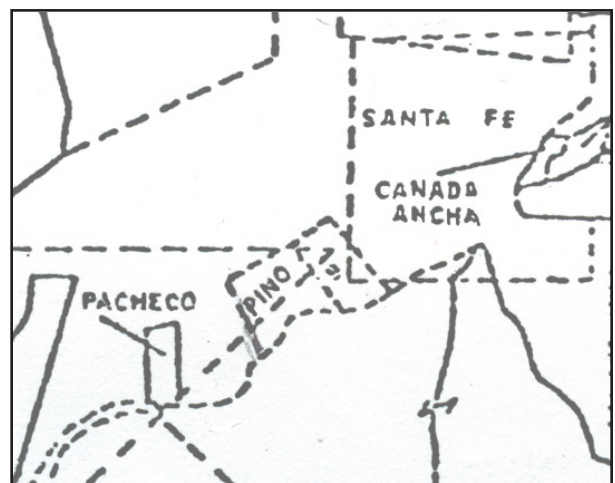
For the better part of four centuries, the Agua Fría area has been overshadowed by Santa Fe as capital of New Mexico. Although its history and archaeological record is at least as long as that of its more prominent neighbor to the northeast, to date relatively little has been written about the significance of what was known as Pueblo Quemado from the early days of Spanish presence. The following overview recognizes the Agua Fría portion of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro as both final approach to that target destination and connector of key periods across time.

Agua Fría's location along millennial north-south Native American trails attracted seasonal encampments of archaic peoples several thousand years before the Cochise and Anasazi arrived and early Pueblo settlements began to emerge. According to a 1988 study by Cheri Sheick of Southwest Archeological Consultants, as far back as 3,000 years ago, during the Anasazi era, the footprint of today's Agua Fría was already an "agricultural mecca."

With the arrival of colonists from northern New Spain in 1598, this area served first as a *paraje* (perennial campground) and later as a trading center for goods transported along El Camino Real, which after 1609 led directly to the capital through Agua Fría/Pueblo Quemado. The abundance of fertile land with *ojitos* (cold water springs) and *ciéneguitas* (little marshes), access to river water for irrigation, and a growing season longer than the regional norm made the area ideal for subsistence ranching and farming. Before long, it had become the breadbasket and larder for colonial-era Santa Fe. Like other settlements throughout the Spanish era and into the Mexican period, Agua Fría experienced sporadic raiding by Apaches, Navajos, Utes, and eventually Comanches.

Major changes were in store once the United States of North America conquered New Mexico. Despite guarantees included in the 1848 treaty that ended the Mexican-American War, Agua Fría residents experienced land and water loss during the Territorial Period as speculators and their attorneys saw opportunities to acquire tracts of land and associated water rights. In the late 1800s, the community of Agua Fría had to fight for its priority water rights against the Santa Fe Water Company. A century later, cut off from those priority rights, the Village would become a subsistence water community once again. Until the City of Santa Fe annexed portions of Agua Fría's eastern half in 1997 and again in 2013, the Village managed to remain a ranching and farming community. Since then, long-term residents of the area have struggled to safeguard the area's irreplaceable rural character.

As the concluding portion of the 1600-mile Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, a National Historic Trail since the year 2000 (with its Mexican portion, UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2010), the Agua Fría Corridor is a unique historical asset that warrants protection for the education and enjoyment of future generations. In cooperation with the National Park Service, Village leaders have been assisting in the creation and protection of commemorative structures, signage, and trails for public education and enjoyment.



Detail of land grant map from the multi-volume 1969 Master's thesis for Southern Methodist University by J. J. Bowden.

Pre-European Agua Fría and the Development of Agriculture

Archaeological evidence from the area comprising today's Village of Agua Fría suggests that early pre-Cochise peoples passed through for seasonal hunting and gathering after the Ice Age receded. Those Folsom peoples arrived in northeastern New Mexico and then dispersed in many directions, including today's Agua Fría, in order to pursue large mammals like mastodon, mammoth, camel, and buffalo. After most of the foregoing species had disappeared, the buffalo remained, sustained by abundant grasslands.

Life was dangerous for humans as well as animals. Both were compelled to wander for day-to-day survival, with great determination and risk-taking required. Hunting families eventually identified many edible roots, plants and seeds in the *bosque* (riverbank greensward) along what would later be known as El Río Santa Fe. In addition to a favorable climate, the Agua Fría area also offered an abundance of firewood, varieties of rock for tools, and materials for creating shelters.

Centuries later, as the climate evolved, a new group of people emerged: the Cochise. Those precursors of the Anasazi, Mogollon, and Tono O'odam peoples were the first to introduce agriculture to the region. An abundance of water from the river as well as springs and marshes permitted successful cultivation of crops like corn, beans and squash. This basic trio was supplemented with wild edible plants like *quilitl* (*quelites* in Spanish, wild spinach in English), and later domesticated dogs. The Cochise also fished for trout in the upper river and hunted in the mountain forests some eight miles to the east, where they collected firewood, cut poles, and pursued wild game such as elk, deer, bear, and bighorn sheep.

Their knowledge was passed on to the Anasazi, who migrated to this area from the north and west, building permanent settlements that date back many centuries, and developing trade with peoples to the south in the land of the Mexica (today's Mexico). Within the area surrounding their pueblos (including the corridor along the river from today's Santa Fe Airport—formerly the Pacheco Land Grant—northeast to Frenchy's Field) they hunted small game like rabbit, quail, and migratory birds. They also domesticated the turkey, a reliable food during seasons when game was scarce. Those peoples that the Spanish would categorize as “Pueblo” (settled into urban communities) were the first permanent residents of today's greater Santa Fe.

At some point during the thirteenth century, possibly in response to new enemies, drought, and cosmic signs, they abandoned their Agua Fría pueblos and moved upriver, where they benefited from improved access to water, game, and firewood as well as fortified security. Their new pueblo was built just a stone's throw northwest of the future Santa Fe Plaza, on land now occupied by the Convention Center. They not only had to construct new living and ceremonial quarters, create a new diversion cache on the river, and dig irrigation ditches, but also contend with a shorter growing season due to increased elevation and proximity to the forest. After importing drought-resistant seeds for planting in their new environment, they remained in the area for another two centuries, eventually moving northwest to build Te-su-gueh Pueblo on the Tesuque River, still an innovative leader in New Mexican agriculture.

Arrival of the Spanish along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

Following Spanish-speaking explorers along centuries-old Native American trails, Adelantado Juan de Oñate and his entourage of wealth-seekers established themselves in 1598 a few leagues north of the Agua Fría region, first at the Tewa settlement of Okeh' Owingeh (which they renamed San Juan) and then at Yunque' Owingeh (renamed San Gabriel). After warring with several other Pueblos, Oñate decided in 1601 to launch an expedition to Quivira on the northeastern plains, taking most of the troops, supplies, and mules with him. (See David Malakoff's essay in this issue.)

During his absence, discontented colonists abandoned San Gabriel, possibly retracing their steps to a paraje near today's Agua Fría. Others, equally determined to avoid starvation, tried in vain to return to Santa Barbara in Nueva Viscaya. (Hammond and Rey: 692-698) Any group that remained in the Agua Fría area would have realized that the best farmland was located along the future Río Santa Fe, marked by the ruins of Pin'di Pueblo near Ojitos Frescos (Fresh Springs) and Pueblo Quemado de las Cieneguitas (Burnt Pueblo of the Little Marshes). In 1602, upon his return from Quivira (present-day Kansas), Oñate sent soldiers in pursuit of settlers who had deserted, ordering that they be returned to San Gabriel for punishment. The following year, a wagon caravan would arrive from the south to resupply the struggling colony.

Faced with numerous challenges and complaints from the settlers whom he had escorted to the Kingdom of New Mexico, Juan de Oñate would resign his governorship in 1608 and return to the family hacienda near Zacatecas in 1610. Under orders from the Spanish Crown via the Viceroy at Mexico City, Pedro de Peralta would promptly survey and claim an upper-river area, naming it La Villa Real de la Santa Feé.

Early Spanish Settlers of Agua Fría: De Madrid and Lucero y Godoy

According to documents purchased by the Museum of New Mexico Foundation from the Maggs Brothers of London in 1994, an early military post might have been established in the area by Captain Juan Martínez y Montoya. Genealogist and historian José Antonio Esquibel interprets a phrase in the documents —“*el haber hecho Plaza en Santa Fe*”—as indicating the existence of a possible paraje or settlement as early as 1607. (Ebright, p. 54-55)

