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A Window on Zuni

TAYLOR F. EALY AND MISSIONARY LABOR IN NEW MEXICO, 1878–1881

Ellen Cain

In November 1878, writing was difficult for thirty-year-old Presbyterian missionary Taylor F. Ealy. "My hands have to be tied up in the morning with grease on them so that I can work," he managed to record during one of his few free moments, "I am working harder than I have ever worked in my life."[1] Not only were his hands sore and aching, but weariness threatened to overwhelm him. He was building a home at Zuni, New Mexico, driven to near exhaustion by his desire to create a refuge for himself, his wife, Mary Ealy, and their two young daughters.

Ealy and his family had recently completed a missionary assignment in Lincoln, New Mexico, where they had confronted some of the worst violence during the Lincoln County War in early to mid-1878. Throughout that ordeal, Ealy had demonstrated considerable fortitude in fulfilling his duties as a Presbyterian minister and medical doctor. Nonetheless, he worried that he had not been courageous enough, too often retreating inside his house to

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When I was ten years old, my parents—a professor and an opera singer—transplanted my sister, grandmother, three brothers, and me to Central America to pursue a Fulbright grant. I spent the next seven years adapting to and appreciating other cultures. This, perhaps, has led to my studies of other cultures and times. I completed my PhD in history of the U.S. West at the University of New Mexico. I am now on the faculty in history and general honors at Central New Mexico Community College in Albuquerque. I completed this article with the generous assistance of a research award from the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies. I would also like to give special thanks to Durwood Ball, Willy Carleton, and the anonymous reviewers of this article for their valuable and insightful editorial guidance.

keep "cool & out of sight."[2] Lincoln had taught him that a fine line existed between a safe haven and a hiding place.

Now, as Ealy took up his new missionary post at Zuni, he felt caught between contradictory desires. He longed to retreat from the Zunis and soothe his nerves, which were still jangled from the war in Lincoln. Yet Ealy also wished to fulfill his missionary duties as completely and conscientiously as possible. He intended to balance these opposing needs by building both a private home for his family and schoolrooms for the Zunis. Like so many of his Protestant contemporaries, he believed that physical structures could affect an inner transformation in human beings. He envisioned a home that would offer his family emotional comfort and spiritual replenishment. His schoolhouse, meanwhile, was meant to provide surroundings that would inspire the Zunis to embrace his educational efforts.

Ealy's construction plans at Zuni dovetailed with federal initiatives to assimilate American Indians. In the 1870s, Pres. Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy assigned the administration of Native tribes to various Protestant denominations; the federal government dispensed the Presbyterians to Zuni. As a result, Ealy would construct his home and school at Zuni under the auspices of both federal and church authorities. These officials sought multitalented missionaries who were able to "build a house" as well as to "preach, teach, and practice medicine."[3] Ealy fully agreed with his superiors that physical structures could embody Protestant virtues of orderliness, industriousness, and pride of ownership, and thereby serve as model spaces to aid in the conversion and assimilation of Native peoples.

This essay traces Ealy's evolution as a builder at Zuni. During the nearly three years he spent at the pueblo, he embarked on one construction project after another and eventually created what he proudly termed a mission "compound."[4] In the process, Ealy struggled to generate and impose physical barriers between his family and the Zunis, and wrestled with where to draw religious, social, and cultural boundaries between himself and the Zuni people. At the same time, he confronted Zuni resistance to his demands. The Zunis made clear from the outset that they would cooperate with Ealy's plans only on their own terms. Their primary goals were to strengthen tribal autonomy and preserve tribal culture. Ealy and the Puebloans therefore engaged in a process of boundary negotiation that shaped the cultural landscape of Zuni in new and complex ways.

In his study of Black Rock, New Mexico, historian William Dodge defines cultural landscapes as interactions between human beings and their physical environments, which are continually reshaped by diverse perspectives. He demonstrates the significance of built structures in these interactions. For

example, the early twentieth-century government boarding school at Black Rock attempted to confine Zuni children in regimented spaces—fortress-like buildings intended to inculcate American ideas of order and uniformity. The students, however, persistently escaped the bounds of the school to travel to their homes at nearby Zuni Pueblo, where they could enjoy more fluid spaces that encouraged connections within the community as well as connections to the natural world.[5]

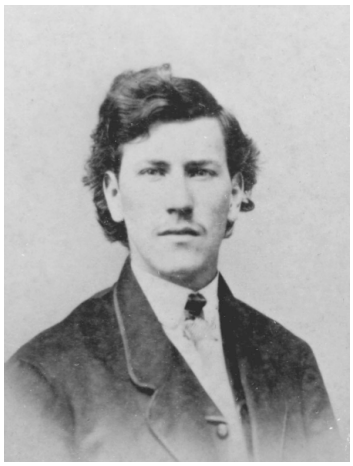
This article contributes to discussions by Dodge and other scholars regarding the meanings of physical space in the nineteenth-century West. Jane Simonson and Cathleen Cahill, for example, have explored how representatives of federal authority used nineteenth-century homes and their furnishings to embody and propagate Anglo-American ideologies of "civilization."[6] Ealy's story adds new questions about Victorian ideals of masculinity, social class, and sense of place in the West. In his efforts to create a private refuge with all the accoutrements of middle-class Protestant gentility, Ealy thought deeply about the meanings of home in ways that blurred distinctions between male and female domains.

Ealy's story also adds to the "new mission history" from which scholars challenge widespread stereotypes of Protestant missionaries as nothing more than dogmatic purveyors of Anglo-American culture. Historian Mark Banker, for example, contends that a significant number of nineteenth-century missionaries, for all their prejudices and preconceptions, "began to glimpse a different understanding of cultural and religious diversity."[7] This description could well apply to Ealy. In the process of creating structures and negotiating boundaries, he developed a genuine appreciation of the Zuni people, although it did not prevent him from trying to transform the Zunis. Nonetheless, his career demonstrates how complex and contradictory the missionary experience could be. On multiple occasions he sincerely attempted to cross the dividing lines he himself had drawn. His story therefore has much to reveal about federal efforts in the nineteenth century to assimilate Native Americans and incorporate the American West into the national mainstream: the aspirations pursued and the limitations confronted; the new understandings reached but also the tragic miscalculations made in the name of religious and national identity.

* * *

Ealy had always been impatient for action. In October 1878, the day after he arrived at the pueblo, he enlisted the Zunis to help build his mission home. One day later, he was supervising a work crew. A government order specified a homesite a quarter mile from the pueblo. Ealy wrote: "[W]e put four Indians at the well. They dug all day, & the sweat rolled off them. Did not

get water—we think water can be reached today. Four are just starting to dig. The Governor says nothing will be done until water is found. Then plenty will go to work."[8] Ealy's remarks reveal ongoing tensions that he encountered at Zuni: his determination to mobilize the Zunis into action, and the Zunis' own resolve to do things their way.



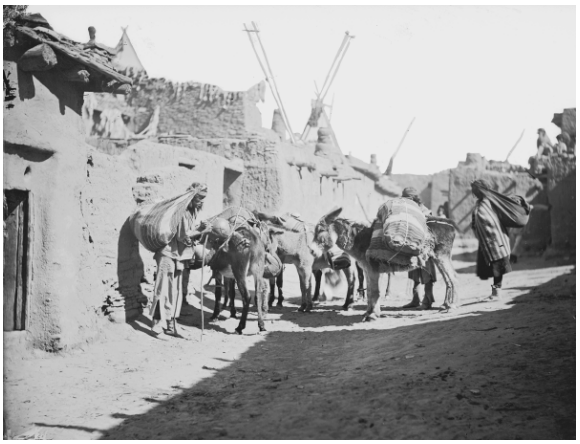
ILL.1. TAYLOR F. EALY *(Photograph courtesy University of Arizona, University Libraries, Special Collections and Archives, Taylor F. Ealy Family Papers, MS 162, ser. 4, Photographs, 1865–1910, box 1, folder 9, neg. no. 11764_001)*

Ealy's high-handedness likely had several motivations. He lived in an "imperialist and romantic age" that encouraged precisely such domineering command and inspired more than one young Anglo-American male to flex his muscles in dealings with indigenous peoples.[9] Ealy represented both the church and the federal government at Zuni. He was eager to demonstrate that he, not the Zunis, was the one in charge of the community. But perhaps what most motivated his actions was an overriding urgency to build his house as quickly as possible. Government and church authorities had arranged for the Ealys and their missionary assistant, Susan Gates, to rent rooms temporarily at the pueblo, a communal world that the missionaries found alien and unsettling. In November, Mary Ealy recorded, "Today the Indians had a new dance quite different in dress from any that we have seen. [The dances] are becoming almost an every day occurrence. I am tired hearing them tattoo."[10]

Frank Hamilton Cushing, an ethnographer for the Smithsonian Institution who arrived at Zuni a year after the Ealys, portrayed the lively sense of community reflected in pueblo architecture: "Imagine . . . a gigantic pyramidal mud honeycomb." Cushing detailed all the "coming and going," the women congregating at the communal well and then following "one another up into the evening light, balancing their great shining water-jars on their heads. . . . In and out, on the diverging trails, the Indians were passing to and from their distant fields, some on foot, some on burro-back." There were also the children "everywhere, chasing one another over the terraces, up and down ladders, through alleys, and out again into the sunlight."[11]

The tribe flourished for centuries by adhering to religious traditions and maintaining harmony within the community. Ideal traits for Zuni men and women included industriousness, self-restraint, and the willingness to nurture strong social connections. The Ealys' Presbyterian background stressed similar

ILL. 2. STREET WITHIN PUEBLO, 1899
(Photograph by Adam Clark Vroman; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. BAE GN 02293A 06377500])



ILL. 3. ANIMALS AND PEOPLE WITH PACKS ON, 1879
The street scene includes burros and three people—two of them are possibly identified as In-Ih-Ti and Ho-Ta.
(Photograph by John K. Hillers; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. BAE GN 02267A 06374400])

virtues of diligence, self-discipline, and social responsibility, but in a much different architectural arrangement: single-family dwellings with private yards and gardens, and home interiors secluded enough for middle-class Christian family virtue to develop.[12]

Further, the Ealys hoped that their single-family home would be healthier than the densely occupied pueblo. Like so many other Native villages, Zuni

had long been devastated by Euroamerican diseases. Ealy's predecessor, Dr. Henry K. Palmer, had arrived at Zuni in 1877, only to become gravely ill during a smallpox epidemic. The Ealys believed such outbreaks were exacerbated by the pueblo's dark and dirty rooms. At least one of Cushing's descriptions, however, contradicted their view of "miserable" quarters. He portrayed the "neat appearance" of a pueblo room, with "white-washed walls and smooth, well swept floor of plastered mud, paved near the center and at the entrance with slabs of sandstone. . . . Huge round rafters supported the high, pine-stave ceiling, pierced near one end with a square hole for entrance and exit, and along the center with lesser apertures for the admission of light. Two or three silenite glazed port-holes in the walls served as additional windows, and as many square openings led into other rooms."[13] This is a striking contrast to the Ealys' descriptions of dark and dismal surroundings at the pueblo.

The Ealys' own lingering ill health undoubtedly influenced their perceptions. "We are so anxious to get out of these damp rooms," Mary Ealy declared, "We are all suffering from colds and the weather is not very cold yet. The children are coughing very much. I am afraid it will injure them should we stay here long."[14] Understandably, the Ealys sought warmer quarters before winter set in. They found themselves in a land that could be severe as well as beautiful, with gaping canyons and soaring "cliffs of spectacular red and white Zuni sandstone."[15] The pueblo lay in the Zuni River valley at an elevation of well over six thousand feet and endured fierce and frequent windstorms and snowstorms. Ealy believed that the new mission home, situated below the slopes of the pueblo, would better withstand harsh weather.[16]

ILL. 4. ROOM IN ADOBE HOUSE, WOMAN STANDING IN DOORWAY, 1899
(Photograph by Adam Clark Vroman; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. BAE GN 02297 06378800])

Determined to construct something that would last, Ealy designed his home with painstaking care. He explained, "After studying about the plan of the house I have decided to build it well as I go, first dig out all the foundation so as to make a good cellar under the whole house. Four rooms and hall on first floor and four rooms and hall on second floor."[17] Ealy hoped to emulate the spacious brick buildings he had known while growing up in the small town of Schellsburg, Pennsylvania. His fascination with western army forts also shaped his design. From 1874 to 1876, the Ealys had lived at decommissioned Fort Arbuckle during their first missionary post among the freedmen of Chickasaw Indian Territory. Ealy had enjoyed the challenging task of refurbishing the neglected buildings. At one point he drew up a plan of the fort, sketching a carefully measured rectangle outlining the parade ground and its surrounding structures. The precise rectangles of Classical geometry also predominated in the plans for his Zuni mission home. In matters of architecture, Ealy embraced the long-held Euroamerican emphasis on symmetry, straight lines, and right angles to convey a sense of order, grace, and uniformity. At the same time, he envisioned plentiful windows that would help open his home to the outside world.[18]

Ealy made rapid progress on the mission house, working alongside his Zuni crew. Presbyterian licentiate José Ynés Perea also labored mightily on the project while temporarily assigned to Zuni. Sheldon Jackson, headquartered in Denver as supervisor of Rocky Mountain missions, was impressed by the reports Ealy sent to him. Jackson noted: "In a week the well was dug and stoned twenty-five feet deep, the trench for the foundation of the house dug, and the stone on the ground ready for the laying up. Some of the [sand]stone was hauled on carts, some carried in bags on the backs of burros, and some carried on the heads of men. The house is being pushed with great vigor."[19] Ealy pushed the Zunis, yet he too put in long days. He had ambitiously decided to make the walls of his home a full two feet thick. On 27 October, he declared, "Working as hard as we can work at the stone house."[20]

In matters of finance, Ealy perceived his construction project as an exercise in spiritual guidance: "I am building by faith pretty much, depending upon the Lord to supply when necessary."[21] His nine hundred dollar annual salary as a government teacher and medical doctor did not always arrive on time. Reimbursements for construction expenses by either the government or the Presbyterian Church were also not always readily available. The long distances between building supplies and the construction site further complicated matters. Ealy kept meticulous accounts "for labor, lumber, freight on doors and windows, hauling of stone and lumber."[22] He obtained his stone from Savoya, a Mormon settlement almost thirty miles east of the pueblo.

Most of the lumber for vigas (ceiling beams) came to the pueblo from Fort Wingate, approximately forty miles north.[23]

Ealy found that his Zuni workers set their own terms. He noted that some "want money & some take goods for work. I pay them a *dollar a day*."[24] Mary Ealy reiterated, "The Indians are willing to work but expect to be well paid."[25] The Zunis demanded specific compensation. Ealy explained: "A box of soap—of chewing tobacco—of candles—& a sack of coffee & one of sugar we could trade very well. . . . Red silk and cotton handkerchiefs pretty large they want. . . . The Indians want *light* red flannel—want 2 yds [*sic*] for $1.00—wish we had it now."[26] Ealy sounded less like a construction boss than a shopkeeper as he tabulated the Zunis' detailed orders. The Puebloans, whose labor was critical, clearly held the advantage in these negotiations. Ironically, although Ealy intended the house to detach him and his family from the pueblo, the building process put him right in the Zunis' midst.

By now Ealy's single-minded focus on his construction project was earning him disapproval from Benjamin Thomas, the U.S. Pueblo agent in Santa Fe. Thomas, a devout Presbyterian himself, fully expected Ealy to build a home—in fact, he had requested that the Zunis provide an appropriate piece of land for a new mission house—but he felt that Ealy was neglecting his teaching duties. Gates had begun classes for the Zuni girls, but Ealy had ignored his obligation to instruct the Zuni boys. In December, Thomas chided, "Your School Report for the month of November is herewith returned for correction and explanation. . . . The number of full days service rendered by you during the month is reported as *naught*. The teacher is expected to be in the school every school day in each month unless he has been authorized to be out of school."[27] Thomas, like so many church and government authorities, did not seem to appreciate the overwhelming amount of work confronted by missionaries in the West. Neither did Thomas appreciate the impressive pace that Ealy had set for himself. In little over eight weeks, he had completed two rooms of his mission home and was ready to move into them with his family.

On 20 December, Ealy reported to Jackson that he was ready for the next phase of his sojourn at Zuni: "We are now living in our new house. . . . We feel better than living in the old dark rooms. . . . Our house is warmer than up on the hill in town." Ealy also made clear that having a secure home base would allow him to pursue his missionary activities with the vigor he had always intended. "I will begin teaching January 2," he declared. "We are all well & happy."[28]

* * *

On Christmas Day 1878, as snow drifted over Zuni, the Ealys' new home served as the setting for a quiet yet joyful occasion: the wedding of Perea and Gates,

with Ealy performing the ceremony. The new couple intended to leave Zuni in a matter of weeks to take up their own missionary assignment at Jemez Pueblo; Perea would soon become the first ordained Hispanic Protestant minister. The Ealys had invited "two Indian women & three Indian men" to the ceremony. Afterward, the missionaries offered "coffee and sugar for the Indians."[29]

The wedding ceremony hinted at the deeper meanings Ealy held for his new home. It revealed his pride in his handiwork. He stressed that the wedding had occurred "in the new house, which Mr. P[erea] & I built with our own hands."[30] He had created a place where he could comfortably host such a festive event while performing the duties of a Protestant minister. At the same time, he had taken care to extend his hospitality to at least a few Zuni guests, perhaps hoping the occasion would provide a model for Protestant Anglo life. He did not reveal which Puebloans had been invited, but most likely they included Palowahtiwa (Patricio Pino), the current governor of the pueblo, and Palowahtiwa's father, Laiiuahtsailu (Pedro Pino), who had only recently stepped down as governor. While at Zuni, Ealy formed significant relationships with both leaders, particularly with Pedro Pino.[31]

Also revealing is the relative scarcity of Zunis in attendance. Given the strong sense of community at Zuni, it would have taken little encouragement to overflow the house with celebrants. Ealy, however, was struggling with the central theme of his time at Zuni: where to draw boundaries. Who would he invite into his new home? Who would he keep out?

How, too, would he keep out the cold? The stone walls, however solidly built, did little to mitigate the cold and damp. The main heat source, a kitchen stove, required a supply of wood difficult to maintain. Ealy noted, "The Indians do not furnish enough wood to keep this house warm."[32] Ironically again, Ealy had built the home to separate himself from the pueblo, yet he needed the Zunis' ongoing help to sustain his refuge.

The desire for warmth derived from more than physical necessity. For the Ealys, as for so many nineteenth-century Protestants, a warm hearth symbolized the emotional center of the home. As a schoolgirl, Mary Ealy had liked to cut religious poems and stories from newspapers and preserve them in her scrapbook. One of those poems, "Father's Coming," reveals the meanings of hearth and home that both Mary and Taylor Ealy would embrace throughout their lives: "The clock is on the stroke of six, / The father's work is done; / Sweep up the hearth and mend the fire, / And put the kettle on; / The wild night is blowing cold, / . . . He's crossing o'er the wold apace, / He is stronger than the storm; / He does not feel the cold, not he, / . . . Nay, do not close the shutters, child; / . . . I've heard him say he loves to mark / The cheerful firelight through the dark."[33]

These words captured Ealy's vision of home. He wanted adventure and meaningful work in the wider world, but craved, too, the emotional warmth—that "firelight through the dark"—at the end of a rigorous day provided by the family waiting for him. Ealy replicated this scenario throughout his time at Zuni. He enjoyed making regular journeys to Fort Wingate to obtain supplies, pick up mail, and socialize with the army officers—on one occasion even performing a wedding ceremony for a lieutenant. Ealy also enjoyed returning to his Zuni "hearth" where Mary Ealy and his daughters awaited him. While Mary Ealy herself accepted the traditional view of femininity that bound her closer to home, she did admit to feeling confined at Zuni. Along with battling a constant chill in the mission house, her exhaustion from household chores, mothering, and teaching duties threatened to overwhelm the love of adventure she shared with her husband.[34]

Another challenge was organizing space in the new mission house. In the Victorian-era model Protestant home, each room served a designated purpose conducive to disciplined, peaceful family life. This ideal was difficult to achieve in the small Zuni mission home, with only two rooms available for the parlor, sleeping quarters, kitchen, and laundry facilities. The Ealys apparently experimented with partitioning a section of one room to create a parlor area for receiving Anglo visitors who stopped by for tea. Although guests created more work for Mary Ealy—particularly overnight guests—they also provided her a welcome diversion from other tasks. She wanted a space for entertaining guests that would not make her feel "ashamed of conditions." The parlor area, however small, provided an opportunity for the Ealys to demonstrate that they were practicing middle-class gentility even in remote Zuni.[35]

At the same time, the parlor provided a space for the Ealys to engage in family activities such as reading, writing letters, and sharing the enjoyment of music. In December 1878, Ealy and Perea traveled with a wagon to Crane's Ranch, a stage station near Fort Wingate, to pick up a cabinet organ—approximately the size of a small piano—for the mission home.[36] In keeping with the expected abilities of a young, accomplished woman at this time, Mary Ealy was a skilled organist and eagerly looked forward to the instrument's arrival. A cabinet organ was a highly valued possession for many missionaries in the nineteenth-century West, representing eastern refinement and a connection to the "sublime" through sacred music. Soon the Ealys would be teaching Protestant hymns, which they believed softened the hearts of potential converts, to the Zunis. Initially, however, they intended their small cabinet organ for home enjoyment.[37]

Victorian advice books generally assumed that women made the decisions about home decor. At Zuni, the Ealys belied this assumption. Ealy,

even more than his wife, thought carefully about the home's interior design. Household items held potent meanings for Ealy. He believed that the desire to accumulate high-quality home furnishings inspired positive attributes such as economy and hard work. Discussing the freedmen of Chickasaw Indian Territory, Ealy pronounced, "I know they will get sewing machines—organs—pianos—and will show evidence of thrift & industry equal to their white neighbors."[38]

Furnishings could reveal intellectual development as well as moral status. Reflecting on the Lincoln, New Mexico, home of Presbyterian lawyer Alexander McSween, Ealy concluded that McSween's "great library" showed him to be "a thinker." Ealy admired McSween's "elegantly furnished" parlor with its evidence of a refined lifestyle: "elegant piano, brussels carpet—costly furniture—rich curtains—fine pictures." Such wealth represented a sign of divine favor, not a mark of indulgence. Ealy asserted that "the Lord" rewarded righteous living with an "abundance of this world's goods."[39] From this perspective, the proliferation of household items supplied by the industrializing world could provide a tangible reflection of Christian-American character. For Victorians like Ealy, Protestantism and commercialism worked hand in hand to help forge a strong national identity based on dedication to hard work, prudent management of finances, and pride of ownership.[40]

Ealy wanted his Zuni home's furnishings to reflect his family's virtuous character. The cabinet organ, for example, served this function. Carpeting also weighed on Ealy's mind. Floor coverings would provide warmth, elegance, and a peaceful contrast to the tumultuous outside world by dampening harsh sounds. This peacefulness fit with Ealy's desire to create a private haven for his family. More than once, he corresponded with Jackson about the need for carpeting in his Zuni home. He was pleased when Jackson sent along a shipment of "carpet and rugs."[41] Ealy also reflected on details such as the way lengths of muslin could be used as temporary room partitions, and willingly performed housekeeping tasks such as washing floors and "blacken[ing] the stove."[42] No detail seemed too small for his consideration. The mission home was his work of art, inside and out.

To provide his family with more space, as well as more protection from the elements, Ealy labored the early months of 1879 to complete the two ground-floor rooms on the western side of the house. At the same time, he taught school in a room he rented from Pedro Pino at the pueblo. From February into early May, his diary became a secular litany: "Hauled three loads of stone . . . worked on the wall . . . worked at wall. . . . High wind and very cold. My wall is drifted two feet up with sand. . . . I taught, built wall. . . . I taught and laid up wall. . . . Worked all day at the wall."[43] To help him, he orchestrated a varied

crew that included a Laguna Pueblo mason named George and a carpenter "from Ft Scott," both of whom earned Ealy's praise for their meticulous workmanship.[44] Two Mormon brothers, Samuel and Ammon Tenney, also helped Ealy by hauling stone, delivering lumber, and pitching in with the masonry work. In the process, Ealy developed a friendship with the Tenneys, at a time when Presbyterians and Mormons often distrusted each other.[45]

Ealy seemed relieved when Zuni ceremonial activities gave him more time for his building project. "Indians dancing—not many boys and girls in school," he noted on 18 February, "Worked on the wall."[46] His daughter Ruth Ealy elaborated that the Zuni ceremonies "gave Father a chance to work at the wall almost to the point of exhaustion. . . . Meanwhile the Indians began another dance which they kept up for five days."[47]

The Zunis' dedication to their ceremonies mirrored Ealy's devotion to his home. Building and furnishing had become his ceremony. Just as the Zunis observed their religious rites with careful attention to detail to bring divine blessings, Ealy faithfully attended his construction labors to bring blessings to his family. By late March, most of the Puebloans had gone off to their farming villages for the planting season, and Ealy could fully dedicate himself to his dwelling, even though the weather was still cold. Ruth Ealy noted: "As a result of his having no teaching to do Father was able to spend long hours at work on the house. He now put into the house the windows on the west side."[48] In May, he reported with satisfaction, "Dr. Reid who passed through from Apache said it was as good [a] house as any from Apache to Santa Fe & had better windows than any Apache not excepted."[49]

Ealy often wrote approvingly of any structure that afforded generous vistas. In the ideal Victorian home, large and sturdy windows mediated the inhabitants' relationship to the natural world. Ealy provided his own dwelling at Zuni with tall, latticed windows. Although the walls of his home were intended to be solid barriers, the windows opened up his view on the country and people of Zuni. This tension framed his career: closing himself off from the Zunis and opening himself to them at the same time. Simultaneously constructing and crossing boundaries at Zuni likely exhausted him.[50]

During the spring of 1879, practical considerations obliged Ealy to transcend the boundaries he had constructed. He arranged for Mary Ealy to teach her classes for Zuni girls in one of the rooms of the new mission house rather than the cramped space at the pueblo. Like so many married missionary women in the West, Mary Ealy faced a daunting work load. She was also pregnant with their third child. Undoubtedly she would find it easier to manage her teaching duties, housework, and child care if she did not have

to travel back and forth between the pueblo and the "parsonage," the rather grand term the missionaries now used for their home.[51]

At the same time, one of the missionaries' central responsibilities was to model Protestant Anglo culture. Teaching the Zuni girls at the mission home would facilitate this assimilation process. Government and church authorities stressed that Anglo homes and their furnishings could serve, quite literally, as "object lessons" for Native peoples. According to this logic, if western missionaries and teachers demonstrated the use of items such as tablecloths, china plates, "scrub brushes, sewing needles, and buckets of water," Native peoples would be inspired to adopt these items and thereby become more "civilized."[52] Mary Ealy conscientiously modeled household tasks. Only a few days after arriving at Zuni, she declared, "I will do all I can to instruct [the Zuni girls] in homework and sewing."[53] In March 1879 she announced her ambitious conviction that she would be able to modify Zuni gender roles: "All the difficult labor, such as grinding the wheat and corn, carrying the water, etc., is done by the women. While the men do the sewing and knitting. I wish to reverse their labors, and I think I see a little improvement already."[54]

Mary Ealy clearly did not understand the valued roles Zuni women fulfilled in their own culture, such as managing homes and farm fields. In any case, young Zuni women made decisions about how to use the space within the mission. Jennie Hammaker, the Ealys' new missionary assistant, described the situation: "Yesterday the Indians took possession of our fire and fireplace, right in the midst of school, for cooking."[55]

Ealy's own career teaching the Pueblo boys was proving less than successful; Zuni ceremonies continually interfered with school attendance. Even when the children showed up, they expressed little interest in far-removed subjects such as European history and geography. Meanwhile, Ealy disliked the "miserable, dirty room" he rented for his classes. He declared, "We will not teach another winter unless better rooms are furnished for the schools."[56] A further complication was that Ealy began to use his rented schoolroom for economic ventures. To supplement his erratic pay, he obtained wool from the Zunis "in trade" and bought wool from at least one Anglo trader. Ealy sacked the wool and then shipped it off for sale outside the pueblo with the assistance of the Tenneys, his Mormon friends. He stored the sacks of wool in his schoolroom, which made him feel "almost suffocated" as he tried to give his lessons. Finally, the Zunis made it clear that they controlled access to Ealy's rented room. On at least one occasion, he arrived to find the room locked, the Zunis having gone off to their farm fields at Nutria, New Mexico.[57]

For a variety of reasons, Reverend Ealy felt an imperative need for new school facilities. Lacking government and church funds, he could not

immediately pursue his vision of a bona fide schoolhouse. With remarkable speed, however, he dove into an intermediate solution of constructing two adobe rooms attached to the mission home. He intended to use this addition for both his Sabbath school and his day school. He enlisted the help of others, such as the Laguna mason who made the adobe bricks for the project. Yet Ealy drove himself to exhaustion, just as he had when constructing the mission home. Ruth Ealy recorded, "Every chance he had Father worked at the house which he was building of adobe at the rear of the main house. . . . He incidentally said that he was very tired."[58]

Even as he pursued the new project, Ealy tried to perfect his first creation: the mission home. Working with George, he began to plaster the walls of the house, one coat on another. By now, having expanded the house, he could afford to designate one entire room as a parlor. Ruth Ealy elaborated: "Father put two panes of glass in the windows and helped scrub out the parlor. He was proud of the result. On August 29 he continued to work at the parlor until noon; then helped Mother put up a muslin ceiling." He labored in the garden he had planted on the west side of the house, happy with the rain that fell upon his "watermelons, squash, and berries" after a long dry spell.[59] He was pleased to learn the roof he had built was able to withstand the rain. "The manse" and "the compound" were his grandiose terms to describe all that he had created: the garden, several large cottonwood trees he had planted, the neatly fenced corral, the mission home, and now the two adobe rooms nearing completion. Soon he would also devote a number of weeks to installing a windmill.[60]