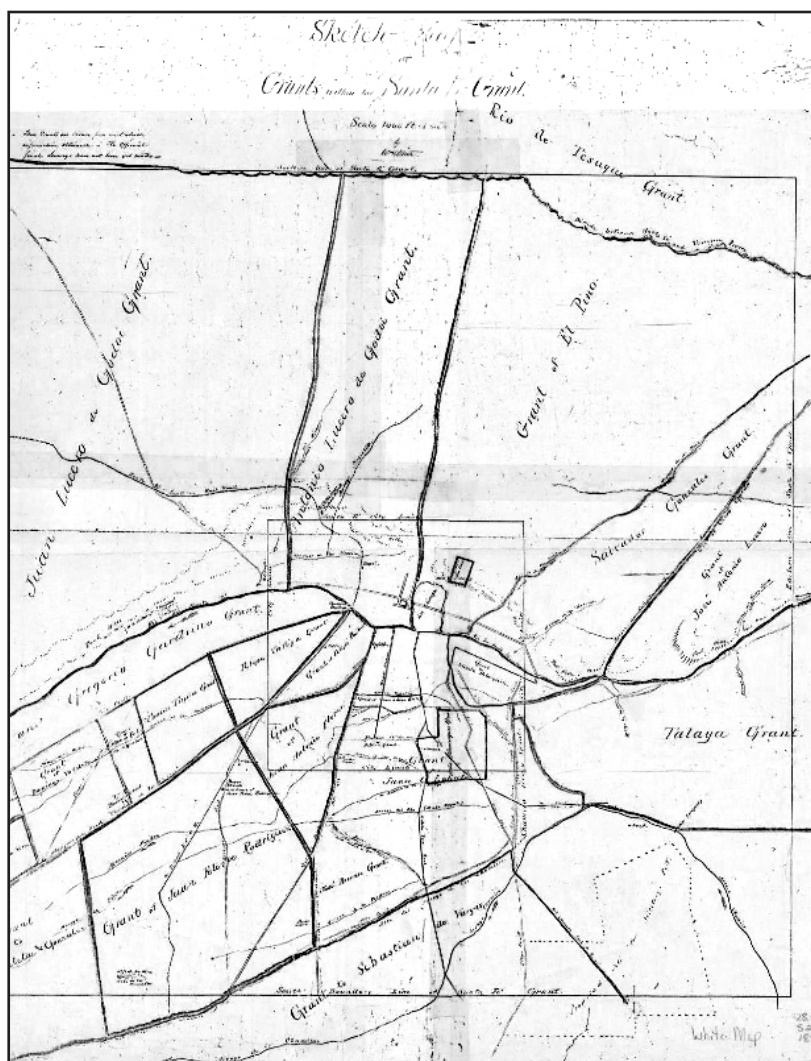
The earliest documented settlers in Agua Fría were a capable family who arrived in New Mexico in 1603, five years after the Oñate group. Francisco de Madrid junior came to New Mexico as a ten-year-old *chirrionero de carros* (driver of two-wheel carts). According to Fray Angélico Chávez in *Origins of New Mexico Families*, in addition to his parents Francisco de Madrid senior and Sebastiana Ruíz Cáceres, the group included ten soldiers and four Franciscan friars.

The younger Francisco appears in 1613 as the 23-year-old husband of María Martín Barba, who died in 1626 (Chávez: 71). He was thirty-two years old when married María de la Vega Márquez that same year. (Chávez, 65-66). In the 1640s, *Sargento Mayor* Francisco de Madrid, then in his fifties, was living with his second wife in the village of Quemado, along the branch of El Camino Real that still traverses Agua Fría en route to the Santa Fe Plaza. In 1644, son Roque Madrid was born to Francisco and María in the village. His siblings included elder brother Lorenzo, Juan, Lucía, Francisco III, and María.

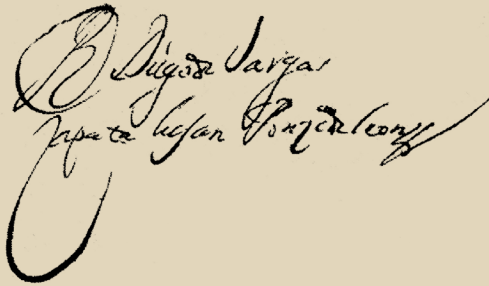
In 1680, Captain Roque Madrid, his wife and their two small children fled the Pueblo Revolt for El Paso del Río del Norte. (See the **Ancestors along the Trail** section of this issue for an episode from that southward trek.) Captain Madrid returned to New Mexico in 1692 with incoming Governor Diego de Vargas, who bestowed gifts and promises during his first tentative effort at reconquest. Madrid returned with his family and a host of former settlers the following year. During the dozen years that the Indians had kept the Spaniards at bay, Quemado village (the future Agua Fría) had served as a temporary home for displaced Keres and Tewas.

Roque Madrid was one of many returning soldiers who received a land grant in the Quemado area under Governor Vargas—likely the original lands granted to his grandfather Francisco de Madrid senior in the mid-1600s, extending from the future Pacheco Land Grant to the southwestern boundary of the so-called Santa Fe League. Captain Roque Madrid eventually relocated to Santa Cruz de la Cañada, where he served as *Alcalde Mayor* (mayor and magistrate). He married Juana de Arvid López in 1707 and was widowed six years later. (*New Mexico Genealogist*, Vol. 28:1 p. 22) On February 26, 1715, at sixty-four years of age, Roque Madrid married Josefa Durán at Santa Cruz de la Cañada. (*Diligencia Matrimonial*: 1042)

Juan Lucero y Godoy (also spelled Godoi) had been a resident of Santa Fe for more than forty years prior to the Pueblo Revolt. He held the rank of Capitan during Governor Vargas's 1692 *entrada*, at which time the Governor and troops camped on a slope called Cuma opposite the former Lucero y Godoy ranch property. Captain Lucero y Godoy reported that the Indians had torn down his house and erected a small *torre* (watchtower) in its place. (SANM II, 85-87, Archive 423) According to Twitchell, Governor Vargas and his troops then crossed the river at Agua Fría, continuing along the right bank and passing the ruins of Lucero y Godoy's house, which was located further upriver. (Twitchell: 91) On April 7, 1695, Governor Vargas re-granted the lands possessed prior to the Pueblo Revolt to the same family. (Twitchell: 92, fn 205)



White's Map c. 1890. Fray Angélico Chávez Library, New Mexico History Museum.



Agua Fría as Setting for Momentous Events Submerged in the Historical Record

On June 22 of the present year, I, the Governor and Captain General, received word that the wagons the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Farfán was leading [from Mexico City] were coming to spend the night... Arriving at the abandoned hacienda belonging to Captain Roque Madrid, I found the Reverend Father and the families [and] welcomed them with the proper attention, esteem, and affection. After staying until six in the evening, it seemed to be time to bid them farewell. To leave the wagons of the men-at-arms safer, I ordered a squadron of fifteen to remain as reinforcement to [the] escort, [then] said goodbye to the Father. All [new arrivals] remained with the same pleasure with which I had received them. I promised to help them in whatever might be my responsibility... The more settlers who came, the safer they would be...

(Diego de Vargas, June 22, 1693, in John Kessell, *et al.*, trans., *Blood on the Boulders* I: 280-281)

Those 217 new arrivals from Mexico City added 61 families to the total of 500 that Vargas had urgently requested from the Viceroy of New Spain in order to successfully restore the Kingdom of New Mexico to the Spanish crown. Supplies along with morale had been depleted as their predicted three-month journey stretched out to nine. The reference to Roque Madrid's abandoned hacienda establishes the unspecified location of the Governor's spontaneous appearance as Agua Fría, then known as Pueblo Quemado. In the Governor's account, the sense of gratification and relief shared by the weary travelers and their distinguished visitor is shadowed by his acknowledgment of danger and vulnerability.

Why did the Governor decide to leave fifteen soldiers behind with the incoming settlers? And, once he and the returning troops were "within sight of the *milpas* [corn fields] of the Villa de Santa Fe," why did he decide that "it would be good to reconnoiter the road to Tesuque and [also] the Pueblo"? His terse report, co-signed by two officers and his Secretary of Government and War, makes explicit what his oration to the arriving settlers omitted by "...setting aside from them the fears I have as a result of the war having broken out and the apostate rebels persisting in it."

A number of historians refer to the conflict then brewing and spreading as the Second Pueblo Revolt. Governor Vargas would not succeed in quelling it until the final weeks of 1696. Through those first trying, turbulent years of insufficient sustenance and sporadic fighting, and probably long after, the Governor's afternoon welcome speech at Llano Quemado (the future Agua Fría) would have been revisited with nostalgia and retold with pride by *los españoles mexicanos*.

In April of 1695, Vargas would issue an edict establishing *La Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz del Rey Nuestro Señor don Carlos II de los Españoles Mexicanos* in order to make space at Santa Fe's *casas reales* to lodge yet another group of desperately needed settler recruits. Again on the 22nd of the month, the Governor journeyed from Santa Fe to conduct the formal ceremony of possession and administer the oath of fealty, no doubt equally momentous in the memories of his audience. —JBC

The Nieto Family in Galisteo, El Paso, and Agua Fría

During the late 1600s, the Nieto family was residing in Galisteo. Just prior to the Pueblo Revolt of August 1680, a group of settlers from the Santa Fe area found themselves in El Paso del Río del Norte (today's Juárez) on a trading venture. Among them was twenty-nine-year old Cristóbal Nieto. Meanwhile, back in Galisteo, his father, Alcalde (mayor and magistrate) José Nieto, was preparing his family to escape the nearby Tanos, who were taking part in the revolt.

Tragically, José, his wife Lucía, and Cristóbal's sisters María and Juana all died at the hands of Tanos from Galisteo Pueblo. During the confusion Cristóbal's wife, Petrona Pacheco Nieto, was taken captive along with their children. (Hackett & Shelby: 23-26) When more than 2,000 displaced settlers reached El Paso several weeks later with their military escort and associated Indian allies, Cristóbal Nieto would have received the dreaded confirmation that his wife and children had perished along with his parents and siblings. He remained in El Paso del Río del Norte until, passing muster there as a soldier of the Crown, he was sent to serve in Sonora. (Chávez: 81)

In 1692, Petrona Pacheco Nieto and the Nieto children were among the Hispanos rescued from their captors and escorted to El Paso del Río del Norte, in their case by Captain Roque Madrid. After a dozen years, Cristobal was reunited with his wife and their three children—Simón, María and Lucía—as well as with Sebastiana and Josefa, born in captivity. Cristóbal Nieto was still serving as a soldier when the family returned to Santa Fe in 1697. Petrona, the youngest of the Nieto children, does not show up in surviving documents until 1712. (Ebright: 47)