Ealy still struggled to create clear boundaries between himself and the Zunis, revealing lingering prejudices. In June 1879, he informed Jackson, "My fence [adobe wall] around the premises cost me $350, but we could not live here without something to keep back Indians burros, ect ect ect [*sic*]."[61] Even while constructing his two adobe schoolrooms, he regretted not placing them at some remove from the mission home itself. Again, like many of his nineteenth-century Anglo contemporaries, he deplored what he saw as poor sanitation and lack of cleanliness among Native peoples. In August, he wrote to Jackson, "We want a school room removed at least thirty feet from the house we live in on account of lice, bed bugs, filth, ect. [*sic*]."[62]

Meanwhile, Ealy's attempts both to build and to transcend boundaries can be seen in his relationship with Pedro Pino, the venerable former governor of the pueblo who was still vigorous despite entering his nineties. The Ealys had initially lodged in Pino's home, and there Pino had made clear his paternal status over the missionaries. Mary Ealy had noted: "Pedro Pino calls Mr. Ealy and I [*sic*] his son and daughter. Calls in occasionally for coffee and tobacco." Ealy also observed that Pino "calls us his children." Ealy, in turn,

developed "a great respect for Pedro Pino."[63] He was gratified by Pino's willingness to hear lessons from the Bible. Ealy did not usually invite Pino into the new mission house for these lessons. Instead, he went to Pino's home, where he read the Bible in Spanish to Pino and other Pueblo men. Like many missionaries in the Southwest, Ealy conscientiously tried to learn Native languages. He succeeded at mastering Spanish more than Zuni, and Pino translated his Spanish words into Zuni for the other listeners. Pino's lack of interest in baptism disappointed Ealy. Nonetheless, their sessions together satisfied Ealy. Every Sunday evening, as twilight drifted over the pueblo, Ealy happily opened his Bible to read to his small congregation.[64]

ILL. 5. GOVERNOR LAIIUAHTSAILU OR PEDRO PINO IN NATIVE DRESS WITH CONCHA BELT AND ORNAMENTS, 1879
(Photograph by John K. Hillers; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. BAE GN 02232A 06370000])

Ealy sincerely tried to be open to learning about Zuni customs from the former governor. On 21 September 1879, Ealy wrote, "Pedro Pino came from [Pescado] this evening. . . . Told some things about their beliefs & government."[65] Ruth Ealy elaborated: "Father often talked with Pedro Pino about their customs and religion. The latter was quite frank with him and tried hard to make him understand their beliefs; and Father tried, in spite of his strict Puritan training, to grasp the way the Indians looked at their religion."[66] In a letter to Jackson, Ealy gave evidence of how important Pino had become to him. "Pino is well," Ealy noted. He added, almost as an afterthought, "We are all well."[67]

As Pino's protégé, Ealy embarked on one of his most rewarding experiences at Zuni: functioning as a spokesman on behalf of the tribe. Pino purposely groomed Ealy for this role. During the long years of his governorship, Pino had worked relentlessly and tirelessly to help his people. During his many negotiations with U.S. authorities, he especially sought the preservation of Zuni autonomy and the protection of Zuni lands. Despite many disappointments and setbacks, Pino had never given up the fight. Now adding his voice to the Zuni cause, Ealy helped to resolve a dispute with the Navajos over their incursions on Zuni farmlands at Nutria, New Mexico, by writing several letters to U.S. Indian agent Thomas. He was so persistent, in fact, that the beleaguered Thomas eventually complained to the reverend, "Could not

the Zunis take some action on their own account tending to make Nutria less attractive to the Navajos?"[68] Ealy reported in September 1879, "Held a council before sun-up with Navajos in my house." Five days later, he wrote triumphantly: "The Navajos are leaving Nutria. I am so glad—will not need to take them off with soldiers."[69]

Ealy held this important meeting at the new mission house he had constructed as a private refuge. He continually reconsidered and redrew his boundaries during his time at Zuni, and never satisfactorily resolved the questions of which Native peoples he should invite into his home, for what reasons, and for how long. Nevertheless, Ealy's September meeting with Navajo leaders demonstrated that his home functioned not only as a retreat, but as a gratifying symbol of his religious and governmental authority at Zuni. At the same time, the Zunis and the Navajos themselves saw Ealy's mission home as a symbol of federal authority, providing a venue for the resolution of intertribal disputes.

Ealy's relationship with the Pino family helped him bridge the very distances he constructed with such care. In September 1879, he described a visit to the Zuni peach orchards as an idyllic time of comradeship with Palowahtiwa: "Accompanied by the Governor—he on a burro and I on a horse—we set out on a slow gait. . . . And just at the edge of the corn field he alighted and ran off a little distance and came back with two watermelons. I ate one and he ate the other, and we went on our way rejoicing."[70] A short time later, "We walked on the mesa above the orchards—the sight was grand."[71]

ILL. 6. GOVERNOR PALOWAHTIWA OR PATRICIO PINO OR PALIWAHTIWA IN NATIVE DRESS WITH ORNAMENTS, 1899 *(Photograph by John K. Hillers; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. BAE GN 02230A 06369700])*

Ealy appreciated the Zunis' generosity. He explained: "I wanted to buy some peaches, but no, they had none to sell. This one gave me and that one until I had quite enough to carry home. When I got home I found a number of Indians in my front yard and some in the corral waiting to see me, and my little girls jumping for joy to see me and the peaches."[72] Such a statement indicates that Ealy's attitude had softened since his complaint several months earlier that the "Indians bothered us very much today running in and out of the house."[73]

The visit to the peach orchards was a highlight in Ealy's career at Zuni, revealing exuberance and optimism as well as an unusual willingness simply to dwell in the present moment without concern for the demands of past or future. The sharing of watermelons and peaches signified cultural exchange in all its hopefulness and vulnerability. Ealy and the Zunis had connected in their mutual appreciation for nature's abundance. On this one day, Ealy had found the perfect balance between distance and fellowship. He had ventured far from the refuge of his mission home to enjoy the companionship of Palowahtiwa and other Zunis. When he returned, the house he had painstakingly built still beckoned as his haven—yet its doors also seemed to stand wide open, for once welcoming all the bustle of Zuni.

Two months later, Ealy demonstrated again his growing appreciation of Native culture. On a cold November evening, he settled down to study a "great dance" of the Zunis. This was the time of Shalako, a deeply spiritual celebration of the fall harvest. He noted with fascination that "going through all these ceremonies required a long time, and the spectators, one by one, tiring, went down ladders and off in different directions, so that I, almost alone, was left sitting in the moonlight, eager to see more of the red man's strange religion."[74]

On this occasion, Ealy was no doubt inspired by recent excitement at the pueblo: the arrival of four visitors sent to Zuni by the Smithsonian's newly formed Bureau of Ethnology. Three members of the group had quickly departed for Hopi lands to the west, leaving behind Cushing, an intense twenty-two-year-old ethnologist. Cushing's relationship with Ealy got off to a rocky start as the two men disagreed over use of the supplies left by Cushing's fellow explorers. The two men came from markedly different backgrounds; Ealy's strict Presbyterian upbringing sharply contrasted with Cushing's boyhood as son of "a free-thinking" father. While Ealy had

ILL. 7. FRANK HAMILTON CUSHING IN ZUNI COSTUME, C. 1880–81 *(Photograph by John K. Hillers; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. PORT 22 E])*

spent many of his boyhood years in school, Cushing had known little formal education and had been allowed to roam the countryside of New York State in search of ancient Native American sites.[75] Not surprisingly, the two men approached their work at Zuni differently. Ealy needed his separate family refuge; Cushing, in his efforts to learn about Zuni culture, immersed himself so fully in pueblo life that he would eventually win formal adoption into the tribe. Yet Ealy and Cushing soon overcame their differences and established a warm friendship.

From the very beginning of their association, Cushing's ethnographic activities fascinated Ealy. By the time of Shalako in November 1879, Ealy had already shared two months at the pueblo with Cushing, giving him ample time to see the ethnographer at work. The ability to sit quietly for long periods and absorb Zuni activities was a hallmark of Cushing's technique. Now Ealy was trying the method himself. Cushing was one of his fellow observers for the "Grand Dance and Festivities." Cushing noted that "as the nights here at this season are intensely cold, I suffer not a little in trying to keep abreast of it all—with notes and paintings."[76] Ealy prided himself on enduring the cold and discomfort as well as Cushing did. Perhaps, too, he was attempting to outlast the ethnographer in the observation of Native ceremonies.

Ealy's exhilaration that November night had another cause. Only a few days earlier, he had recorded in his journal: "Born!!! After a tedious labor of 13 hours, our little boy was born at 12 o'clock midnight."[77] The house he had constructed with such hope and enthusiasm had attained new and special significance as the birthplace of his son.

By the end of 1879, it appeared that Ealy had finally achieved the desired balance in his missionary career at Zuni. He had provided a refuge for his growing family, and he was also able to venture happily from that retreat to learn more about the Zunis. His home also allowed him to play host to preferred guests. Cushing, for example, shared frequent meals with the missionaries. It seemed that Ealy's stone house had, indeed, given him an enduring and satisfying place at Zuni.[78]

* * *

Happiness proved fleeting. All too quickly, the home that Ealy had constructed with such optimism became the scene of his greatest sorrow in New Mexico. Ruth Ealy soberly explained: "My brother Albert, or Bertie, as he was called, died on June 4th of 1880 and was buried in a grave close by the side of the house. . . . Just what was the cause of Bertie's death we were never specifically told, but I judge it was a house far too cold for an infant and the fact that Mother was too busy with her school teaching, baking, entertaining strangers, who came to stay all night, washing, cleaning, and numerous jobs

she was compelled to do to give as much attention as she would have liked to her darling boy. To both parents his loss was a terrific blow."[79] Clearly the missionaries blamed themselves for the death of their child. Ealy had spent so many months laboring to construct a home for his family, only to end up with a structure that was "far too cold" for health or comfort. The "compound" he had created with such energy and vision was now the site of his son's grave.

In the midst of this difficult time, Ealy looked for a sense of purpose in preparing four Zuni children for a journey to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. This endeavor would have long-term repercussions for Ealy and the Zunis. It would oblige Ealy to confront in new ways the meaning of his missionary career and to redefine what home and privacy signified to him. It would also set in motion events that would grimly mirror the death of his infant son.

The Carlisle Indian School had opened its doors in 1879 as a collaborative effort between U.S. Cavalry captain Richard Henry Pratt and the U.S. secretary of the interior. Pratt argued that "no system of education upon reservations at their homes will ever begin to compare with what can be done for them and with them when isolated from their savagery and surrounded by so much educated help as we have here."[80] Ealy, like Pratt and many other Anglo Americans, sincerely believed such a program served the Zunis' best interests. Despite his deepening appreciation of Native life, Ealy remained firmly convinced that the Zunis had to "progress" by embracing Anglo-Protestant ways rather than "recede" into their own Native culture.[81]

As required by the school, Ealy had assigned English names to the four Zuni children who were candidates for Carlisle. Lawieatsalunkia became "Taylor Ealy." Another child, Tsaiautitsa, became "Mary Ealy." The third child, Sauiuhtitsa, was renamed "Jennie Hammaker" and the fourth child, Tsaiasiulutiwa, became "Frank Cushing."[82] The Ealys, by giving their own names to two of the Pueblo children, expressed their deepest hopes about the roles they were playing at Zuni. Through their work as teachers, they wished to be examples of Anglo-Protestant citizenship. An important indication of their success would be how closely the Zunis modeled their own lives on the missionaries' example.

As departure neared for the four children, Ealy grew noticeably emotional. The loss of his own child made him realize how much the Zuni families would be giving up in sending some of their children east. Yet he firmly stood by his belief that this was a proper sacrifice. In July 1880, he stated to Jackson: "The giving away of the children have bound the people closer to us & we love them more for what they have done. One little girl who wanted to go, was hid away by some relatives the morning we wanted her. One boy

ILL. 8. (left) PORTRAIT OF GSAI-AU-TIT-SA, CALLED MARY EALY; JAN-I-UK-TIT-SA, CALLED JENNIE HAMMAKER; LEAI-A-SE-U-LU-TI-WA, CALLED FRANK CUSHING; AND TAS-WE-EA-TAS-LUN-KIA, CALLED TAYLOR EALY, IN PARTIAL NATIVE DRESS (FROM ZUNI PUEBLO), N.D.
(Photograph by John N. Choate of Carlisle, Pennsylvania; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [SPC SW Zuni NM, neg. no. People 02440100])

ILL. 9. (right) PORTRAIT OF GROUP OF CHILDREN, 1879
(Photograph by John N. Choate of Carlisle, Pennsylvania; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. 81-12 06811000])

about 21 years, who claimed to be the brother of one . . . who went almost begged to go. He is a very pious young man. I told him that perhaps some good people after a little would send for him."[83] It is possible that more than one of the children were eager to be chosen, and perhaps even volunteered for the journey. Being young, they may have welcomed the adventure without realizing what challenges lay ahead. In any event, on 12 July 1880, Ealy reported to Jackson, "With gratitude to God I have the honor to say that Agt Thomas left Zuñi this noon with two boys & two girls from Zuñi."[84]

After the children left for Carlisle, Ealy once again found meaning as a builder. He declared to Jackson: "I very much wanted your counsel in starting on a house. Now I propose to build, of stone, a new dwelling house and to make a [cellar] under one room and make it a story & a half of stone."[85] Indian agent Thomas thoroughly approved of the project and allocated fifteen hundred

dollars for its completion. The new structure soon took shape, although Ealy had to use the more easily attainable adobe bricks rather than the sandstone blocks he preferred. The building would be the missionaries' residence, freeing up the original stone house for conversion to a school. Both Thomas and Ealy believed that a dedicated schoolhouse would inspire greater Zuni interest in Protestant education.[86]

Despite Ealy's diligence with the new plan, Thomas sternly chided him for not working quickly or earnestly enough. Ealy, for his part, resented Thomas's failure to understand the challenges he faced. As he struggled to fulfill his teaching and preaching duties, as well as complete the new house, his health deteriorated. He and his entire family suffered from long, severe bouts of bronchitis, and Mary Ealy also withstood an episode of typhoid fever. With the death of their son, the Ealys also struggled emotionally, and lost heart in their endeavors at Zuni. As Ealy labored on the new adobe building, he decided to give up his missionary calling. Nonetheless, he curtly informed Thomas that work was progressing apace.[87]

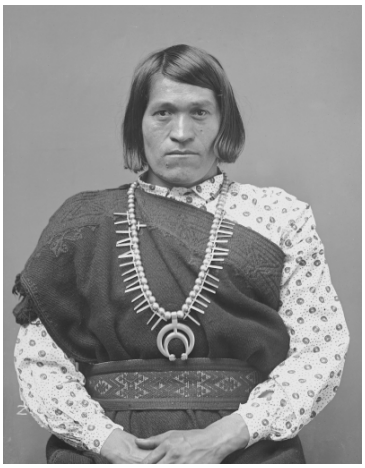
During this construction project, the Ealys largely relinquished their original desire to "reverse" Zuni gender roles. While Ealy continued to depend on the help of Zuni men, Zuni women were particularly helpful with plastering the walls. Mary Ealy's diary entries for these last months at Zuni, January to June 1881, provide deeper understanding of gender issues and the uses of space within the mission compound. Mary Ealy recorded: "Got a room ready for school in the new building. . . . Gave Jennie a music lesson. . . . [On Saturday] Mr. Ealy started for Wingate about 11 o'clock. . . . Jennie slept with me. . . . We had Sabbath School, Jennie & I. Jennie closed Sabbath School with prayer. . . . Taught part of the day. I am anxious to see the school improve. . . . Am footing a stocking for Mr. Ealy. Am reading in Spanish."[88]