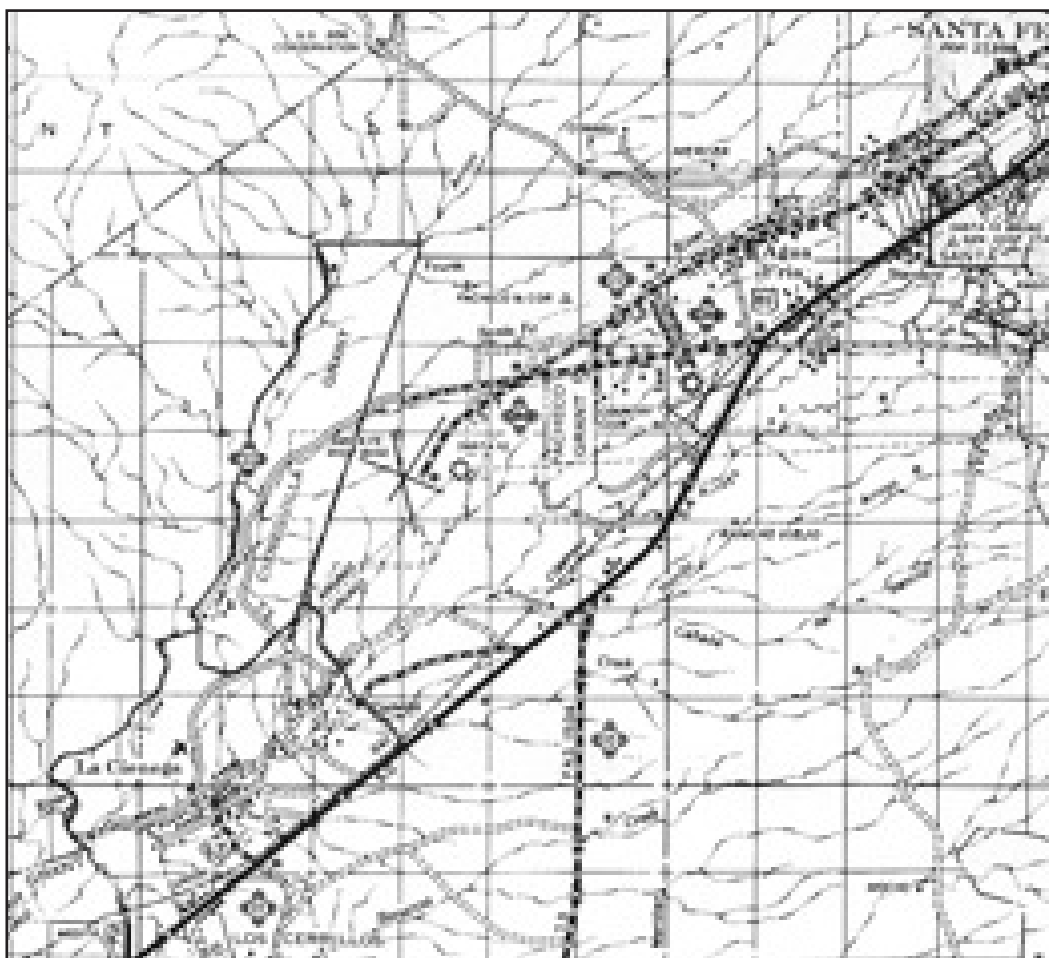
When the Spanish government made a long-promised distribution of livestock and supplies in May of 1697, the Nieto family received twenty-five sheep, three cows and a bull—plus wool, *mantas* (blankets) and corn kernels for planting. (Kessell: 1138-1140) That same year, Governor Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, successor to Vargas, granted Cristóbal a *merced* (farm plot) of fifteen acres, located in El Barrio de Analco one block west of the San Miguel Mission. In 1700, he requested that Governor Rodríguez Cubero revalidate his grant because the original title papers had been destroyed.

Cristóbal Nieto and his wife started a new life with the supplies distributed by Governor Vargas on behalf of the Viceroy in 1697. The farm plot they received had sufficient water but was not adequate to pasture livestock while also cultivating sufficient crops—much less allow for partitioning among the next generation. In 1707, Cristóbal's son Simón Nieto purchased land from José Manuel Gilthoméy along the southwest corridor of the Santa Fe River in Agua Fría, between the holdings of Salvador Archuleta and Capitan Luis Maese. He soon began planting corn and transferring livestock to that larger plot. (Spanish Archives of New Mexico I, Dec. 5, 1707 #639)

Oral accounts from villagers of Agua Fría describe this area as *Las Cieneguitas* (Little Marshes). It would have been possible to succeed with a ranching endeavor there, but it appears that Simón was more interested in buying and selling property. His wife Francisca Maese, daughter of Luis Maese and Josefa de Archuleta, also owned a large tract in Agua Fría. A soldier with the Santa Fe garrison as early as 1700, Simón was still soldiering in 1728, the year his wife died. According to a deed from the preceding year, 1727, Simón had sold off a tract bordering his land that had been purchased by his wife from her sister that same year, not long after the death of their father. (Chávez: 242-243)

Seven members of the Nieto family appeared in the Spanish Colonial census of 1750 as residents of the Santa Fe area: Francisco Nieto, Cristóbal's grandson; his mother, Lucía Nieto; his aunts Petrona Pacheco and María Nieto; and his three children. (Olmsted: 9) Petrona Pacheco Nieto, Francisco's grandmother, died that same year. According to Malcolm Ebright, by 1765 "Francisco Nieto was serving as a soldier at the Santa Fe Presidio and had partitioned land in Agua Fría that he had purchased from Andrés Montoya of Cieneguilla." This is the first documentation establishing a Nieto as holding property at a place called Rancho El Pino, specifically stated as "in the locality of Pueblo Quemado," (Ebright, p. 48-49), which was in fact its eastern boundary.

J.J. Bowden's map of Santa Fe County, which identifies Spanish and Mexican land grants, shows El Pino's location as just outside the southwestern boundary of the so-called Santa Fe League or Santa Fe town grant (see page 23). Today, El Pino would lie between Osage Avenue on El Camino Real and include much of Agua Fría Village extending southwest toward the Pacheco Grant. El Arroyo de San Antonio, which was converted into La Acequia de San Antonio, runs down the slope from Acequia Madre. For almost two centuries, it emptied into a *tanque* or *estanque* (holding pond) eventually used by ranchers to soak the muddy wheels of their *carretas*. It crossed El Camino Real, entered the land farmed by Sotero Romero during the early 1900s, then ran through a neighbor's property before flowing back into the Río Santa Fe. The last eighteenth-century reference to Rancho El Pino dates from 1788: Rita Padilla, daughter-in-law of Juan García de Noriega, who died owning an interest in "a Rancho of cultivable lands at the place of El Pino. Filed a partition suit in 1788." (Ebright, p. 49)



Santa Fe County
Map, 1951,
courtesy of
State Records
Center and
Archives.

Additional Agua Fría Area Land Grants

As early as the 1690s, Agua Fría area land grants were frequently redrawn as influential citizens succeeded in convincing Governor Vargas and his successors to confer larger tracts. One such grant, located on the northwest side of the Río Santa Fe in an area referred to as Pueblo Quemado, was made to Juan Lucero de Godoy when he was Alcalde Mayor of Santa Fe. Other grantees including Tomás Tapia, Pedro Tafoya, Gregorio Garduño, Pedro Gallegos, and Domingo Valdez received smaller tracts in the Agua Fría Village area, where their descendants would continue to farm and ranch for eight or nine generations.

In early 1756, two years after Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle arrived as Governor of New Mexico, Bernardo Miera y Pacheco relocated from El Paso del Río del Norte to Santa Fe with his family on his own volition. On December 19 of that year, the Viceroy ordered all six governors of the northern region to produce maps of their respective provinces. (Kessell 1979: Appendix) Wasting no time in searching for the right individual to assist him, someone independent of the friars, Governor del Valle conducted a mapping expedition in June 1757. In Bernardo Miera y Pacheco—engineer, soldier, rancher, merchant, and artist with cartographical experience and leadership qualities—Governor Marín del Valle realized he had found the right man. (Kessell 1979: 508-509) From June to December 1757, the Governor and the mapmaker surveyed the territory. The 1758 map of the Kingdom of New Mexico was completed by April. Having waited to resume farming and ranching until he completed his task for the Governor, Miera y Pacheco purchased “wheat-growing land” in Pueblo Quemado, three miles southwest of the Santa Fe plaza. His neighbor to the southeast was Felipe Tafoya, who had purchased his land the year before. (Kessell: 2003: 42)

Attacks on Quemado by Comanches, Yutas, Apaches, and Navajos were relatively frequent due to its exposed location on the edge of Santa Fe. The scant documentation includes mention of a small boy killed near Santa Fe in 1775, and the death of nine men and a boy in a Comanche attack on La Cieneguilla and La Ciénega, within five miles of Quemado, on June 20, 1776. (Torrez: 6)

Also in 1776, Franciscan friar and Inspector General Anastasio Domínguez conducted a census of Agua Fría part of his very thorough tour of inspection. Referring to Agua Fría Village as Quemado, he documented it as having a population of 257 people made up of 29 families. (Adams & Chavez: 42) A portion of the northeastern side with the ruins of a burned pueblo was also known as Rancho El Pino. The U.S. Census of 1880 again listed the place name as Pueblo Quemado. Local villagers continued to refer to it as “Las Cieneguitas del Pueblo Quemado.”



Iglesia de San Isidro c. 1905. Fray Angélico Library Photo Archives, Negative # 015173, New Mexico History Museum.

For almost two centuries, church-goers from Agua Fría Village had to make the 3½-mile trek to the Parroquia de San Francisco de Asís east of the Santa Fe plaza to hear Mass. Eventually, the community decided to petition for permission to build a local church where they could more accessibly baptize, confirm, marry and attend requiem Masses for their departed loved ones. In 1835, with requisite approval from the Archbishop in Durango, the villagers began to building church of their own, appropriately named for San Isidro, patron saint of farmers.

Agua Fría Water Rights and Land Claims

For various reasons, many of the early land grantees left Agua Fría between the late 1700s and the arrival of the United States Army in 1846. From the time of the first U.S. surveys until the Court of Private Land Claims convened in 1891, land and water speculators endeavored to take property and water rights away from their legitimate owners.