Mary Ealy's journal illustrates the extent of her dependence on Hammaker. By giving Hammaker music lessons, she could stress traditional female accomplishments. Yet Hammaker, a strong and independent young woman, also inspired Mary Ealy by appropriating typically male tasks such as praying in Sabbath meetings. On one occasion, Mary Ealy and Hammaker took on the challenge of a fractious horse. Hammaker had already "scandalized" Ealy by riding "astride," and now it seemed her bold behavior inspired Mary Ealy. Mary Ealy recounted, "Jennie and I thought we would take a ride on the pony but we both got thrown off and hurt."[89]

Despite such adventures, a gulf existed between the two women. A few months earlier, Ealy had persuaded Thomas to nominate Mary Ealy as assistant U.S. teacher at Zuni, for an annual salary of $480. Only now was

she officially compensated for her work, although she had fulfilled her teaching duties since arriving at Zuni.[90] Both Mary Ealy and Hammaker were employees of the federal government, but Mary, as a missionary wife, struggled with greater home responsibilities, and could not help feeling a bit resentful when Hammaker took advantage of her more carefree status. Mary Ealy confided to her journal: "Today cleaned my rooms. I am so tired all the time. Jennie spends nearly all her time talking to Billy Free & John Sullivan. Bertie died one year ago today."[91]

Another person who assisted Mary Ealy at the mission home during these last months was a revered member of the Zuni tribe known as We'wha. Biologically male, We'wha functioned as a "two-spirit" and dressed as a Zuni woman while performing a variety of important roles.[92] Most likely, Mary Ealy never realized that We'wha was biologically male. Her upbringing afforded her no context to understand the two-spirit role. In any case, Mary Ealy developed a friendly relationship with We'wha, who worked in the Ealys' household, apparently in exchange for goods such as clothing. Mary Ealy recorded: "We made in all this week five garments; a



ILL. 10. (above) WE'WHA IN FEMALE NATIVE DRESS WITH SQUASH BLOSSOM NECKLACE, 1894
(Photograph by John K. Hillers; courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. BAE GN 02235A 06370600])

ILL. 11. (left) WE'WHA OR WHE'WA (1849–1896), SPINNING
(Photograph courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [neg. no. BAE GN SI 3643])

skirt and two basques [bodices] for We-Wa . . . Jennie, We-Wa and I washed." Mary Ealy stated that on at least one occasion, "We-wa came with all her American outfit on."[93] Photographs of We'wha do not show her wearing Anglo clothing; perhaps on that one occasion, she simply wished to please Mary Ealy. It is possible that Mary Ealy instructed We'wha in English and that We'wha also became school "matron"—that is, classroom assistant and supervisor of the Zuni girls' domestic labors.[94]

At the same time, We'wha's relationship with the Ealys caused ambivalence for other members of the tribe, as well as for We'wha herself. We'wha recalled: "[Mary Ealy] was very kind to me, and I was happy in her house, but after a time I grew very ill and had to return to my mother's house. A shaman was sent for. . . . He discovered the disease and declared that I had been bewitched. . . . I do not know, but I think it was the old one-eyed woman who bewitched me. She was jealous of the good times I had at the mission."[95] Afterward, We'wha pledged to join the shaman's medicine society, even while continuing her association with the missionaries. Throughout her life, We'wha served as an important mediator not only of gender roles, but of Zuni and Anglo culture. Mary Ealy clearly helped We'wha to refine her role as a cultural intermediary.[96]

Despite assistance from both We'wha and Hammaker, Mary Ealy struggled during the early months of 1881. The cold seemed inescapable. She taught in the kitchen, huddling with her students next to the stove. The entire family continued to suffer nagging cases of bronchitis. Then, in February, the missionaries began the time-consuming move into their new adobe home. On 19 February, Mary Ealy lamented in her journal, "We are so torn up."[97] Perhaps she was referring to emotional as well as physical upheaval at this time. The Ealys knew, after all, that they would soon be leaving Zuni.

In the midst of these difficult conditions, Ealy did his best to pursue his teaching career. He provided his Zuni students with neat rows of desks and benches, which he hoped would enable him "to be an efficient teacher." He, Mary Ealy, or Hammaker "hunted up all the scholars" they could find, sometimes with imaginative methods.[98] As Ruth Ealy recalled: "Father made a kite for Pearl on May 5. The next day, when he flew the kite, the Indian children came flocking and of course were persuaded to go into the schoolroom."[99]

For all his efforts, however, the Zuni children continued to express only sporadic interest in their lessons. Pueblo children were accustomed to moving freely throughout their homes and surrounding landscapes. In contrast, Anglo schools required children to sit in regimented rows of desks for long periods. Such surroundings were meant to impose and maintain discipline, as well as create a desire for order and efficiency in the students themselves. Countless

nineteenth-century children of all cultural backgrounds rebelled against these restrictions. It is therefore not surprising that Zuni children preferred diversions such as "catching black birds instead of coming to school." Ealy, for his part, was "disgusted" that neither Pedro Pino nor Palowahtiwa would coerce the children to attend school. He was dismayed, too, that the Pinos and other tribal leaders resisted all his suggestions that the Zunis build their own schoolhouse.[100]

In the midst of these discouragements, the Ealys found some solace in their Sunday meetings. By March 1881 they decided to hold Sunday services in their original structure at Zuni, now termed "the old house." They taught Sabbath school in the mornings and "Bible Class in [the] evening." The Ealys took special satisfaction in the Zunis' apparent enjoyment of hymns such as "Come to Jesus" and "The Lord's Prayer." Sometimes "the whole Sabbath evening service was a song service," and would include Anglo as well as Zuni congregants. Ealy decided that music would be a good way to reach his day students, too. He recorded, "The scholars are very much interested in the singing."[101] Protestant hymns, however remote from Pueblo musical traditions, appear to have been more enjoyable for the Zunis than other types of school activities. The Ealys themselves no doubt found comfort in the familiar songs and hymns of their Pennsylvania upbringing.

Spring brought a measure of solace, the weather at last growing warm. The landscapes of Zuni turned "green and beautiful." Ealy noted that the Zunis were planting corn in their fields, and he, too, "planted his lot in corn." He continued to share an appreciation for agricultural abundance with the Puebloans. It was not enough, however, to change his mind about giving up his missionary calling. Poor health and feelings of discouragement about his role as a teacher dogged him. Even his friendship with Cushing had been replaced by suspicion and distrust for reasons that still remain obscure. Certainly Mary Ealy's spirits continued to flag. On 5 June 1881, she made a cryptic diary entry: "S.S. [Sunday School] today. I have done what I know to be wrong all day. I feel so badly."[102] Mary Ealy did not reveal the reasons for her guilt, but one thing remained clear. She, like her husband, was ready to leave Zuni.

* * *

"Now the ice is fairly broken in Zuni; we have borne the burden & heat of the day, and, if it is the Lord's will, we would like to be honorably discharged."[103] Ealy wrote these words to Jackson in July 1880. It was almost a year later, in late June 1881, that the Ealys' official release from duty finally came. A new missionary couple arrived at Zuni with little advance notice, and suddenly it was time for the Ealys to leave behind all the physical evidence of their missionary career: the original stone house with its two attached adobe

rooms, the new house, the fenced corral, the horse stable, the garden and the cottonwood trees, the windmill, the grave of their infant son, and the adobe wall surrounding the entire compound.[104]

On the afternoon of 4 July 1881, Ealy and his family arrived home in Schellsburg, Pennsylvania. Ealy's New Mexico experiences, however, continued to shadow him. Only a few weeks later, he confronted an event that demonstrated the painful, unexpected consequences of his missionary work. One of the Zuni children died at Carlisle Indian School after being "very sick with consumption."[105] Agent Thomas wrote soberly to Pratt: "I was very much grieved by your announcement, on July 23d, of the death of Frank Cushing [the child] of Zuñi on the 22d. His friends at Zuñi were very [loath] to let him go, and his death will be a terrible blow to them, and will at the same time cause great uneasiness in the minds of other Pueblos who have children at the school."[106]

The death of Tsaiasiulutiwa, or young "Frank Cushing," likely had a considerable impact on Ealy, reminding him of the loss of his son. It may have been one reason that Ealy, once settled back in Pennsylvania, took a more serious interest in another of the Zuni students, Lawieatsalunkia, or young "Taylor Ealy." Scholar Norman Bender notes that Lawieatsalunkia "came to visit the Ealys at their home in Schellsburg during his summer vacations. The Ealys treated him as one of the family."[107] At Zuni Ealy had struggled between distance and inclusion in his relationships with the Puebloans. Now, in Pennsylvania, death, grief, and compassion had opened his door wide to one Zuni child far from home.

A letter written by Lawieatsalunkia to Cushing at this time reveals that he, too, felt he had formed a bond with Ealy: "I tell my father that I should not come to see you this Summer, I should go to see Dr. Ealy. . . . You said my people very angry because I did not come home. . . . They mustn't be so angry. All knowledge I get belong to my people not my pleasure. . . . I want some more English language. That is reason I want to see Dr. Ealy."[108]

Only a short time after writing this letter, Lawieatsalunkia contracted typhoid fever. Perhaps he hoped he could still fulfill his plans: an extended stay of some months at the Ealys' home followed by a return to Carlisle for further study. His fate, however, was to be the same as Tsaiasiulutiwa's. He quickly grew more ill. It seems evident that Lawieatsalunkia died at the Ealys' home, for he was buried in their family cemetery at Schellsburg. The nature of his disease required a hasty burial, and explains why his body was not sent to the Carlisle School cemetery for interment. At the same time, it is possible that Ealy simply wanted to lay Lawieatsalunkia to rest among his own ancestors. This young Zuni student represented Ealy's greatest aspiration: to mold the Puebloans in his image as models of Christian virtue.

Ealy likely reflected on the fact that he had left the grave of his infant son in New Mexico, and now he was burying a Zuni child in Pennsylvania. Yet Ealy never appeared to realize the immeasurably destructive nature of the boarding school project. Students like Lawieatsalunkia endured a regimented, military-style routine. They found themselves strictly confined to the square and rectangular spaces so indicative of the Anglo-Protestant quest for order and uniformity. The students were denied their Native names, Native dress, and Native customs, and could be punished severely if they tried to assert their tribal identities. Meanwhile, they were not considered equal to Anglo Americans; their education was meant to train them for industrial and domestic occupations only. They struggled with as much resilience and imagination as possible to navigate this harsh, unfamiliar world. If they were fortunate, they were able to return home, but even then the scars of their experiences remained with them. According to scholar Will Roscoe, the Zuni students who survived, Tsaiautitsa ("Mary Ealy") and Sauiuhtitsa ("Jennie Hammaker"), chose to reaffirm their traditional identities. Roscoe points out that at Carlisle the two young girls "had been so traumatized that they refused to use English the rest of their lives."[109]

Far too often, boarding school students succumbed to the same Euroamerican diseases that had invaded their homelands. Far too many of them died away from their people and traditions. Lawieatsalunkia's fate therefore reveals all the destructive potential of Ealy's missionary career. In the end, Lawieatsalunkia's gravestone suggested nothing of his Zuni heritage. Only his Anglo name, "Taylor Ealy," was engraved upon the stone. The lettering is now almost worn away by weather and time. The stone itself is a small, inadequate monument to the sacrifices made by Lawieatsalunkia and the other members of Zuni pueblo.[110]

* * *

The buildings that Ealy had constructed with such care at Zuni were purchased by the federal government in the late 1890s and used as a day school. Ealy himself purchased his brother's spacious brick home in Schellsburg to accommodate his growing family—he and Mary Ealy produced four more children after settling down in Pennsylvania. Ealy followed in his father's footsteps by becoming a small-town doctor, and also marketed "Dr. T. F. Ealy's Baby Powder." Yet his missionary years influenced him profoundly. Throughout his life, he reflected on them in written form, and appeared to be contemplating the publication of a book about his experiences. Perhaps he hoped, through his writings, to resolve at last the essential contradiction of his time at Zuni: his longing to retreat from the Puebloans, while battling his desire to fulfill his missionary calling as honorably as possible.[111]

Like his government and church superiors, Ealy fully embraced transplanting eastern institutions to the West to assist in the Americanization of Native peoples. He agreed that home and school were cornerstone structures in the configuration of the American state, serving as model Christian spaces able to transform emotions and behaviors. Yet Ealy brought his own unique vision to the structures he created.[112] In crafting his home, Ealy drew upon Victorian ideals of middle-class gentility and refinement. He did not, however, follow the Victorian dictum that women should be the ones to arrange and furbish the inside spaces of a home. Ealy paid just as much attention and care to furnishing interiors as he did to constructing outer walls. His stressful experiences at Lincoln likely contributed to his interest in creating a safe, private haven for his family. No doubt the inevitable stresses of a missionary career in the nineteenth-century West inspired other men to think more deeply about the meanings of their homes, inside and out. The story of Ealy and his fellow missionaries points the way to further research on how western experiences shaped eastern ideals of masculinity and sense of place.[113]

Finally, Ealy's story provides fresh insights into the negotiation of boundaries between Anglo Americans and Native peoples in the Southwest. For all Ealy's efforts to create a distance between himself and the Zunis, he found himself redrawing his personal boundaries time and again. He developed a genuine friendship with Pedro Pino, and made concerted efforts to learn about Zuni beliefs from him. He knew moments of quiet connection at Zuni: the evenings he spent reading to Pino and other men as dusk drifted over the pueblo; the September day when he visited the peach orchards and rejoiced with the Zunis in the abundance of the earth's wealth; and the November evening he sat in silent wonder to witness Zuni ceremonies.[114]

The Zunis themselves engaged in a continual redrawing of boundaries in their dealings with the missionaries. Their sacred ceremonies and farming duties always took precedence over school attendance. Gov. Patricio Pino and his father, Pedro Pino, calmly refused to cooperate with Ealy's plan that the Zunis build their own school. This neither prevented Pedro Pino from enlisting Ealy as a mediator on behalf of tribal interests, nor did it prevent him from enjoying a friendship with Ealy. We'wha, for her part, used her relationship with Mary Ealy to explore pathways between Anglo and Native cultures. Lawieatsalunkia, as a boarding-school student, navigated the most difficult cultural boundaries of all. He sincerely believed that his Carlisle education would help him surmount barriers between his traditional world and his new Anglo world. His early death prevented him from discovering if such a difficult task would be possible for him.

Ealy's moments of connection with the Zunis seem fragile when contrasted to the most destructive aspect of his missionary career: his part in sending four children far from their Zuni homeland. Blinded by his own convictions, he never understood the tragedy of the boarding school experience for Native students such as Lawieatsalunkia.