In 1854, U.S. Surveyor General William Pelham conducted surveys of private and Pueblo land grants made during the Spanish era. Over 200 grants were surveyed, comprising some 36,000,000 acres. In the Agua Fría area, many of the grants had been sold to individuals and extended families after having been partitioned into narrow strips fronting the Santa Fe River for a mile or more. Like the generations of grantees who preceded them, the families who farmed this land owned water rights passed down from the first *parciantes* (water rights users) and were obligated to supply soldiers as required throughout the Territorial and into the Statehood periods.

When the Santa Fe Water Company was established in 1881, a Stone Dam was built to divert and store water from the Santa Fe River. Several years later, owners and shareholders made a bold move to stop the flow of water from the upper watershed into the acequias. In 1895, Agua Fría *parciantes* declared their priority rights to the water, along with other users upstream. Their declaration to the Territorial Legislature was signed by *mayordomos* (acequia overseers) Albino Ortega and Sipriano Chávez, along with 568 citizens of Agua Fría Village. (21st Territorial Legislative Assembly, 1895)

The following year, an additional 69 families, descendants of the original settlers, sent a petition to Governor William Thornton explaining that “Many of our families and our animals are suffering greatly because the Santa Fe Water Company is diverting river water which we have had an irrevocable privilege [right] to use since our ancestors’ time.” Among the most numerous surnames on the petition were Montoya, López, Baca, Romero, Ribera, Tapia, Gallegos, Gonzales, Rael, Herrera, Jirón, Carrillo, Maese, Sandoval, Ortiz, Chávez, Luján, Roybal and Sena. Less numerous were Bustamante, Alarid, Coriz, Dimas, Martínez, Gómez, Urioste, Vigil, Tafoya, García, Borrego, Trujillo, Pacheco, Saíz, Gurulé, Nieto, Abeita, Varela, Mora, De La Peña, Padilla, Velarde, Hernández, Lucero, Rodríguez, Crespín and Lovato.

Agua Fría Village lost several large tracts of land and associated water rights during the late 1800s. Some speculators and lawyers created false land grant testimonies, making claims to lands that had been in the hands of particular settler families for centuries, while the Court of Private Land Claims declined to patent legitimate grants. Many owners of large tracts in Agua Fría filed in district court to protect their holdings. An 1890s example from the Agua Fría area involved a false claim that was brought before the court. One Juan Nieto, claiming to be a direct descendant of Cristóbal Nieto, filed a claim for confirmation of the Merced de Cristóbal Nieto grant—actually land that had belonged to Cristobal’s grandson, Francisco Nieto, during the 1700s.

Referred to as Rancho El Pino by those who lived nearby, the property was much smaller than the 1200 acres that Juan Nieto and his attorney claimed in their petition. Many landowners lived within the boundaries that were being claimed, which in fact included most of Agua Fría Village. Protesting, they came forward with their titles, but prosecuting attorney James Purdy muddled the process with legal maneuvers and the case never came before the court, being rejected without a trial on June 11, 1898. (Ebright pp 48-50) During its fifteen-year existence—1891 to 1904—the Court of Private Land Claims approved less than 2,000,000 acres out of a total 33,000,000 acres of claims made by both Pueblo Indian groups and Spanish/Mexican grantees. That period witnessed what was likely the largest land grab in U.S. history.



Santa Fe Hydrographic Map #23 from 1977, courtesy of State Engineer's Office, Santa Fe.



Agua Fría looking northeast by Jese Nussbaum, 1912; Fray Angélico Chávez Library, New Mexico History Museum, negative #11049.

Upper Agua Fría in the 20th Century

On the Official 1896 Topographical Map of Santa Fe County, five years after the Court of Private Land Claims began its adjudications, Rancho El Pino no longer appeared. The 1919 Hydrographic Map of Santa Fe shows Acequia de Los Pinos (aka Acequia Madre), El Ojito, San Antonio and Las Joyas. By 1938, the Santa Fe County map shows a number of small houses along El Camino Real—(aka Agua Fría Road) in the area where Rancho El Pino was located.

Nieto descendants and extended family still live in the Agua Fría area and nearby Santa Fe. This history demonstrates that Agua Fría Village was contiguous from its southwest boundary to the edge of the so-called Santa Fe League (near today's Frenchy's Field). Oral accounts mention goatherds in the area and villagers buying or bartering for *requezón* (cottage cheese made from goats' milk). Keres-speaking Puebloans camped across the river and traded with Agua Fría villagers. Rancho El Pino gradually split into small family plots that were sold to new generations of families who resided in the area. Elders recall *corridas de gallo* (rooster-pulling competitions on horseback) into the 1960s.

Born in 1866, Upper Agua Fría farmer and rancher Sotero Romero wed María Antonia Gallegos on January 7, 1895. Relatively early in their marriage, they both inherited adjacent land in the area, as reflected in the 1870 census. A long strip extending from today's Arroyo de Los Chamisos to the Santa Fe River was a remnant of Rancho El Pino in the area called Las Cieneguitas. Lacking money to build a home on their land, they left the area to seek work. Finding employment with the railroad near Watrous, New Mexico, Sotero deposited his surplus earnings in a *petaca* (chest) that was reportedly the couple's only piece of furniture. As soon as they could save \$500, their plan was to return to Agua Fría and build a house on the land they had inherited.

In 1901, they were camped along La Junta de los Tres Ríos in Watrous with their son Alejandrino and their three-month-old daughter Sarita. One evening when they were all sound asleep in the tent, Sarita began to cry for a feeding. They awoke in a downpour to discover that a flood was about to wash away the tent and all their belongings. The family escaped the floodwaters but lost everything they owned, including the chest with their savings.

Returning to Agua Fría to ponder their future while lodging with relatives, they eventually decided to work the beet fields of the San Luis Valley in summer and seek employment in Denver during the winter months. It took them two more years to save enough money to build a house on the southwest side of El Camino Real, some 150 feet “*arriba de la lomita*” (up the little hill). In 1906, their youngest daughter, Francisquita, was born there.

Four acequias ran through the Romero-Gonzales land, bounded on the southwest by the Arroyo de los Chamisos and on the northeast by the Río Santa Fe. To the southwest of El Camino Real was the Acequia de los Pinos (Acequia Madre), which still runs periodically today. In the lower area, north of the Camino Real and adjacent to the Río Santa Fe, was the Acequia de Los Ojitos. Fed by an abundant cold-water spring, it ran through the lower part of today’s Ecoversity property, from the Río Santa Fe to Siler Road, as seen on the 1919 Hydrographic Map of Santa Fe and parts of the County. The San Antonio acequia ran from the gate of the Acequia Madre, on Santa Fe Indian School land, through the area now known as Casa Alegre and down to the holding pond (*tanque*) along El Camino Real, flowing through Sotero Romero’s lower property.

Sotero Romero and his wife, María Antonia (Tonita) Gonzales de Romero, irrigated from acequias that passed through their 120-acre strip of land, cultivating wheat, corn, beans, squash and chili on the upper portion and pasturing goats on the lower part near five additional acres planted in alfalfa and corn. Their second son, Antonio, listed as a one-year-old by the census-taker in 1900, died that same year. In 1906, Alejandrino was ten years old, daughters Sarita was five, and Francisquita just three months old.

The Santa Fe County map of 1924 identifies both strips of Sotero Romero’s land. Part of the lower strip, running from El Camino Real down to the river, was purchased by the Carrillo family in the late 1920s. In 1922, Sotero lost the upper portion, on the other side of El Camino Real, through a misunderstanding on a handshake with Bonifacio Montoya. At some unknown point, Sotero Romero also donated land for a small schoolhouse. María Antonia Romero died in 1933 at age 58, her husband Sotero the following year at age 68.

Daughter Sarita Romero married José Abelino Ribera in 1922, a schoolmate and friend of her brother Alejandrino. The couple built their house in 1923, from adobe bricks made on the site, which was across the Santa Fe River on the west side of Calle Nopal leading to Alameda Street. They raised pigs, sold the meat to local markets, farmed the lower portion of their land, which was fed by an *ojito frío* (small cold water spring) near the river, and also made adobe bricks for sale. Nine of their offspring survived to adulthood. The house, which still stands, was occupied until 2014 by children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of Sarita and José.

Tomás Máez and Maez Road

Tomás Máez, his wife Libradita Brito, and their family moved from La Cañada de los Alamos to Galisteo in 1918. By 1920, he was working for the railroad in Lamy, where the family resided in the old schoolhouse. In 1939 or 1940, they moved to Agua Fría with their eleven children, possibly inheriting a strip of land along now what is now known as Maez Road. Daughter Eloisa married Abrán Valencia in 1943, before he went off to serve in World War II.

In 1947, Tomás Máez and son-in law Abrán built an adobe store with home attached on what is now the corner of Maez Road and Rosina Street. There, on the easternmost edge of Agua Fría Village, they sold local cheese and other groceries. By the 1950s, several houses lined the east side of Maez Road, all of them belonging to the offspring Tomás and Libradita, according to granddaughter Lena Máez Valencia. (Hydrographic Map on page 32 shows the houses.)

Lena Valencia recalled that her father and grandfather referred to the land on the lower side of Maez Road (which would become Ecovercity) as *la otra banda*. She remembers her father buying goat cheese from the family who lived on “the other side” and grazed a herd of goats from the 1950s into the 1980s.

As recently as the 1990s, individual landowners still managed to maintain their rural way of life along the Agua Fría/Camino Real corridor. The Barela, Jirón, Sandoval, Brito, Maes, Valencia, Romero, Sánchez, Montoya, Gallegos, Gonzales, Carrillo, Rivera, Ortiz and Rael families continued to live, ranch and farm on portions of eastern Agua Fría Village land—growing alfalfa, oats, wheat, corn and other vegetable crops while grazing goats, horses, mules, and burros like families in other sections of the Village. Through most of these years, the Los Pinos (Acequia Madre), El Ojito and San Antonio acequias ran reliably through the entire area.

The Short Life of Ecovercity and the Ongoing Threat of Urban Sprawl

In 1999, Frances “Fitz” Harwood had a vision to develop an educational institution dedicated to teaching sustainable agriculture on the Agua Fría land that had belonged Sotero Romero and later to the Carrillo family. She honored the Romero family when she purchased thirteen acres of the lower portion adjacent to the “Alamo” and “Camino Mío” neighborhoods, founded Ecovercity, and created the Prajna Foundation to provide future funding. Many residents of Agua Fría and Santa Fe shared Harwood’s vision for a sustainable future.

Ecovercity opened in 2001 as an instructional showcase for sustainable agricultural practices. Respecting the land while honoring the area’s cultural traditions, it featured experts in the fields of permaculture, wind and solar energy, mini-greenhouse construction, and other state-of-the-art technologies. Students benefited from hands-on instruction.

Unfortunately, after Harwood succumbed to cancer in 2003, the elements of her vision slowly diminished and Ecovercity began to lose enrollment. By 2008, it had been reduced to a website offering information on ecological practices, and by 2010, Ecovercity and the Prajna Foundation were involved in a legal challenge brought by former employees and students, who alleged fraud

regarding how the Frances Harwood Trust was acquired and mismanagement by the successor trustees. A petition seeking an indictment went before the 1st Judicial District Court, where it was rejected. The case was subsequently heard by the U.S. District Court of Appeals, where the petition was validated and, finally, before the New Mexico Supreme Court, where it was rejected, as reported in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* (March 31, 2008, Feb. 25, 2010, Aug. 15, 2013).

Without Early Neighborhood Notification (obligatory notices posted by City of Santa Fe), review before the Planning Commission, or approval by the Santa Fe City Council, Ecoversity land was rezoned from Rural R-1 (low density) to C-2 PUD R-21 (high density) and became part of the City of Santa Fe. The land surrounding it remains R-1 Rural Mountain (one dwelling unit per acre), as is most of the area along El Camino Real near the river to the west.

High-density development in Agua Fría got off to a slow start in the early 1950s with a low-density development called “Casa Alegre,” built by Allen Stamm in the upper portion. Cielo Vista” in the 1990s followed “Pueblo Alegre” in the 1980s. “La Cieneguita del Camino Real,” a subdivision of affordable housing, was constructed by the Housing Trust in 1998. Built in 2002, the Ferguson Street neighborhood called “Aspen Creek,” is the most recent development initiative.

In 2013 through its Extraterritorial Zoning Commission, the City of Santa Fe completed Phase II of its annexation from Santa Fe County of properties abutting the Santa Fe River. Phase I had already annexed the south side of El Camino Real, running from Osage Avenue to Siler Road. Although the leadership of the Agua Fría Village Association fought against both phases of annexation by applying for Historic Community status, the easternmost portion of the Village was annexed with little community awareness or involvement.

On November 23, 2014, the City of Santa Fe posted an Early Neighborhood Notice informing neighbors within 300 feet from the edge of the Ecoversity property of a meeting with developers Blue Buffalo/Tierra Concepts. The meeting was organized to inform residents of a proposed General Plan Amendment with zoning change to allow greater density. Most residents of the affected neighborhood remained unaware of this meeting, with only a few attending and commenting.

Two months later, on February 19, 2015, when the plan went before the Planning Commission, neighbors came out in force against the plan and rezoning. By a vote of 4-2, the Commission recommended to the Santa Fe City Council that the rezoning and plan amendment be denied because a majority of the commissioners perceived the project as being out of character for that part of the Santa Fe River Corridor, given its location in the historic Agua Fría Village area along El Camino Real. They maintained that the criteria set forth in 14-3.2(E) for all General Plan amendments had not been met, and that the proposal seemed to benefit a few landowners at the expense of many surrounding ones. They also noted that the location was inappropriate in terms of its context and density, and therefore inconsistent with the Santa Fe General Plan, as also stated in the report by the Long-Range Planning staff. Results of a door-to-door-petition of corridor residents from the affected area indicated that a clear majority wished to avoid urban sprawl. At a Santa Fe City Council meeting on July 5, 2015, after area residents, Historical Association representatives, and numerous neighborhood associations testified against it, the Councilors and the Mayor voted it down, 7-0.

Prospects for the Future

In May 2015, Santa Fe Mayor Javier Gonzales interviewed Robert Redford at the Lensic Theater. During their well-attended conversation, the actor and producer reflected on growing up in a working-class area of Los Angeles and how high-density development had ruined neighborhood living. He also spoke about the dubious future of communities that fail to plan wisely in this time of climate change.

Insufficient water supply has become a serious issue over the past two decades. Drought conditions prevalent throughout the West and Southwest give notice that the City and County of Santa Fe need to protect agricultural lands and increase support for local farming and ranching. The irreplaceable Agua Fría/Camino Real corridor should not be sacrificed in order to solve the urban problems of a severely underfunded city without a viable long-range strategic plan for growth. Encouragingly, the Santa Fe Long Range Planning Division has, with citizen input, recently completed a Master Plan and Overlay. Public discussion and final approval are pending.

Agritourism is a concept that combines sustainable agriculture with tourist access. Tourists are encouraged to visit working farms that produce fruit, vegetables, eggs, beef and pork; ranches that produce tack for horses, mules, and donkeys (while also offering horseback and wagon rides); dairies that produce milk, cream, yogurt, and cheese; and wineries with their particular attractions. While observing or participating in everyday activities that are presumably novel to them, tourists are likely to shop in local country stores, dine in local restaurants, and enjoy local lodging. The Sotero Romero/ Ecovercity land—thirteen acres along El Camino Real National Historic Trail—is ideally suited for this type of tourism because it has the necessary space as well as the continuity of history that can carry it into the future as a leading example of sustainability, green economy, and cultural integrity.



In 1941, Agustín Torrez was the last Agua Fría resident to make daily wagon trips to Santa Fe. World War II gas-rationing rekindled demand for his services.
Photo courtesy of Archie Perea via photo-historian William Mee.

Whether or not such historically compatible uses flourish in the future, it seems pertinent to note in closing that arriving and departing twenty-first century visitors to Santa Fe can still travel a direct route from airport to downtown via the Agua Fría/Camino Real corridor, *along a thoroughfare that has witnessed four centuries of arrivals and departures.* That unique juxtaposition of venerability and modernity is an aspect of New Mexico's uniqueness worth fighting to preserve through responsible, creative, sustainable stewardship.



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Double Rescue in the Aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt

Translated by Damain Bacich, Ph.D. and Juan Sempere Martínez, Ph.D., San Jose, California

Translators' Prologue

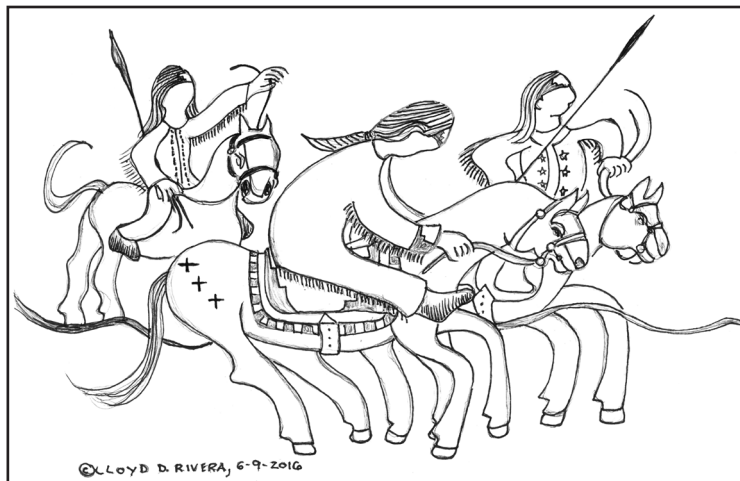
On August 21, 1680, the eleventh day of the Pueblo Revolt, Governor Antonio de Otermín managed to escape the weeklong siege of Santa Fe along with his troops and followers. Marching out from the Palace of the Governors and adjacent casas reales, they headed south. Rather than follow El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, they sought less-traveled parallel routes in the interest of safety. In their desperate flight, government officials and soldiers, settlers, servants, missionary friars, and Indian allies passed through a number of villages and haciendas strewn with the bodies of settlers and missionaries killed in the uprising.

After five days of hard travel, the exhausted group arrived at Isleta Pueblo (see map on page 42) on August 26 to find it almost deserted. Hoping to overtake Lieutenant Governor Alonso García, who instead of waiting had fled south with local survivors, Governor Otermín resolved to press on with his entourage, but soon decided to send forth an advance party charged with arresting the Lieutenant Governor on grounds of desertion.

An advance party found García and his refugees at the Paraje de Fray Cristóbal, one of many permanent campsites along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. The refugee groups from Río Arriba and those from Río Abajo converged there on September 13, five weeks after the uprising began. United at last, the survivors were helpless due to lack of provisions, prompting Governor Otermín to convene his advisors in order to plan the next steps.

Because Fray Cristobal was perceived to be unsafe, it was decided that the group of over two thousand people should move to a more southern location. At the same time, Governor Otermín was organizing a detachment to locate Friar Francisco de Ayeta, leader of the Franciscans in the Province of New Mexico, who was reportedly bringing supplies from El Paso del Río del Norte to succor the desperate refugees. In the midst of preparations,

Otermín received a letter from Fray Francisco. Dispatched via courier a week earlier, it expressed the urgent need for a conference with the Governor, who at that point decided to join the troops he was about to deploy in search of the Franciscan, leaving the refugees under García's supervision.



La Salineta, September 18, 1680: Rescue of Fray Francisco Ayeta and the Stranded Supply Wagons

In the place called La Salineta del Paso del Río del Norte, four leagues from Misión Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Río del Norte, on the eighteenth day of the month of September, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín—Governor and Captain General of the provinces of New Mexico by the will of His Majesty—reported that he had traveled about sixty leagues from the campground called Fray Cristóbal to the said Salineta. He came in search of the Very Reverend and Friar Francisco de Ayeta, father of this Holy Custody, Inspector General and Procurator General of His Majesty's Royal Alms Fund.