Yet, for all this, Ealy's efforts to cross boundaries remain. One morning in February 1881, he woke while it was still dark to prepare for a day of teaching at the stone house, his first construction project at Zuni. He felt unwell, suffering from the cough of lingering bronchitis. This was also the time of his deepest discouragement as a missionary. Yet, in the midst of his preparations that day, he paused to experience a transient moment of beauty: "The sun came up on the north end of Tah Yallaryne, the mesa back of the house, and shone in the kitchen window."[115] The experience was over as quickly as it had begun, the duties of Ealy's day demanding his attention. Nonetheless, he later took care to record the moment in his journal. He knew that something important had happened. He had stood in his stone house, gazing out one of the windows he had so carefully installed himself. That window had opened his view, after all. He had glimpsed the power of the Zuni landscape. For such moments, he should be remembered.

Notes

1. Taylor Ealy diary, 3 November and 8 November 1878, quoted in Ruth Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, ([Pittsburgh, Pa.?]: privately printed, 1955). An incomplete version of *Water in a Thirsty Land* can be found in folder 3, box 2, Ealy Family Papers, 1873–1984, MSS 443 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque [hereafter EFP, CSWR, UNM]. Ruth Ealy and her sister Pearl, daughters of the missionaries, were very young when they accompanied their parents to New Mexico. Ruth's memoir contains letters, diary entries, and reminiscences of her parents, many not available elsewhere. Her transcriptions corroborate duplicate documents in other collections of Ealy papers, and therefore appear highly accurate.
2. Taylor F. Ealy, "The trip to Lincoln, diary extracts from the Lincoln County War period with commentary," p. 10, folder 6, box 1, ser. 3, Writings, 1875–1889, Taylor F. Ealy Family Papers, 1854–1937, MS 162, Special Collections, University Libraries, University of Arizona, Tucson [hereafter TFE, UA]; and Taylor Ealy, "The Lincoln County War, New Mexico, as I Saw It" (complete version, copied by Mary R. Ealy), folder 6, box 1, ser. 3, Writings, 1875–1889, TFE, UA. On the Lincoln County War, see Robert M. Utley, *High Noon in Lincoln: Violence on the Western Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); and Frederick W. Nolan, *The Lincoln County War: A Documentary History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).
3. Norman J. Bender, *Winning the West for Christ: Sheldon Jackson and Presbyterianism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1869–1880* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico

Press, 1996), 173, 178–79, 180 (quoted), 207; and Reba N. Benge, "Benjamin Thomas: Career in the Southwest, 1870–1892" (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1979), 146, 156.

4. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 170.
5. William A. Dodge, *Black Rock: A Zuni Cultural Landscape and the Meaning of Place* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 8–16, 110, 118–20, 194–97. See also Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 3–11; Rina Swentzell, "Conflicting Landscape Values: The Santa Clara Pueblo and Day School," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, Groth and Bressi, 57–59, 62–63; and Ian D. Whyte, *Landscape and History Since 1500* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 13–20.
6. Jane Simonson, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Civilization in the American West, 1860–1919* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); and Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). See also Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70 (September 1998): 581–606; Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994); and Susan Neylan, "Christian Houses and Colonial Spaces," chap. 9 in *The Heavens Are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity*, McGill-Queen's Native and Northern series (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 234–65.
7. Mark Banker, "Of Missionaries, Multiculturalism, and Mainstream Malaise: Reflections on the 'Presbyterian Predicament,'" *Journal of Presbyterian History* 81 (summer 2003): 83. See also Mark Banker, *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest, 1850–1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Cheryl J. Foote, "'My Heart Was in the Work': Alice Blake, Mission Teacher in the Southwest," chap. 5 in *Women of the New Mexico Frontier, 1846–1912*, 2d ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 97–116; and Susan M. Yohn, *A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995). For the authoritative source on the Ealys in New Mexico, see Norman J. Bender, ed. and annot., *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians: Taylor F. Ealy at Lincoln and Zuni, 1878–1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).
8. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 15 October 1878, folder 21, box 2, ser. 1, Correspondence, 1856–1908, Sheldon Jackson Papers, 1855–1909, Record Group 239, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia [hereafter ser. 1, RG 239, PHS]. See also Benjamin Thomas to Governor Pedro Pino, 4 September 1878, r. 2, microfilm, *Miscellaneous Letters Sent by the Pueblo Indian Agency, 1874–1891*, Microcopy 941, National Archives Microfilm Publication, Records of the Pueblo and Pueblo and Jicarilla Indian Agencies, New Mexico, Subgroup 75.19.86, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793–1989, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Rocky Mountain Division, Denver [hereafter M941, RG75, NA].
9. Jesse Green, ed., *Cushing at Zuni: The Correspondence and Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879–1884* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 12.

10. Mary Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 18 November 1878, folder 22, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
11. Frank Hamilton Cushing, "My Adventures in Zuñi," pt. 1, *Century Magazine*, December 1882, 192, 197–98, Making of America Digital Collection, Cornell University Library, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moa/. Parts Two and Three of Cushing's "My Adventures in Zuñi" were published in *Century Magazine*, February 1883, and *Century Magazine*, May 1883, respectively. See also Taylor Ealy diary, 15 February 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA; Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 134, 143; and T.J. Ferguson, *Historic Zuni Architecture and Society: An Archaeological Application of Space Syntax* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 33–34, 38, 73, 78–80, 115, 120–21, 145.
12. Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 11–15, 21–22, 101; Byron Harvey III, "An Overview of Pueblo Religion," in *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), 199; Simonson, *Making Home Work*, 76–77; Gwendolyn Brooks, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873–1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 1–2, 55; Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850–1930* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988); 4–6, 43; Colleen McDannell, "Parlor Piety: The Home as Sacred Space in Protestant America," in *American Home Life, 1880–1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, ed. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 162–89; and Patricia M. Tice, "Gardens of Change," in *American Home Life*, Foy and Schlereth, 190–208.
13. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 165; Cushing, "My Adventures in Zuñi," pt. 1, 200; Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 86, 134, 156; Benge, "Benjamin Thomas," 96; and Banker, *Presbyterian Missionaries*, 63, 99. Other nineteenth-century Anglo-Americans perpetuated the stereotype that Native peoples did not observe proper notions of cleanliness. See Norman J. Bender, *"New Hope for the Indians": The Grant Peace Policy and the Navajos in the 1870s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 40; Bender, *Winning the West for Christ*, 175–76; Clarence Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian: Small Shoes for Feet Too Large* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), 35; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 129; and Gael Graham, *Gender, Culture, and Christianity: American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880–1930* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 72–73.
14. Mary Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 18 November 1878, folder 22, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
15. Ferguson, *Historic Zuni Architecture*, 32.
16. C. Gregory Crampton, *The Zunis of Cibola* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1977), 3–7; Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 94; and Ferguson, *Historic Zuni Architecture*, 32.
17. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 15 October 1878, folder 21, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
18. Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 5–6, 41, 44; Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 12–14, 55–56, 124; and *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: Waterman, Watkins, 1884), 278, copy in Pioneer Historical Society of Bedford County, Pennsylvania. See also Bolt, *Thomas Crosby*, 22–24, 35, 65–66; Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society*, 64, 81; Simonson, *Making Home Work*, 2,

87, 88; Dodge, *Black Rock*, 110, 118–20; Swentzell, "Conflicting Landscape Values," 56–66; and Whyte, *Landscape and History*, 21, 75.

19. Jackson, October 1878, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 116. See also Bender, *Winning the West for Christ*, 179; and Mark Banker, "Missionary to His Own People: José Ynés Perea and Hispanic Presbyterianism in New Mexico," in *Religion and Society in the American West*, ed. Carl Guarneri and David Alvarez (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987), 88–90. Sandstone was the most available building material in the Zuni vicinity; see Dodge, *Black Rock*, 40, 57, 60, 105–8, 130, 160.
20. Taylor Ealy diary, 27 October 1878, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 123.
21. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 15 November 1878, folder 22, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
22. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 119. See also Benjamin Thomas to Taylor Ealy, 5 February 1881, p. 222, r. 4, M941, RG 75, NA; Benjamin Thomas to Samuel Bentley, 8 June 1881, p. 70, r. 5, M941, RG 75, NA. Other missionaries struggled due to lack of funds. See, for example, Benge, "Benjamin Thomas," 147; and Bolt, *Thomas Crosby*, 58.
23. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 15 November 1878, folder 22, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, 40; Irving Telling, "Ramah, New Mexico, 1876–1900: An Historical Episode with Some Value Analysis," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21 (April 1953): 117–36; and Darlis A. Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneering Anthropologist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 34.
24. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 15 October 1878, folder 21, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS. Throughout this article, italicized words appear underlined in original documents.
25. Mary Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 18 November 1878, folder 22, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS. Some of the workers were Navajos who traveled to Zuni to participate in Ealy's building project. See Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 185.
26. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 15 October 1878, folder 21, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
27. Thomas to Taylor Ealy, 14 December 1878, p. 930, r. 2, M941, RG 75, NA.
28. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 20 December 1878, folder 23, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
29. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, December 1878, folder 23, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; and Taylor Ealy diary, 25 December 1878, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 135. The Pereas spent little time at Jemez Pueblo, moving on to a missionary assignment at Corrales, New Mexico. See Banker, "Missionary to His Own People," 90–93; and Bender, *Winning the West for Christ*, 152, 160, 198.
30. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, December 1878, folder 23, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
31. Pedro Pino (Laiiuahtsailu) generally went by his Spanish name at Zuni, most likely because he used this name as governor in his many years of negotiations with outside authorities. Curtis Quam (museum technician, A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center, Zuni, New Mexico), in discussion with the author, 3 August 2012; and E. Richard Hart, *Pedro Pino: Governor of Zuni Pueblo, 1830–1878* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003), 3–6.
32. Taylor Ealy diary, 5 February 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA.
33. Mary Ramsey Ealy's Scrapbook, 1860s–?, folder 1, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM. See also Brooks, *Moralism and the Modern Home*, 31–32; and Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 72.
34. Taylor Ealy diary, 24 February, 27 February, 1 March, 31 March, 15 April, and 17 April, 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA. Many wives serving as mis-

sionaries and teachers in the West faced daunting challenges as they juggled their many duties while raising families. See Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 82–103; Martha Huntley, "Presbyterian Women's Work and Rights in the Korean Mission," *American Presbyterians* 65 (spring 1987): 37–48; Susan Hill Lindley, *You Have Stept Out of Your Place: A History of Women and Religion in America* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 70–89; Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 111–25; and Rebecca Herring, "Their Work Was Never Done: Women Missionaries on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 64 (spring 1986): 68–83.

35. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 138, 147, 168, 173 (quoted), 176–77, 184–88, 190–92, 197, 224, 226, 229; Brooks, *Moralism and the Modern Home*, 33–37; and Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 72, 74, 86, 99, 104, 215.
36. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, December 1878, folder 23, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; and Green, *Cushing at Zuni*, 367–68 n. 100.
37. Bender, *Winning the West for Christ*, 44; Taylor Ealy, "Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory," chap. 2, p. 3, folder 5, box 1, ser. 3, Writings, 1875–1889, TFE, UA; Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 73, 83, 91, 96, 151, 156–57, 169; Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society*, 82; and McDannell, "Parlor Piety," 171.
38. Taylor Ealy, "Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory," chap. 2, p. 4, folder 5, box 1, ser. 3, Writings, 1875–1889, TFE, UA.
39. Taylor Ealy, n.d., quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 69, 96; Taylor Ealy to Mary [sister?], 4 March 1878, folder 1, box 1, ser. 1, Correspondence, 1874–1929, TFE, UA; "To the Rocky Mountain Presbyterian," folder 7, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM; and Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 25 April 1878, folder 15, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS. "Brussels carpeting" contains a pile with uncut loops and indicated "typical conservative upper-middle-class good taste" in the late nineteenth century. Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 65–66, 85, 89.
40. Taylor Ealy, "Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory," chap. 2, p. 4, folder 5, box 1, ser. 3, Writings, 1875–1889, TFE, UA; Bender, *"New Hope for the Indians,"* 42; Bender, *Winning the West for Christ*, 49; Bolt, *Thomas Crosby*, 66; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 26, 46–48; Simonson, *Making Home Work*, 79, 98–99; Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 4, 74, 99, 105, 107, 158, 221; Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society*, 54–55; Brooks, *Moralism and the Modern Home*, 9, 12–13, 17–25, 97–99; and McDannell, "Parlor Piety," 173.
41. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 9 November 1878, folder 22, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 110; and Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 97, 166.
42. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 218; Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 9 November 1878, folder 22, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; and Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 90, 98.
43. Taylor Ealy diary, 1 February, 18 February, 3 April, 21 April, 24 April, 25 April, 29 April, 1 May 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA. See also Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 94, 99–100, 107.
44. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 21 May 1879, folder 28, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; Taylor Ealy diary, 19 March 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA; and Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 155, 158, 169–70.

45. Taylor Ealy diary, 20 February, 23 February, 1 March 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA; Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, 35; and Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 151.
46. Taylor Ealy diary, 18 February 1879, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 144.
47. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 149–50.
48. Ibid., 151.
49. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 21 May 1879, folder 28, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
50. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 55–56, 116; and Brooks, *Moralism and the Modern Home*, 28–29.
51. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 142.
52. Simonson, *Making Home Work*, 12, 72; and Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 47–50, 66–67, 90.
53. Mary Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 15 October 1878, folder 21, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
54. Mary Ealy, article for Sheldon Jackson's newspaper, *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, March 1879, quoted in Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 105; and Simonson, *Making Home Work*, 67.
55. Hammaker to Mrs. McMurry, 10 January 1880, quoted in Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 112–13, 135 (quoted); and Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, 140.
56. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 1 February 1879, folder 25, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 121, 165; and Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 106. On other missionaries in the West facing disinterest in school attendance among Native peoples, see Bolton, *Thomas Crosby*, 62; Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society*, 82; and Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 62.
57. Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 106; Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 165, see also 149–50, 154, 168–69, 171; and Benjamin Thomas to Taylor Ealy, 9 January 1879, p. 22, r. 3, M941, RG 75, NA.
58. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 171 (quoted), 174, 177–78.
59. Ibid., 169, 172–76, 177 (quoted).
60. Ibid., 165–70, 184. On page 178, Ruth Ealy noted another project in September 1879: Ealy and George "built an outhouse of adobe."
61. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 25 June 1879, folder 29, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS. See also Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 242.
62. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 22 August 1879, folder 29, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
63. Mary Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 18 November 1878, folder 22, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 20 December 1878, folder 23, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS; Hart, *Pedro Pino*, 119, 132; and Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 138.
64. Taylor Ealy diary, 2 February 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA; Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, 103; and Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 137–39, 142–50, 167–69, 179, 215–16. Taylor Ealy's journal documented his efforts to learn the Zuni language; see box 1, folder 5, EFP, CSWR, UNM. On how many missionaries worked diligently to learn Native languages, see Banker, "Of Missionaries," 84–85; and, for an account of John Menaul's successful language acquisition at Laguna Pueblo, see Mark Banker, "Presbyterian Missionary Activity in the Southwest: The Careers of John and James Menaul," *Journal of the West* 23 (January 1984): 55–61. Menaul's translation of a McGuffey's reader in 1882 was one of the first attempts at

bilingual educational texts in New Mexico, and can be found in Box 21.13.1, John Menaul and Charity Ann Gaston Menaul, Menaul Historical Library, Albuquerque, New Mexico [hereafter MHL].