It was to be hoped that, with his merciful zeal, His Majesty would grant provisions of meat and corn to more than two thousand five hundred persons who, torn asunder by the general uprising of the Christian Indian populations of said Kingdom, had marched out, shielded by His Lordship the Governor, traveling on foot, suffering from hunger and fatigue and many other deprivations, in order that [the Authorities] might come to their aid and grant them some relief from their great necessity.

Having communicated all of this to the said reverend father Commissary and Inspector, requesting his aid, the extreme need prompted said Governor and Captain General to speed toward said aid without attending to the manifest risk to himself. Leaving field commanders Francisco Gómez Robledo and Alonso García in his place, he marched with twelve men over many leagues completely infested by the voracious infidel enemies of the Apache nation, until he arrived at the new missions of El Río del Paso del Norte, in search of the very reverend Father Commissary.

Said Governor and Captain General discovered that El Río del Paso del Norte had risen due to many blizzards and rainstorms, overflowing its banks and spilling onto farmlands, roads and depressions. While they attempted to discover whether it was possible to overcome the great difficulty of not being able to move said wagons through so much mire, the mounts of said Governor and the soldiers riding behind him were themselves knee-deep in mud, even along the roadways.

Upon arriving at La Salineta today at about two in the afternoon, we came upon said Reverend Father Commissary, who in order to transport the required aid, had decided to cross the Río del Norte himself with the lead supply wagon. Hitched to four teams of mules, said wagon, cast into the current, had sunk, with more than half a rod of water rushing in through its mouth, putting the very person of said Reverend Father Commissary in manifest danger.

Seeing said wagon isolated and immobilized in the middle of the river, which had risen to cover its wheels, several persons [Indian allies] rushed to his aid. As they were pulling him out, many of the items in said wagon were lost and damaged. His Paternity, emerging from danger to encounter said Governor and the other persons present—those that were marching in the train of His Lordship as well as those traveling in said wagons—urged all the wagons to cross without dwelling on the losses, so determined was he to serve His Majesty and ensure the welfare of His vassals, who had been robbed and were in such dire need of supplies.

Although His Reverend Paternity greatly urged that said aid be delivered, this turned out to be impossible due to the swollen river as well as the mired fields and roadways. His Lordship and the Very Reverend Father agreed to dispatch a number of pack mules and any other mounts capable of getting through. Horses belonging to the escort troops and to other individuals [Indian allies] were made ready without delay, loaded with corn, hardtack, flour, chocolate and sugar.

Said aid was sent to Lieutenants General Francisco Gómez and Alonso García so that they could distribute it among said multitude. Everything else from the said twenty-four wagons was stored in reserve so that, having reached their destination, those who transported the supplies would return together with all other persons capable of doing so, in order to retrieve additional supplies for their sustenance and other immediate needs.

The very reverend Father Commissary begged said Governor to personally cross to the far side of El Río del Paso del Norte and, with the most experienced persons, see and register everything contained in said wagons. His Lordship decided to go across with only eight soldiers, so as to return as speedily as possible to the place where his troops, who were in such need, were encamped. His Lordship was thereby made to comprehend the quantity of provisions and other necessities packed in the twenty-four wagons on the far side of the river, as well in as the twenty-three plus one on the near side.

Thus he saw with his own eyes the quantity of grain that today can be found in the storehouses of the convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in El Paso del Río del Norte, along with other items required for the sustenance and aid of as many people as are coming in the company of said Governor. Still, it should be ascertained whether the quantity will be sufficient. The necessary care must taken in other locations, along with exercising the speed that the situation demands, in order that said large group [of refugees] suffer no shortage. Such charity must operate in every circumstance with the zeal of persons devoted to the service of the Two Majesties [God and King].

Having seen the storehouses, the Governor intends return again to said convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in El Paso, so that said storehouses might once more be viewed and tallied so what is most fitting might be done [procured] in terms of grains as well as steers and rams.

In consideration of which, and in order for it to be added to the record, His Lordship has ordered this declaration to be placed in the proceedings, signing it along with the Reverend Father Commissary Inspector General Friar Francisco de Ayeta, before me, the present Secretary of Governance and War.

A highly stylized, cursive handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to Don Antonio de Otermín. The signature is written in a fluid, somewhat illegible script with many loops and flourishes.

Don Antonio de Otermín

A handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to Friar Francisco de Ayeta. The signature is cursive and somewhat stylized, with a prominent initial 'F' and a long, sweeping tail.

Friar Francisco de Ayeta

Francisco Xavier
Secretary of Governance and War

Translators' Epilogue

On the brink of starvation and suffering from exposure to the elements, the besieged settlers found themselves unexpectedly rescued from almost certain extinction thanks to the double rescue on El Rio Grande del Paso del Norte. Many would have given thanks for divine intervention, not least among them Friar Francisco Ayeta himself.

With the provisions provided by the Franciscans offering a measure of relief, Otermín and his advisers took stock of their situation and made plans for further action. It was decided that the colonists should be moved to a safer place near the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, on the far side of the river at today's Ciudad Juarez. Otermín then organized a general muster and council in order to review the number of settlers able to bear arms, the number of surviving family members, and the property they had been able to carry with them. The council also decided that a re-conquest of the Province was necessary but not feasible without further supplies and the establishment of a military garrison in the vicinity of Mission Guadalupe.

In the fall of 1681, after a year at Guadalupe del Paso, Otermín was finally able to mount a return expedition to take back the territories lost in the uprising, but the attempt was unsuccessful. The unprecedented Pueblo alliance had achieved its goal, effectively expelling the Spanish from the provinces of New Mexico. Additional attempts notwithstanding, it would not be until late 1693 that incoming Governor Diego de Vargas would reestablish a permanent Spanish presence in New Mexico. A fragmented state of war persisted until late 1696. Relieved of his command, Otermín returned to Mexico City where he spent the remainder of his days, his legacy marred by the bitter loss of an entire province and only partially offset by having conducted hundreds of refugees to safety.

The translated document is part of a collection known as *Autos Tocantes al alsamiento de/ los yndios de la provincia de la/ Nueva Mexico* (Dossier of Documents Related to the Uprising of the Indians of the Province of New Mexico). Otermín ordered

compilation of this documentation recounting the uprising and his response to it. The originals are conserved in the *Archivo General de la Nación* (National Archive) in Mexico City. Eight decades have passed since these documents, so fundamental to the history of New Mexico, have been rendered into English. Our yet-to-be-published translation of the entire dossier, from which the Salineta segment is drawn, has been made with twenty-first century readers in mind.

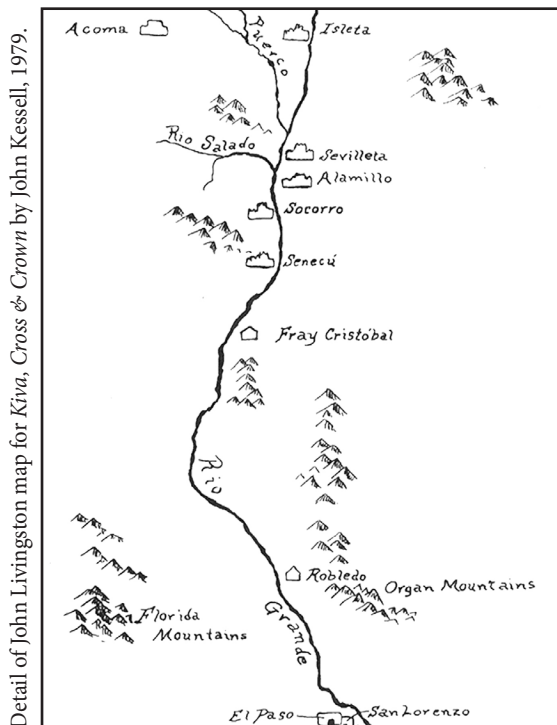
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“Like Living a Dream.” Terrence (Terry) Heslin of the Bureau of Land Management

What is your current position?

In July 2015, I transferred from the Bureau of Land Management State Office in Boise, Idaho to the Santa Fe office. My position in New Mexico is State Lead for Recreation, Travel Management, Visual Resources and National Scenic and Historic Trails. Under the last item, I am Co-administrator for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail. Aaron Mahr is my colleague and counterpart as Co-administrator for the National Park Service.

How did you launch your career?

My federal career began in my birthplace and hometown of Silver City, New Mexico where, at age 18, I managed to land a job as a rookie firefighter on the Gila National Forest Silver City Hotshot fire crew—shoveling dirt onto smoking stumps, as we used to say. Hired at the bottom of the federal pay scale, I spent three seasons traveling all over the nation, wherever elite firefighting crews were in demand.

I continued to work seasonally for the Forest Service—doing timber surveys in northern Idaho, supervising fire engine crews in Arizona’s Coconino National Forest and later in Southern California at Los Padres and San Bernardino National Forests. While at Los Padres, I jumped at the opportunity to become an Off-Highway Vehicle Ranger. My superiors, knowing that I enjoyed mountain bicycling and street motorcycling, figured those skills might transfer to riding off-highway motorcycles. Prior to that time, I had wanted to become a smoke jumper, but being a Ranger also satisfied my youthful aspirations to perform semi-perilous duties and get paid for doing it.

When did your employment become full-time?

The Ranger job led to my first full-time federal position with the Mendocino National Forest in Northern California. After four years there, I was recruited by Arizona State Parks where I worked for the next ten years in variety of positions including Senior Planner. During that period, I built relationships with many partner organizations, among them the Bureau of Land Management.

When I had the opportunity to compete for a Travel Management position, I landed a job with the BLM State Office in Boise—my most recent (fifteen-year) assignment prior to coming home to New Mexico. After a couple of years, the Cultural Resource Lead transferred to another state and I was asked to take on National Scenic and Historic Trail duties. Idaho’s Historic are Lewis and Clark, Nez Perce, Oregon, and California plus a small portion of the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail. Because the NPS Intermountain Historic Trails office in Santa Fe also administers the Oregon and California Trails, I had the pleasure of working with Aaron Mahr and his excellent staff for several years prior to returning to New Mexico.