65. Taylor Ealy diary, 21 September 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA; and Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 136.
66. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 137–38.
67. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 22 August 1879, folder 29, box 2, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
68. Benjamin Thomas to Taylor Ealy, 18 July 1879, p. 330, r. 3, M941, RG 75, NA; Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 106; Benge, "Benjamin Thomas," 99; and Hart, *Pedro Pino*, 21–26, 31–33, 39, 43–48, 54–55, 89–97.
69. Taylor Ealy diary, 12 September 1879, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 178–79, 185. See also Taylor Ealy diary, 17 September 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, TFE, UA; and Benjamin Thomas to Taylor Ealy, 29 April 1879, p. 194, r. 3, M941, RG 75, NA. Pedro Pino called on the assistance of Mary Ealy, as well. In May 1879, after Palowahtiwa and a few other Zunis were arrested for allegedly assaulting a Hispanic trespasser, Mary Ealy wrote two letters in support of the accused to Thomas. Mary Ealy to Benjamin Thomas, May 1879, folder 17, subser. 1, Correspondence, Pedro Pino series, 1848–1882, MS 6, Frank Hamilton Cushing Manuscript Collection, 1879–1900, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California [hereafter FHC, SWM]; Hart, *Pedro Pino*, 109–10; and Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 107.
70. Taylor Ealy, article for publication in *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, November 1879, quoted in Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 121.
71. Taylor Ealy diary, 15 September 1879, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 179; and Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 119.
72. Taylor Ealy, article for *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, November 1879, quoted in Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 121.
73. Taylor Ealy diary, 15 February 1879, folder 3, box 1, ser. 2, Diaries, 1854–1937, EFP, UA.
74. Taylor Ealy, "The Great Dance of the Zuni," article for *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 128–29; and Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 92, 127–29. Ruth Ealy mistakenly dates the dance as November 1878. Taylor Ealy recorded that the dance began on the Sabbath, 16 November, which would place the dance in 1879 not 1878. Bender corroborates that Ealy observed this particular ceremony in November 1879.
75. Joan Mark, "Frank Hamilton Cushing and an American Science of Anthropology," in *Perspectives in American History*, ed. Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, vol. 10 (Cambridge, Mass.: Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, Harvard University Press, 1976), 452. See also Cushing, "My Adventures," pt. 1, 204.
76. Frank Cushing to Spencer Baird [Secretary of the Smithsonian], 19 November 1879, quoted in Green, *Cushing at Zuni*, 63.
77. Taylor Ealy diary, 13 November 1879, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 190.
78. Frank Cushing to Spencer Baird, 5 May 1880, quoted in Green, *Cushing at Zuni*, 93; Cushing, "Daily Journal," 25 September 1880, quoted in Green, *Cushing at Zuni*, 126; and Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 5 January, 21 January, 22 January, 2 February, 16 February, 15 March, and 25 March 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM.
79. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 203.
80. Richard Henry Pratt to Frank Cushing, 27 December 1881, folder 48, subser. 1, Cor-

respondence, Zuni series, 1879–1884, MS 6, FHC, SWM; and David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 52. See also Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964), xiii.

81. Taylor Ealy, Annual Report, 1880, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 208.
82. Taylor Ealy, "List of 10 Pueblo Youths & Maidens," May 1880, folder 1, box 3, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS. For discussions of the Protestant practice of renaming Native children, see Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 108–9, 112; Michael C. Coleman, *Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Toward American Indians, 1837–1893* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 107–8; Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865–1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 182; Carmelita S. Ryan, "The Carlisle Industrial School" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 1962), 98–99; and Pearl Lee Walker-McNeil, *The Carlisle Indian School: A Study of Acculturation* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1986), 122–23.
83. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 17 July 1880, folder 3, box 3, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
84. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 12 July 1880, folder 3, box 3, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS. See also Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 97–100, 125; and Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 78–79.
85. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 12 July 1880, folder 3, box 3, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
86. Benjamin Thomas, 1880 Annual Report, quoted in Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 147; and Taylor Ealy, 1880 Annual Report, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 210.
87. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 212; Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 117, 138, 152; and Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 17 July 1880, folder 3, box 3, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
88. Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 7, 15, 16, and 20 January 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM.
89. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 224; and Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 1 April 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM.
90. Benjamin Thomas [to Taylor Ealy?], 3 September 1880, p. 274, r. 3, M941, RG 75, NA.
91. Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 4 June 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM. John Sullivan was a new carpenter working for Taylor Ealy; Billy Free frequently visited the mission from the Mormon settlement of Navajo (later Ramah), approximately seven miles from Savoya. Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 149, 151–52; and Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 20 January 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM.
92. Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, 126, 129, 145. See also Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997). Since We'wha dressed as a woman and also functioned as a woman in her own society, I refer to her with the female pronoun.
93. Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 10, 29, and 31 January 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM.
94. Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, 44.
95. Ibid., 45.

96. For a definition of cultural intermediaries as "repositories of two or more cultures," see Margaret Connell Szasz, ed., *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 6.
97. Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 19 February 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM; and Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 215–19.
98. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 214–15, 217 (quoted), 224; and Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 6 March 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM.
99. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 230.
100. Ibid., 166, 172, 176, 229 (quoted); and Swentzell, "Conflicting Landscape Values," 56–66.
101. Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 23 January and 27 February 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM; Taylor Ealy diary, 18 March 1881, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 219, 222–23, 232–33, 236 (quoted); and Bender, *"New Hope for the Indians,"* 135.
102. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 231; and Mary Ramsey Ealy diary, 5 June 1881, folder 2, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM. See also Green, *Cushing at Zuni*, 199, 396 n. 93.
103. Taylor Ealy to Sheldon Jackson, 17 July 1880, folder 3, box 3, ser. 1, RG 239, PHS.
104. Jennie Hammaker remained behind as missionary assistant at Zuni. She died of typhoid fever only a few months after the Ealys had left the pueblo. Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 239, 242.
105. Benjamin Thomas to "Dear Friends" [Zuni parents of deceased child], 5 August 1881, p. 220, r. 5, M941, RG 75, NA.
106. Benjamin Thomas to Richard Henry Pratt, 30 July 1881, p. 213, r. 5, M941, RG 75, NA.
107. Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 216 n. 6.
108. "Taylor F. Ealy" [Zuni student] to Frank Cushing, 5 June 1883, and Richard Henry Pratt to Frank Cushing, 13 June 1883, quoted in Green, *Cushing at Zuni*, 295–96, and 296, respectively. During vacations, Native boarding-school students commonly lodged with Anglo families to expose them to "civilized" family life. At its worst, this element of the "outing system" became a method to hire out Native students as servants. All evidence suggests that the Ealys did not treat Lawieatsalunkia in this manner but instead considered him a guest in their home. For discussions of the "outing system," see Simonson, *Making Home Work*, 76; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 54, 156–63; and Robert A. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891–1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 6, 20, 53, 73.
109. Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, 100. Green, *Cushing at Zuni*, 409 n. 20, indicates that a third Zuni student died, but does not state which one or when. See also Benjamin Thomas to Frank Cushing, 20 February 1882, p. 126, r. 5, M941, RG 75, NA; Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 8, 49, 54, 116; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 47, 113–14, 117–18, 210–15, 337; Simonson, *Making Home Work*, 90–92, 101, 154–55; and Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 113, 118–20. For another thorough look at the boarding school project, see Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850–1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993).
110. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 124, 130, 135. After Lawieatsalunkia "died of typhoid fever, in July 1883, [the Ealys] buried him in the Ealy family plot." Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 216 n. 6. I have visited the cemetery in Schellsburg, Pennsylvania, and located Lawieatsalunkia's gravestone.
111. A small box of "Dr. T. F. Ealy's Baby Powder" (complete with the formula for mak-

ing the powder) can be found in folder 7, box 1, EFP, CSWR, UNM. In 1914, a year before his death, Taylor Ealy revealed his continued interest in the West in "Notes on Billy the Kid," folder 7, box 1, ser. 3, Writings, 1875–1889, TFE, UA. Mary Ealy survived her husband by twenty years; during that time she revisited New Mexico and maintained a correspondence with acquaintances there. See "The Family of Mary R. Ealy," folder 9, box 2, EFP, CSWR, UNM; and Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, 165–66.

112. Bender, *Missionaries, Outlaws, and Indians*, xi. See also Bender, "*New Hope for the Indians*," 43; and Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 84, 102–3, 258–59.
113. Benge, "Benjamin Thomas," 152–53. For other discussions of missionaries' challenges as builders, see Bender, *Winning the West for Christ*, 180; and Bender, "*New Hope for the Indians*," 14–17, 24, 40, 47, 50.
114. Reverend J. M. Shields, who began serving at Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico, in the late 1870s, expressed a range of attitudes similar to Ealy's. He declared that Native peoples "are under a great darkness" but acknowledged that "the Pueblos have some customs that are very nice and social." John Milton Shields, "New Mexico Indians and Their Ways," 109, and "Pueblo Customs," 111, Box 21.45, MHL. As Mark Banker has observed, "Like many well-intentioned people, Presbyterian missionaries in the Southwest were both terribly human and wonderfully humane. . . . [E]xtended tours of duty in the Southwest often humbled and changed missionaries." Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, xii. For evidence of John Menaul's growing tolerance and understanding toward Native peoples, see Banker, "Presbyterian Missionary Activity," and John Menaul, "La Resolana," 30 September 1880, Box 21.13.1, MHL.
115. Taylor Ealy diary, 21 February 1881, quoted in Ealy, *Water in a Thirsty Land*, 219.

The Reformer, the Monsignor, and the Pueblos of New Mexico

CATHOLIC MISSIONARY RESPONSES TO NEW DIRECTIONS IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY INDIAN POLICY

Harvey Markowitz

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, many theoretical and moral foundations of post–Civil War federal Indian policy confronted growing scrutiny and attack. The primary targets were two ideologically complementary goals: transforming Indian "savages" into civilized U.S. citizens, and converting them from heathenism to Christianity. Commonly referred to as "Indian civilization and Christianization," these aims derived from an increasingly controversial philosophy of social progress which maintained that human societies advanced through unilinear stages of development toward the social and religious institutions typifying European and American nations. Situated at the core of this Eurocentric epic of human progress was the gradual disappearance of tribal collectivism and the emergence of modern western society, in which the nuclear family both reflected and supported individualistic customs and values. Deeming this pattern of development both natural and moral, policy makers believed

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culturally superior peoples were obligated to devise ways to speed the progress of Indians and other benighted folk toward their assimilation into the mainstream of civilized, Christian society.[1]

As far back as the early nineteenth century, the federal government had successfully petitioned mainline Christian denominations and missionaries to play a major role in civilizing and Christianizing Indians.[2] Among the most active was the Roman Catholic Church. Although it continually suspected the Protestant-dominated Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) of seeking to sabotage its efforts, the American Catholic hierarchy remained a steadfast advocate of the government's assimilationist efforts.[3] The many and varied reasons for this support included the historical parallel that the Catholic hierarchy drew between the church's work among contemporary American Indians and its civilization and Christianization of European barbarians during the Middle Ages. However, the primary foundation was the church's missiological application of the Thomistic credo "grace builds upon nature" to the relationship between civilization and Christianization. Catholic policy makers tended to assume that the successful planting of self-sustaining Indian sacramental communities, or Catholic Indian churches in the truest sense, required a "natural" substratum of Indian populations that practiced "civilized" Euroamerican social institutions.[4]

By the early twentieth century, the near universal failure of Indian missions to mature into churches was the source of considerable hand-wringing throughout the Catholic missionary enterprise. Although mission leaders increasingly sensed the urgency of discovering and addressing the causes for this failure, they were neither willing nor able to abandon completely the paradigm of Indian civilization and Christianization as well as their partnership with the OIA. During this period of confusion and malaise, John Collier appeared on the scene, initially as an ally in the church's fight to protect Pueblo land rights but soon thereafter as an agent of what Catholic missionaries considered radical and dangerous reform.

This article explores the origins, dissolution, and aftermath of the alliance between the Catholic Church and Collier. First, it identifies some of the influences that shaped Collier's efforts to safeguard the traditional communitarian customs and values of American Indian societies and religions. Second, it describes the events that led Collier and Catholic missionaries to join forces in 1922 to derail the Bursum Bill, a controversial measure that threatened to divest New Mexico's Pueblo Indians of thousands of acres of their most valuable lands. It also outlines the ideological differences that led to the disintegration of this alliance in 1925. Third, this article examines both the collapse of the assimilationist policy of "civilization and Christianization" by the early 1930s

and Catholic fears that Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt's selection of Collier as his commissioner of Indian affairs signaled an end to the historically deep working relationship between Christian missionaries and the OIA.

The early conflict between Collier and the Catholic Church over the Bursum Bill prepared the Church for changes in the direction of federal Indian policy that would force it to rethink its own guiding principles for working with Indians. The conflict sets forth some of the important conditions that led to an evolution in Catholic Indian missions in the twentieth century.

Collier and the Red Atlantis

In the "Forward and Apologia" to his autobiography from 1962, *From Every Zenith*, Collier informs his readers that "the theme of this book is community." He understands community as a human ideal rather than as an object of sociological description and analysis.[5] His goal, in fact, is nothing less than "an attempted devising of mental and social structures to enable the measureless potentials of community to vibrate and flow into modern man."[6] For Collier, community was a moral formation and process that could resuscitate a moribund western society sagging under the weight of modernity.

In the initial chapters of his book, Collier describes those persons and events that most influenced his normative view of community. Early in his life he converted to a humanistic form of Catholicism from which he eventually "passed out . . . with no inward struggle . . . and with lifelong gratitude" to the joyful discovery of "the earth soul, with all the souls of plant and man and beast, and all the cosmic purpose within these souls."[7] Collier loathed the devastating toll that industrialization and individual self-interest were taking on the human spirit; became involved with the labor and cooperative movements in France, Belgium, England, and Ireland during the first decade of the twentieth century; and grew committed to the social reform of American Progressivism.[8] Collier's idiosyncratic blending of these and other influences resulted in two complementary callings that would inform his entire professional life. The first was to protect the endangered communitarian lifeways of contemporary "premodern" peoples.

ILL. 1. JOHN COLLIER
(Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.)

The second was to adapt these forms of community life to serve as an antidote to the destructive American individualism and greed driven by modern corporate industrial capitalism.

Collier's dedication to these two goals prompted him to accept the position of civic secretary for the People's Institute in New York in 1908. One of the major responsibilities of his new office was to administer the forums, community centers, and settlement houses through which the institute sought to protect immigrant neighborhoods from the isolating forces of urban life. Collier hoped that such grassroots initiatives would eventually coalesce into a nationwide social-reform movement. Despite some early successes, however, none of the institute's projects gathered the momentum they needed to survive.[9]

It was largely owing to this failure that Collier decided to accept the post of director for the California Office of Higher Education in 1919. Once in this new position, he quickly recast its projects and goals to satisfy his passion for social reform. One of his first initiatives was to offer classes in community organizing. The popularity of these courses led him to institute a statewide series of forums that drew heavily on the European socialist and communist movements for its inspiration. Ironically, however, the success of Collier's first year in California proved to be his undoing. The overlap of his forums with Atty. Gen. Alexander Palmer's anticommunist "witch hunt" led California's legislature to slash appropriations for adult education. Rather than provoke further cuts, Collier submitted his resignation in autumn 1920.[10]

Still reeling from his failures on both coasts, Collier withdrew with his wife and three sons to an isolated stretch of California's Redondo Beach in November 1920. He had intended this excursion to be preparation for a far more rigorous retreat in the wilds of the Sonoran Desert. Shortly before their departure, however, he received a series of letters from his friend Mabel Dodge Luhan that led him to change this itinerary. Writing from her adopted home of Taos, New Mexico, Luhan urged him to visit that "magical habitation . . . of six hundred magical Indians."[11] At first, Collier understandably read Luhan's letters with a jaundiced eye. His experiences in New York and California had sensitized him to the apparently insurmountable difficulties entailed in reclaiming western society from the clutches of individualism and materialism. The suggestion that a tiny group of North American Indians had managed to resist the social dislocations of modern society struck him as positively ludicrous. Nonetheless, his reform spirit remained sufficiently intact for him to re-route the family's travel to Sonora through the Pueblo of Taos.

Collier initially planned this trip to Taos as little more than a whistle-stop call on an old friend. As soon as the family arrived at the pueblo, however, its natural surroundings, people, and lifeways so enchanted them that he decided

to make it their home for the next five months. During this period, Luhan's "magical inhabitants" became Collier's "Red Atlantis": a society characterized by "personality-forming institutions . . . which had survived repeated and immense shocks, and which were going right on in the production of states of mind, attitudes of mind, earth-loyalties and human loyalties, amid a context of beauty which suffused all the life of the groups."[12]

The significance of Taos for Collier lay not merely in its miraculous resistance to the corruptions of western civilization, but also in its potential for rehabilitating modern American society. As historian Kenneth R. Philp has observed, Collier believed:

> Pueblo culture, and tribal life in general, must survive not only in justice to the Indian but in service to the white. The Indian offered examples of gemeinschaft relationships in which people in communal life were motivated by shared purposes instead of the white-oriented gesellschaft mode of life, in which individuals lived isolated from each other. They [Pueblos] demonstrated how organized groups of people, joined together in community life, could save mankind from the negative consequences of the industrial age.[13]

In March 1922, Collier finally managed to tear himself and his family away from the Southwest to interview successfully for the post of sociologist at San Francisco State Teachers' College. Although this position was primarily instructional, he again devised ways to pursue his commitment to social reform, which he now directed toward the preservation of Native American rights and values. One of his projects was to aid Stella Atwood, chairperson of the Indian Welfare Committee (IWC), in procuring funds for that recently organized arm of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.[14] Once aware of his connections with the IWC, one of Collier's friends succeeded in soliciting money to underwrite two years of his salary and expenses as a researcher and publicity agent for the committee's independent investigation of federal Indian affairs. After securing a release from his contract with San Francisco State, he began to prepare for his work with New Mexico's Pueblos, among whom the investigation was to begin. Little did he know that his work in their communities would last far longer and take a far different direction than he originally had planned.[15]

Collier, the Catholic Church, and the Bursum Bill

Collier first learned of the Bursum Bill in September 1922, while he was gathering information regarding the health and economic conditions of the

northern Pueblos. Authored and introduced by Sen. Holm O. Bursum of New Mexico, this proposed legislation was allegedly intended to settle the contested title to thousands of acres in New Mexico claimed by the Pueblos but occupied by Anglos and Hispanics. Although many of the non-Pueblos were squatters whose sole claim to their settlements rested on continuous occupation, others lived on tracts that they or previous residents had purchased from individual Indians assuming that the sale had brought title to the land. Congressional passage of the Enabling Act in 1910, however, undermined the validity of this assumption. The law classified Pueblos as federal wards and granted the U.S. government the exclusive right "to control and dispose of all lands acquired by the [Pueblo] Indians through or from the United States or any prior sovereignty." Deciding a challenge to this law in the case *United States v. Sandoval* in 1913, the U.S. Supreme Court not only reaffirmed the trust status of Pueblo lands but also rendered the Pueblos' designation as federally protected "wards" retroactive to 1848, thus throwing into question ownership of all Indian lands purchased after that date.[16]

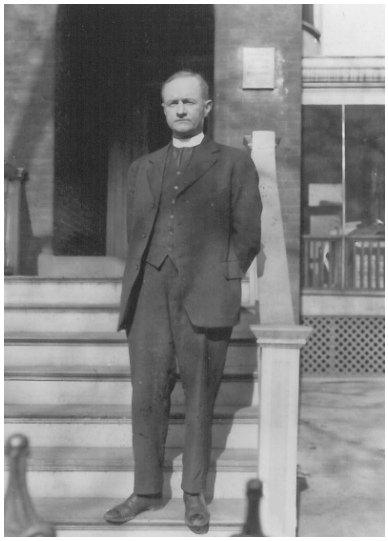
ILL. 2. HOLM O. BURSUM
(Courtesy of the New Mexico Historical Review)

While safeguarding Pueblo land and water rights, Sandoval heightened the danger of armed conflict between New Mexico's Native and non-Native residents. By the beginning of 1922, the situation had become so volatile that Sec. of the Int. Albert Fall, also of New Mexico, in cooperation with Comr. of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke, retained historian Ralph E. Twitchell of Santa Fe to investigate the history of the crisis and recommend avenues for its resolution. Twitchell's report, submitted to Fall in the spring of that year, proposed a settlement that attempted to balance the claims of Indians and homesteaders. By the time his compromise had passed through committee and was introduced for debate by Bursum, however, it had been altered in ways that, if enacted, would have guaranteed the Pueblos' forfeiture of sixty thousand acres of their most valuable lands and water resources.[17]

ILL. 3. CHARLES H. BURKE
(Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.)

Apprised of this dangerous legislation, on 5 November 1922, Santo Domingo Pueblo sponsored a special meeting to initiate the Pueblos' fight against the Bursum Bill. Attended by one hundred delegates from the majority of New Mexico's Pueblo tribes, this gathering not only marked a revival of the All Pueblo Indian Council after two and a half centuries but also generated nationwide publicity and support for the Indians' cause. Collier was one of the few non-Indians invited to audit the proceedings owing to the good relationships he had established with the people of Taos pueblo.[18]

Following the council meeting, Collier began publishing essays for liberal magazines such as *Sunset* to arouse public sentiments against the measure and solicited support from groups he knew to be sympathetic to Indian rights.[19] One of the organizations he contacted was the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM). In Collier's letter to the head of the BCIM, Msgr. William Hughes, he first described the pernicious character of the Bursum Bill. He then carefully outlined the importance of IWC investigations intended to safeguard Indian interests and stated that Catholic support for these inquiries was consistent with the finest traditions of the Church's Indian missions. On the subject of church support, Collier wrote:



ILL. 4. MSGR. WILLIAM HUGHES *(Courtesy Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin)*

> It is desirable that the Roman Catholic sponsorship be made as great as possible and shall extend to the entire range of their [the Pueblos'] problem, not only religious and moral but equally the social and economic phases of their problem which largely determine the moral part in these groups whose land and life is inseparable. I can't find any fine [*sic*] social imagination, any statesmanship, applied over a long period to any group in the United States, except which the Franciscans (and those whom they influenced) applied to the Southwest Indians. The principle and methods they used are just as applicable today; the new techniques, especially of economic sorts, which are needed, would assimilate perfectly to the ancient Franciscan conceptions.[20]

Hughes needed no letter from Collier to inform him of the dangers that the Bursum Bill posed to Pueblo landholdings and water rights. His associates

in Washington and missionaries in the Southwest had long ago apprised him of these facts. When writing to Hughes, Collier may well have known that he was preaching to the converted. His goal, however, was not merely to formally enlist the BCIM director among the anti-Bursum forces, but also to obtain from him a letter of introduction that would facilitate his investigations in New Mexico.

Although he sympathized fully with the IWC's campaign against the Bursum Bill, Hughes lacked sufficient knowledge of Collier to vouch for his character. He therefore sought the advice of Fr. Dennis Lacey and Bishop John Joseph Cantwell of Los Angeles and Archbishop Edward Joseph Hanna of San Francisco, all of whom were familiar, Hughes knew, with Collier's character and work. Only after the three clerics had submitted their endorsements did Hughes notify the missionaries in New Mexico to assist Collier's work.

The curious saga of the early relationship between Collier and the Catholic Indian Missions really begins with Hughes's correspondence. He advised the Pueblo missionaries to prepare for a visit from Collier of the IWC and Richard Shevsky of Leland Stanford Junior University in California. The intent of these visitors was to gather information for an exhaustive investigation of Pueblo land conditions. Lauding their qualifications and project, Hughes wrote Fr. Salvatore Gene, "[They] are specially equipped to such an investigation and manifest warm interest in the Pueblo. The matter to which they are giving their special attention . . . the Bursum bill now pending in Congress which, if passed, would work very serious injury on the Pueblo Indians. I speak for these gentlemen [to solicit] your courteous and hearty cooperation in conducting an undertaking that, I am quite sure, will be for the great benefit of the Indians concerned."[21]

The monsignor's letters of introduction supplied Collier with access to the knowledge and good graces of the many Catholic religious stationed among the Pueblos. The most important of these contacts was undoubtedly Fr. Fridolin Schuster, the veteran Franciscan missionary at Laguna. Like Hughes and Collier, Father Schuster well understood the disasters that the Bursum Bill would unleash on Pueblo communities. To learn more about the measure, Schuster had met with attorney Francis C. Wilson of Santa Fe, who was an IWC retainer at the time. Wilson evidently provided the priest with information but dampened his hope of defeating the pro-Bursum forces.[22]

A boost in Schuster's spirits was not long in coming. On 1 November 1922, he wrote Hughes that he had "met with Collier and [was] more than happy to join forces with him."[23] In this letter, the priest included a postscript invaluable for gauging his initial response to Collier: "Mr. Collier is a wonderful man, very clever, thorough and a good organizer. He is eminently fitted for

the work and the Federation [of Women's Clubs] could hardly have selected a more competent man."[24]

Meanwhile, Collier apparently had taken no less of a liking to the Franciscan priest. He related to Father Hughes that he "found especially great help from Fr. Shuster [*sic*] of Laguna."[25] Shortly thereafter, Collier commented, "Fr. Shuster [*sic*] has scholarship, the most practicality, is accepted by the Laguna Indians as a sort of a wiser brother or vice governor, [and] is equally in touch with the Government men, and he is one of the few persons in or out of New Mexico who understands the Pueblo land question and the legal and legislative side of this very complicated situation."[26]

Despite the warmth of these mutual accolades, however, the relationship between Collier (in association with Wilson) and Father Schuster began to cool within a year of their initial meeting, and both Schuster and Hughes soon severed their association with Collier. Strangely, this rapid fallout resulted from a disagreement over which of two compromise bills could best protect Pueblo land rights while gaining Senate and House passage.

One of these proposals, known as the Jones-Leatherwood Bill, called for the creation of a presidentially appointed three-person panel that would work with a special U.S. attorney and a Pueblo-appointed counsel.[27] This panel was to be responsible, first, for establishing guidelines for compensating Indians who had been dispossessed of their lands; second, for applying these guidelines on a case-by-case basis to the disputed land claims brought before it; and third, for allocating approximately one million dollars to irrigation projects that would benefit Indians and non-Indians alike.

According to the *Searchlight* (later renamed the *Searchlight on Congress*), a monthly bulletin published by the watchdog group the National Voters' League, Jones-Leatherwood represented the combined efforts of the Pueblo Indians, the Women's Federation, the Franciscan Fathers of New Mexico, and the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs. High-profile organizations such as the American Anthropological Association and the Eastern Association on Indian Affairs had endorsed the bill. In spite of its distinguished pedigree and the growing public support for the Pueblos, however, it failed to win over most of the House Indian Affairs Committee's pro-Bursum members.[28]

Having anticipated this outcome, the Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys held an open hearing from 15 January to 25 January 1923. A steady stream of anti-Bursum witnesses, including Wilson, Atwood, and Collier (in the company of numerous Pueblo Indians), voiced their opposition to the bill's passage. Although officials from the Interior Department attempted to counter these criticisms, the committee ultimately decided that the bill was unfair to the Indians and that a more equitable measure should replace it.

Bearing the name of the Senate committee's chairman, Irvine L. Lenroot, the Lenroot Substitute called for the formation of a federal board of arbitration much like the one that had been outlined in the Jones-Leatherwood Bill. Unlike its predecessor, however, this board was to follow a specific statute of limitations on Pueblo claims. The Lenroot Substitute also differed from Jones-Leatherwood by specifying mechanisms to compensate Indians for the lands they had lost.

The Lenroot Substitute split apart the closely drawn ranks of the anti-Bursum forces. While some members of this coalition believed that the measure offered a reasonable compromise between the Bursum and Jones-Leatherwood Bills, others found it weighted heavily against the Pueblos. The debate also divided Collier, Wilson, and Schuster into opposing camps. Collier opposed the Lenroot Substitute's passage, while Wilson and Schuster supported it. This difference was the source of bitterness that intensified over time. Expressing the level of hostility the measure generated, Schuster wrote to Hughes in November 1923:

> We [Schuster and Wilson] both agreed that Collier is a "nut" and a radical man. I realized that when I was in Washington, so did Wilson. However, under the then existing conditions we had to hold together, at least on the surface. Action against the Bursum bill was most imperative and therefore Wilson and I did things we would not have had we more time to deliberate. After the close of Congress Collier attacked Wilson most shamefully and unjustly. I sided with Wilson and that apparently made Collier sore at me. I have had no correspondence with Collier since I returned from Washington. I am through with him.[29]

On yet another occasion, Schuster wrote Lenroot to warn him of the devious tactics that Collier was intending to employ in order to turn the committee against the Lenroot Substitute. He stated: "John Collier is on his way to Washington with twelve Pueblo Indians. These Indians are from the northern pueblos only. . . . Thus again John Collier is sailing under false colors if he maintains that he has representatives from all the pueblos." Schuster elaborated:

> I have been further told that John Collier made the statement . . . that he does not want educated Indians, but Indians who can sing and dance well; that they are doing the dancing and he (John Collier) will do the talking. If this be true, it seems that Mr. Collier is taking the Indians to Washington for the sole purpose of arousing sentiments

> in their favor and for the purpose of propaganda. . . . If Mr. Collier uses such methods I am of the humble opinion that he deserves little consideration from your Committee. We fear that by such methods Mr. Collier will only injure the Indian cause.[30]

From Schuster's point of view, Collier had become an exceedingly strange bedfellow with whom he wished to sever all ties.