As a colleague once observed, "New Mexicans are like salmon, always trying to get back to where they were born." I still have family in Silver City—"Gateway to the Gila Wilderness" and home to some of the most beautiful country on earth—as well as in Santa Fe. My wife Phyllis has New Mexico roots that go to back to time immemorial. We were a long-distance couple for several years, but once my son left for college, I was in a position to make a career change that brought us back home. I've lived and worked in some stupendous places, but none that rival New Mexico's natural, cultural, and historical resources, so I'm extremely grateful to be working in my home state at this point in my career. It's like living a dream.

How many National Trails does the BLM manage, administer, or co-administer?

In addition to managing thirteen National Historic Trails (5078 miles) and five National Scenic Trails (683 miles), BLM administers Alaska's Iditarod Trail and co-administers El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and the Old Spanish Trail with the National Park Service.

Does El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro stand out in any way—and if so, how?

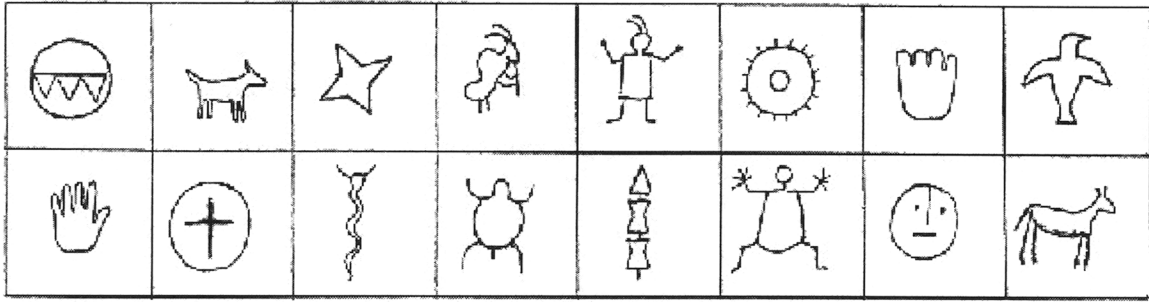
Absolutely! In my view, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro is the premier National Historic Trail in the BLM portfolio for several reasons. First, it is international; about 75% is in Mexico. Second, it was in use for nearly three centuries. Native peoples created many segments in pre-colonial times, and since the sixteenth century the Trail has successively been under the flags of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. Third, like the Silk Road, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro profoundly changed the land and cultures it traversed, bringing into being the society that is modern-day New Mexico. So the legacy of El Camino Real is critically important to understanding the story of New Mexico and its people.

What are your goals for the partnership with the National Trails Intermountain Region and CARTA?

In 2012 the BLM finalized our policy handbook for management of National Scenic and Historic Trails. In a nutshell, our mission is to formally protect associated values and objects through the establishment of "Management Corridors" along those areas where the Trail is on public lands overseen by the BLM. This is an extensive effort that will require amendments to the National Environmental Protection Agency plan. Naturally, this is an area where CARTA, BLM and NPS share mutual goals.

Shorter-term goals include enhancing outreach to communities along the trail by adding interpretative sites and retracement trails. The latter include portions along La Jornada del Muerto as well as future developments like the Buckman Road/Diablo Canyon retracement in partnership with Santa Fe County, the National Forest Service, and NPS. I am enthusiastically in favor of anything that will appeal to young people, enhancing public appreciation of the Trail and contributing to a positive sense of place for New Mexico and New Mexicans now and in the future.

BOOK REVIEWS



Reviewed by Dolores Valdez de Pong, M.A., Santa Fe

Discovering Mesa Prieta: The Petroglyphs of Northern New Mexico and the People Who Made Them
A Bilingual Teachers Curriculum for 4th-7th Grades
Prepared by the Mesa Prieta Petroglyph Project, Velarde, New Mexico

This comprehensive, attractively formatted curriculum has been developed by a team of committed individuals dedicated to promoting appreciation of Mesa Prieta/Tsikw'aye—a petroglyph-rich landform north of Oheh' Owingeh along the western shore of the Rio Grande, now part of the Archaeological Conservancy as the Wells Petroglyph Preserve.* The Introduction for Educators states that the curriculum “contains detailed information and activities about the petroglyphs and the early people who lived north and west of Española.”

Nineteen units address a range of subject areas in a cross-curricular manner. In addition to geological history and archaeology, they include science, math, astronomy, social studies, Native American topics, language arts and creative arts. Units 18 and 19 focus on careers in archaeology and related fields.

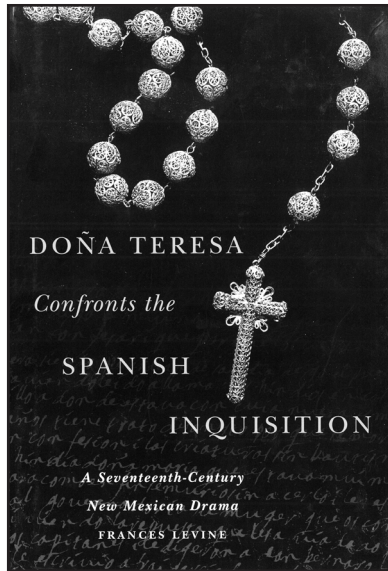
Teacher Resource Sheets offer key information for how the various units can be presented. Vocabulary Lists and master copies of Student Activity Worksheets are provided in both Spanish and English, as are Assessments for individual units. New Mexico State Standards and Benchmarks for 4th grade are included for easy reference, along with a 7-page Glossary of pertinent vocabulary and an 8-page Bibliography.

Suggestions for relevant field trips, including the Wells Petroglyph Preserve, are another valuable addition. To complement the curriculum as used in the classroom, two circulating “resource trunks” are available for checkout from the Mesa Prieta Petroglyph Project office in Velarde, one featuring Ancestral Pueblo content, the other Hispano content.

Discovering Mesa Prieta, which can be downloaded from mesaprietapetroglyphs.org or purchased spiral-bound for \$35, was reportedly used in seventeen schools during the past academic year. All those who contributed to the creation of this valuable curriculum—lead writers Judith Chadwick and Esther Gutierrez, lead illustrator Katherine Wells, and editor Janet MacKenzie—can take great satisfaction in knowing that their exemplary effort is appreciated by an expanding number of educators and administrators as well as students and their family members.

* See “Treasure-Trove of Petroglyphs at the Terminus of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro” by Mesa Prieta Petroglyph Project founder Katherine Wells in *Chronicles* 12:1, 31-37, spring/summer 2016.





Doña Teresa Confronts the Spanish Inquisition: A Seventeenth-Century New Mexican Drama by Frances Levine. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. Hardcover, 277 pages with appendices, bibliography, illustrations and index.

★ ★ ★

No Mere Shadows: Faces of Widowhood in Early Colonial Mexico by Shirley Cushing Flint. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. Hardcover, 184 pages with glossary, bibliography, illustrations and index.

Until the mid-twentieth century, the lives of women in the Spanish-speaking world remained opaque to lovers of history and students of cultures. True to their Mediterranean origins, Spanish-speaking females were judged to occupy two poles of possibility: self-sacrificing mothers, wives and daughters, or instruments of dishonor requiring unceasing surveillance. In either case, they were subordinates with limited personal agency.

Queen Isabel of Castile, La Católica, was the exception that proved the rule. Fully the equal, when not the superior, of her husband King Ferdinand of Aragon, she was nevertheless powerless to protect her daughters from being “mere shadows of their husbands.” Daughter Catherine of Aragon was married off to the heir of the English throne, promptly widowed, then subsequently and scandalously wed to his brother and successor, Henry VIII. Daughter Juana, besotted with her mandated match, Phillip the Handsome of the Low Countries, gave birth to the future Holy Roman Emperor Carlos V, known in Spain as King Carlos I, before being locked away in obscure perpetuity as “*Juana La Loca*.”

Only maturity, often accompanied by widowhood, potentially conferred some measure of female autonomy and authority. Two recent books by seasoned researchers pull back the heavy draperies to shed light on the lives of upper class adult women in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century New Spain. In both cases, the authorial restraint stands in commendable contrast to the harrowing ordeals and heroic resistance displayed by their various subjects.

Violence, intrigue, acrimony, manipulation, envy, spite, deception, sequestration, vindictive abuse of power, hypocrisy and self-righteousness, concupiscence and philandering, prurient voyeurism, humiliation to the point of abjection are among the carefully sifted ingredients of these very sober narratives. As dedicated scholars who have successfully pursued scant threads of fact through archival labyrinths, Shirley Flint and Frances Levine offer their readers research-based scenarios and emplotments that the most imaginative novelist or screenwriter might envy.

Flint’s exhaustively researched volume piecemeals together the widowhoods of five members of the same well-to-do New World family, beginning with Alonso de Estrada with his wife, Doña Marina Gutiérrez Flores de la Caballería (1489–1551), an early widow, and including their daughters Doña Luisa de Estrada (c. 1513–1572), Doña Francisca de Estrada (c. 1527–1602), and Doña Beatriz de Estrada (1523–1590) as well as their granddaughter, Doña María de Sosa (late 1540s–1601).

María’s de Sosa’s dashing young husband, caught in a bitter New World conflict between peninsulares and criollos, was publicly beheaded by “three blows from the executioner’s blade” minutes after watching his brother suffer the same fate. Forced from her home and deprived of income, with two young sons to care for, this “a young and celebrated beauty [who] could easily have remarried” instead “willingly sacrificed other options of personal happiness and economic security so that her children might enjoy both a restored reputation and their father’s property.” (126) Sailing to Spain with her widowed sister-in-law in order to seek justice from a higher authority, María de Sosa would spend two decades petitioning the crown. The property she eventually reclaimed for her sons was in New Spain, where they presumably reclaimed and administered it, apart from their mother, who lived out her remaining years in Seville.

Doña María's aunt, Doña Beatriz, fourth in the sequence of Estrada widows, managed to balance the competing commitments of her devotion to her offspring and her desire to lead a sequestered life of religious devotion. Flint concludes that fourth chapter by referring to the example of Doña Marina, the family prototype of female agency in widowhood

Where widowhood is the fulcrum of the five life stories that Flint so capably reassembles, it is merely the abbreviated *dénouement* of the story retold by Frances Levine. The element of socio-economic privilege is common to both projects, but Levine's book reconstructs daily life for women in colonial New Mexico with unprecedented intimacy. A cup of chocolate, a weekly bath, a book read for entertainment become pretexts for accusations that lead to arrests in Santa Fe and eventual imprisonment in the secret prison cells of the Inquisition in Mexico City.

Italian-born Doña Teresa de Aguilera y Roche (c. 1623-1680) and Don Bernardo López de Mendizábal—whom she wed in Cartagena de Indias (today's Colombia), where both her father and her groom were in the service of the Spanish crown—were the only residents of the Kingdom of New Mexico to be subjected to the rigors of Inquisitorial investigation. Doña Teresa's story is singular in another sense: in her prison cell over many months, she laboriously formulated and penned her own defense, winning her eventual freedom after multiple interrogation sessions before the panel of Inquisitors, though never exoneration from the dozens of charges against her.

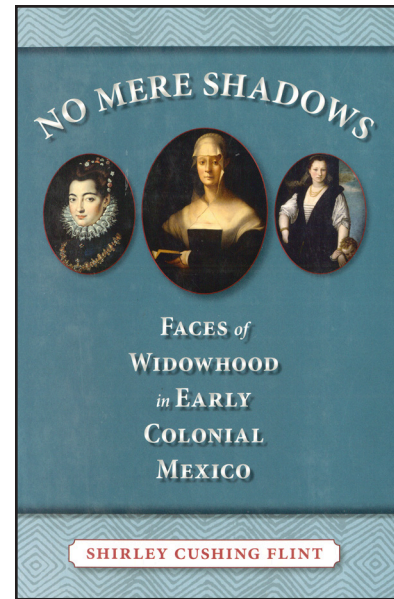
There are layers to Doña Teresa's story that the author leaves for her readers to discern. In an isolated, starkly stratified society like colonial-era Santa Fe, where literacy was rare and female literacy much rarer, a book can become a flashpoint of resentment, suspicion and malicious intent. To the servants and slaves of Governor López de Mendizábal's household, two factors heightened their suspicions: the book in question was written in a language that was not Spanish and it caused its owner, Doña Teresa, wife of the Governor, to laugh aloud. Rather than attempting to bridge the gap between her privileged cosmopolitanism and the narrow horizons of her servants, Doña Teresa widened it by gloating, "Too bad you do not have the capacity to enjoy this as I do." [check page & wording]

The book was *Orlando Furioso*, an epic poem in Italian published by Ludovico Ariosto in 1532. Featuring the hero Roland from the era of Charlemagne, its episodes of love and war draw upon sources dating back to the eleventh century. As Levine's account makes abundantly clear, Doña Teresa's life in the Palace of the Governors offered few reasons for levity. Furnishings were sparse, and the cold was punishing. Her wardrobe was becoming shabby and soiled in such primitive conditions. The unruly *mélange* of servants and slaves gave her reason to wish at one point "that the whole kitchen would burn down." Her husband's compulsive and blatant philandering was sparked many bitter domestic quarrels. The missionary friars showed her such hostility that she ceased attending Mass for a time.

Inventories made of her possessions included Catholic devotional works but neither lists the volume by Ariosto which, had she been able to read it while in prison, would likely have prompted tears, acute nostalgia, and hope for a future beyond her cell. Her father, Don Melchor de Aguilera, survived his own entanglement with inquisition—not on charges of secretly practicing Judaism, the false accusation that his daughter would have to contest, but on charges of embezzlement.

As a young woman allowed to visit her father in prison, Doña Teresa would likely have been anxious to comply with every wish it was in her power to grant. He requested that she read aloud to him in Italian, because she spoke that beautiful language with a native fluency he had never managed to attain. The book of choice for those sessions was *Orlando Furioso*. Its incidental recurrence in Levine's multifaceted, carefully contextualized narrative speaks volumes about the precariousness of privilege, the bond of learning, and the rewards of personal resilience in the Spanish colonial world.

-Julianne Burton-Carvajal, Ph.D., Monterey and Santa Fe





*About Our Authors * Sobre Nuestros Autores*

Damian Bacich, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Spanish Literature at San José State University, specializes in the Ibero-American world during the early-modern era. Two of his book-length translations of works from that period have been published by Canadian university presses.

CARTA member Tom Byrd, M.S., a geologist who grew up in Austin, claims a lifelong fascination with Texas history and the Southwestern Borderlands. With degrees from the University of Texas and Texas A&M, he recently retired from British Petroleum and currently serves on the Board the Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Association. He and his wife make their home in Houston and in Santa Fe.

CARTA member Dianne Layden, Ph.D., taught American Studies at the University of Houston–Clear Lake and the University of Redlands in Southern California, among other institutions. Since retirement she has focused on New Mexico history and culture, ranging from Pueblo Bonito to the Spanish Inquisition to contemporary monuments.

David Malakoff, former senior editor and correspondent for National Public Radio, is a Deputy News Editor at Science magazine based in Washington, D.C., where he directs coverage of science policy, energy and the environment as well as overseeing ScienceInsider, a free online news service.

José de la Cruz Pacheco Rojas, Ph.D., Research Professor of History at the University of Juárez in the state of Durango and guest-speaker at the 2015 Three Trails Conference, contributed to the two preceding issues of this journal.

Dolores Valdez de Pong, M.A., recently retired after teaching in the Santa Fe Public Schools for 38 years. Her talent for writing, scoring, costuming and producing historical pageants enacted by middle school students is reflected in *A New Mexican Treasury of Songs and Plays for Children* and recognized by an award from the New Mexico Hispanic Culture Preservation League. She is also the author of *Life in Los Sauces*, a memoir of Hispanic Colorado.

Dennis P. Reinhartz, Ph.D., internationally recognized map expert and author of *The Art of the Map: An Illustrated History of Map Elements and Embellishments*, relocated to Santa Fe after retiring from the University of Texas–Arlington. Currently he is Vice-President of the Historical Society of New Mexico and a member of the New Mexico Humanities Council Board of Directors.

Hilario E. Romero, Ph.D., member of CARTA's Board of Directors, served as New Mexico State Historian prior to embarking on an extended university-level career in both teaching and administration. Several of his ambitious historical overviews have been featured in *Green Fire Times: News & Views from the Sustainable Southwest*, a large-circulation monthly.

Rebeca Treviño Montemayor, Ph.D., a member of the Psychology Department at the University of Juárez, in the state of Durango with advanced degrees in Sociology and Philosophy, was lead author of an article that appeared in the previous issue.

Juan A. Sempere-Martínez, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus of Spanish Linguistics at San José State University, is a longtime resident of northern California. Originally from Spain, he has authored over fifty articles as well as two books on Spanish linguistics and pedagogy.

Artists Featured in This Issue

Teresa Duran of Denver, Colorado (teresamay@q.com) and Lloyd Rivera of Talpa (llogra@kitcarson.net)

Special thanks to John P. Bloom and Katherine López Kurland for proofing and fact-checking.



Southwestern Landforms on New World Map Drawn by Antonio Pereira circa 1545

Dennis P. Reinhartz, Ph.D., Santa Fe

Although members of the Pereira family were prominent in the history of Portuguese overseas discovery and exploration during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to date little is known about Antonio Pereira, author of the map on the back cover. On the front cover, a detail of western North America from the same map depicts characteristic Southwestern landforms for the first time, half a century before Juan de Oñate led the first authorized group of Novohispano settlers northward, tracing the route of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

Hand-painted on vellum (sheep skin or goat skin) circa 1545, this aesthetic map in the tradition of Renaissance Portolan charts depicts the western half of the Atlantic world. The map's missing eastern half likely depicted Europe and Africa. Pereira seems to have relied primarily on Spanish sources. Rather than simply transposing European representational conventions, his generalized landscape depictions derive from first-hand accounts of the New World. The blue banner below the large mountain at the center of upper North America reads "*Nova Hispanha*" (New Spain). The mountain may be representative of the red rock formations described by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in 1540. The adjacent mesa to the west may reference those of the Hopi.

Coronado was probably the source of much of Pereira's information on the Southwest, as Hernando de Soto and Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca would have been for the Gulf Coast. Accuracy is best for the East Coast, Gulf of Mexico, and Caribbean areas. South America (back cover) is dominated by a lush rain forest penetrated by the Amazon River. Pereira was probably the first Portuguese mapmaker to incorporate information from the 1542 Spanish expedition up the length of the Amazon led by Francisco Orellana.

Myriad place names are recorded along the coastlines. In North America, symbols that resemble European towns designate Mexico City-Tenochtitlán and other prominent settlements. Flags sprinkled across the map denote areas claimed by the Spanish, Portuguese, French and English. The Moluccas, part of the fabled Spice Islands first reached by Portuguese mariners between 1511 and 1513, are depicted at the far western edge of the map.

Pereira's map provides three scales to calibrate distances as well as characteristic directional rhumb lines and clear indications of the Equator and the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, while leaving the Arctic Ocean vague. Decorative compass roses, wind faces, several wonderful period ships, and a whale at sea in the Pacific complete this rare masterpiece of Renaissance cartographic artistry.

Map reproduced courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, a participant in the digital commons. The renowned JCB Library Map Collection, currently numbering over 3,000 items, can be accessed at www.brown.edu/academics/libraries/john-carter-brown/jcb-online/image-collections.