If their dispute had rested on achieving an equitable solution to the Pueblo land controversy, Schuster and Collier may soon have been free of each other. During the debacle over the Bursum Bill, however, Indian Commissioner Burke disseminated a circular that not only deepened the conflict but also drew Monsignor Hughes directly into the fray. Released on 14 February 1923, this circular described the obstacle that social and religious—"pagan"—dances posed to the social and economic advancement of the Indians. The commissioner recommended that reservation agents strictly enforce regulations regarding their frequency and performance.[31]

In spite of his fundamental agreement with Burke's positions on Indian dancing and religion, Schuster harbored serious misgivings concerning the contents and timing of the order. First, he considered the commissioner guilty of naïve induction by generalizing too freely about Indian rituals from data drawn predominantly from the Sioux. Second, he feared that Burke's threatening tone might incite the Pueblos to take action that would jeopardize their land claims. Schuster voiced his ambivalence to Hughes on 1 March 1923:

> I think it [the circular] was untimely and unfortunate for the reason he made it so general and sweeping. I am in full sympathy with the contents, and purpose of that circular, but basing the circular on reports from Sioux country, the Commissioner generalizes and apparently includes all Indian tribes. The Pueblos are resenting it very strongly; some Pueblos have proposed to call another meeting of all the pueblos to protest against this measure. I am using my influence to prevent this. My advice is to remain cool and not start another row until the Indian land bill is definitely settled.[32]

While Schuster labored to defuse the Pueblos' outrage over Burke's circular, Collier poured his energies into channeling their anger toward politically constructive ends. During the summer of 1923, the second All Pueblo Indian Council at Santo Domingo passed resolutions he had distributed protesting the circular. Angered by what he considered Collier's rabble-rousing, Schuster wrote Hughes: "I think that Commissioner Burke and the Bursum crowd

in Santa Fe are beginning to realize that I am not quite as radical as they thought. When the Pueblos held their meeting to protest against the Commissioner's circular on dancing neither I nor the Laguna Indians (upon my advice) were present, and when the Pueblos met again in Santo Domingo on August 25 I was not present and the Lagunas would not sign the resolutions that John Collier had formulated."[33] Collier's direct involvement or advisement undoubtedly irritated the cleric and his church and deepened his rift with Schuster and Hughes.

As he had done in the fight against the Bursum Bill, Collier published a series of articles in the popular press to publicize the injustice of Burke's policy on Indian dance and religion. In "Persecuting the Pueblos," which appeared in *Sunset* magazine, he quoted the Taos governor's response to the commissioner's circular, which characterized Pueblo religious traditions as pagan. The governor proclaimed, "This religion of ours is many thousand years old among our people and is more important to each one of us than money, horses, land, or anything else in the world. It teaches us about God and the earth and our duty to God, to earth, to one another. The White people have a Bible which is printed, but ours is passed on by memory from the old to the young and it contains our knowledge of God, our forms of prayer and our rules of life."[34] Expressing his own views on Pueblo religion and dance, Collier wrote:

> Let [the reader] remind himself that the "dances" are any and all collective religious expressions of the Indians. Let him take in the fact that the Indian holy days and holy seasons have been fixed since thousands of years ago, as changeless as Easter or Christmas or any Jewish or Christian time of sacred rejoicing or mourning. The Indian holy places are as fixed as Rome, Mecca or Jerusalem. Let him be informed that planting time, blossoming time and harvest time are the immutable dates for Indian ritual far older than Christianity.[35]

Collier concluded his article by exhorting readers of *Sunset* to express their disapproval of the government's suppression of Indian religions to their congressmen, the secretary of the interior, and the president of the United States. Their protests, he submitted, would "help decide whether Washington, or only the Bureau, is or shall be allowed to continue as the religious persecutor of the Indians."[36]

As part of his campaign to sway popular opinion against Commissioner Burke and his policies, Collier arranged for a group of Pueblo dancers to perform at the Los Angeles meeting of the General Federation of Women's

Clubs in June 1924. Learning of Collier's plans on 28 May 1924, Schuster appealed to Hughes for funds to bring a contingent of "progressive," Christian Pueblos to the conference. Schuster wrote:

> [Collier] will take a delegation of Pueblo Indian [*sic*] to the convention of the Federation of Woman's [*sic*] Club[s] next week (we just discovered this) ad [*sic*] there have them dance before the convention and then pointing to these harmless? beautiful? Dances with lots of sob stuff that the Indian Office is trying by force to stop these harmless practices of their religion. We must counteract this and we have a delegation of Catholic progressive Indians selected who will go as Christian Indians to present their side of the case and tell in their own words what they have suffered for many years for their religious convictions. . . . I do hope that you will have been able to raise or find some money to help this cause.[37]

Hughes demonstrated his support for Schuster's strategy by quickly sending him the funds he had requested. And for a brief time, it appeared that the federation's meetings would be the scene of an ugly public showdown between Schuster and Collier on Pueblo religious freedom. At the last minute, however, Schuster's priestly duties prevented him and his contingent from attending the gathering.

Yet Schuster's change of plans merely postponed a clash between Collier and the Catholic Church over the Pueblos. When this confrontation finally took place, Collier's opponent was no longer a little-known missionary from an isolated pueblo but the director of the Catholic Indian missions himself, Monsignor Hughes.

Shortly after Collier vented his outrage over the government's attempts to suppress Pueblo religion, the BCIM director responded to his charges in a *Sacramento (Calif.) Bee* editorial. Headlined "Director of Catholic Indian Missions Says Pueblos Are Persecuted by Pagan Chiefs," Hughes's piece contended that the Christian, not non-Christian, Pueblos were the real victims of religious persecution. Hughes accused the "pagan, or reactionary chiefs" (caciques) of "cruelly persecuting the Christian progressives" because of the latters' refusal to participate in the pagan dances and customs. "For many years," Hughes continued, "returned students have been compelled to go back to the blanket or be persecuted by the czarist party." In a likely swipe at Collier and his supporters, he condemned "a few white men" for seeking to perpetuate the old Indian ways, "because it pays them in a salaried job or in art models or in scientific research, or because they are won by deception or sentimentality to the cacique cause."[38]

To bolster his case, Hughes quoted liberally from a speech that the leader of the Christian Pueblos, Juan Pedro Melchiors, had delivered before a meeting of the "All-Pueblo Progressive Indian Council" at Santa Clara Pueblo on 27 May 1924. In his talk, Melchiors appealed for the government to protect Pueblo Christians so they could practice their religion in freedom, send their children to mission schools, receive their fair share of Pueblo resources, take part in the selection of Pueblo leaders, and advance civilization. "All the progressives," Melchiors pleaded, "want to progress, and they want their families to progress, and the Government is obliged to defend us." He then declared that the "old officials must be put to one side . . . the officers are always taken from the party . . . we call the Cacique party. They do not work with justice; they have practiced many injustices against us. . . . We want liberty. We want justice."[39]

Hughes sent a copy of his editorial to Burke so he would receive it on the day it appeared in the *Bee*. The monsignor's cover letter informed Burke that he had written the piece at the suggestion of his friend and *Bee* journalist Charley McClatchy, who urged him to go public with his charges that Collier had "falsif[ied] the facts on the Pueblo case and distort[ed] the spirit and letter of . . . [Burke's] circulars concerning Indian dances."[40] This unexpected attack on Collier so delighted Burke that he quickly telegrammed the vacationing Hughes for permission to reproduce and distribute the editorial.[41] The BCIM director quickly assented "in the interest of truth and justice and for the benefit of the Indians."[42]

Not surprisingly Collier took a dimmer view of Hughes's article. Writing to the editor of the *Bee*, he characterized the monsignor as the guileless pawn of the OIA. Hughes's allegations against Pueblo traditionalists, he went on, were a "fantastic counter charge or smoke screen charge which has been proposed in self defense by agents of the Indian Bureau and others seeking to persecute Indian religions." Burke's policies on Indian religion, he claimed, were intended to "split the Pueblos asunder . . . paralyzing them in their struggle before the Indian Land Board and the courts for recovery of their lands." Collier and his supporters realized "that the Indian deprived of his religion becomes [quickly] deprived of his land." Collier submitted, "If they can be torn away from their religion, automatically they will be torn away from land." Returning to Hughes's charge that the caciques and the traditionalists were persecuting "progressive" Indians, Collier observed that the "Pueblos live their religion though they have no desire to impose it on any other human beings. They never proselytized or persecuted, which makes such a charge as Father Hughes has repeated cruelly fantastic."[43]

One of the more impassioned responses to Collier's *Bee* editorial came from Joseph N. Montoya of San Juan Pueblo, who was vice president of the

All-Pueblo Progressive Council. In a letter to Collier, Montoya put his (Collier's) reputed friendship for the Indians to the test with a series of rhetorical questions:

> What kind of friendship is it that would keep a whole race in primitive ignorance perpetuated under the name of an ancient religion? What kind of a friendship is it that would prevent a whole race from realizing to the fullest the possibilities of manhood under Christian civilization? What kind of friendship is it that would tamper with a race of immortal souls seeking a knowledge of the God who created them, in order to preserve this race as a curious show-case thing for the amusement of a more favored race? May I ask you if you cannot find apes and other primitive animals enough to fill your museums without putting your friends the Indians there for objects of amusement or scientific interest?[44]

Switching from inquisitor to counselor, Montoya advised Collier: "If you wish to be our real friend, show your interest by granting the only mark of friendship possible in your case. Withdraw altogether from us and leave us to our Government and such true friends as are acting with it, and we shall soon be able to settle our own business to our best interests."[45]

Schuster's opinion of Collier continued to plummet while Collier and Hughes were trading accusations. Writing to BCIM secretary Charles Lusk in late May 1924, he asserted: "I imagine the name of John Collier makes you as sick to the stomache [*sic*] as it does me. He is certainly a disturbing element in the Pueblo country and always inciting the Indians to something. . . . I wish that Commissioner Burke would order him off Pueblo lands. If Collier is anxious to pose as a martyr I would not hesitate to give him that opportunity."[46]

While Hughes and Collier waged their war of words over Burke's Indian-dance policy, Congress finally ratified the Pueblo Lands Board Act on 7 June 1924. The final bill was an evenhanded reworking of elements from the Jones-Leatherwood Act and the Lenroot Substitute that satisfied supporters of each. Once signed into law, this legislation brought the battle over Pueblo land rights to a close and allowed the various contesting parties finally to turn their attention elsewhere.[47]

Yet the antagonism bred by Hughes's private and public battle with Collier not only led him to reinforce the BCIM's bond with Burke's Indian policies but also encouraged him to seek a pact with Herbert Welsh, the founder and longtime leader of the Indian Rights Association (IRA), a Protestant-dominated Indian advocacy group that the Catholics identified as an archenemy of their

Indian missions. That Hughes would attempt to establish an alliance with the founder and longtime leader of the IRA spoke volumes about his loathing for Collier. During Welsh's tenure as president in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the IRA's staunch opposition to federal support for Catholic-operated Indian boarding schools made his name anathema among Catholic missionaries.

To woo Welsh, Hughes sent him a personalized copy of his attack on the "Pagan Chiefs." Delighted by this gesture, Welsh thanked him for "his admirable written statement" and replied, "I need scarcely add I concur in what you have said." As if commiserating with an old friend, Welsh informed Hughes of a "serious situation" at the Pueblo of Cochiti involving a cacique who was refusing to return two boys, who had been granted fourteen days furlough for religious training, to the government boarding school. This defiance, virtually constituting a rebellion against the U.S. Constitution and federal law, "has been brought about by the conflict between the pagan chiefs representing the non-progressive ideas and those Indians of the Pueblos who want to move forward into the quiet and secure paths of United States citizenship, whether as Catholic Christians or those of other forms of Christian belief." To preempt "grave consequences in the future," Welsh insisted that the non-progressive Pueblo should be "made to understand that they must obey our laws, and certainly that they will not be permitted to force those members of their tribe . . . who want to march forward in civilized ways, to become their serfs."[48]

Welsh's policy, which linked "Christian civilization" to federal assimilationist Indian policy, was quickly losing ground to a more pluralistic philosophy of society and religion in the 1920s. This transition explained Collier's, Schuster's, and Hughes's radically different takes on Burke's proscription of Indian "dancing." Reflecting the Catholic perspective on nonwestern faiths, the priest and monsignor viewed Pueblo modes of worship in terms of a theological split between natural religion on the one hand and the revealed, supernatural Judeo-Christian tradition on the other. They took for granted that replacing the superstitions of Pueblo heathenism with Catholic ritual and prayer constituted the heart of the Catholic mission and complemented their work to advance Indians from savagery to civilization. For Collier and his supporters such as Mabel Dodge Luhan, the Pueblos' religion had guaranteed their survival as a Native people in tight-knit tribal communities. And, although undeniably different from the practices of Christians and Jews, Pueblo beliefs and rituals were equally ancient, valid expressions of human spirituality.[49]

At first glance, Collier's unintended role in brokering a truce between the traditionally antagonistic forces of Catholic and Protestant missionization is

little more than an ironic blip in the history of Christian missions to American Indians. A deeper consideration, however, demonstrates its importance for understanding the impending collapse of the assimilationist assumptions and methods that had dominated federal Indian policy since the 1870s. Whatever their mutual antagonisms and disparate theologies, Protestant and Catholic missionaries agreed that civilizing and Christianizing Indians was the fundamental solution to the "Indian Problem." Missionaries threw themselves into divesting Native Americans of their traditional customs and religions and replacing them with Euroamerican institutions and Christianity. The disappearance of "the Indians" as distinct societies and cultures and the transformation of tribal members into American Christian citizens would signal their success.[50]

These distinct notions concerning who Indians were and what sort of social and religious beings they ought to become set the stage for Collier's second encounter with Hughes and the Catholic missionary enterprise. This time, however, the battle would be waged over the much higher stakes of whether the Church could continue its work with Indians in cooperation with the federal government.

Collier and the Crisis in the Catholic Indian Mission

By 1926 anecdotal evidence suggested that the socioeconomic conditions of Indians had worsened significantly under Burke's scandal-ridden tenure as commissioner. To gauge the extent of this decline, Sec. of the Int. Hubert Work contracted with Lewis M. Meriam of the Brookings Institution to undertake a rigorous investigation of the current status of federal services to Native Americans.

Completed in February 1928, Meriam's analysis, a scathing indictment of U.S. Indian affairs, was erudite and far too detailed for general consumption.[51] Muckraking articles based on the commission's findings, however, soon filtered into the popular press. One of the most scandalous noted that the average federal expenditure for students in Indian boarding schools amounted to about eleven cents a day, an irresistible target for investigative reporters.[52]

The Meriam Report deepened Hughes's concern over the failures of Catholic and federal assimilationist policy. The complaint of Fr. Joseph Zimmerman at St. Francis Mission in South Dakota over the eleven-cents-a-day claim drove Hughes to retort:

> If you had attended with me the meeting in Atlantic City in November, you would realize a body of determined (and at present friendly) men are

> resolved that the problem shall be solved. No answer should be made by any of us. The facts would be clearly against us. We would be defending the indefensible. We would simply be inviting and would deserve attack. You have probably never been burned so you do not fear fire. Please do not pick up this red hot stone. If you do, you and all of us will regret it.[53]

With surprising candor, the monsignor posed the following question to Zimmerman:

> If the Indian Department has pursued the right policies, why are the Sioux Indians not advanced much further in economic independence? You may answer that the Indian Department has not had enough money to do the job right. I believe that it is correct. But the rest of the answer is in the book. And most of it is right. Doctor Tennelly suggests that I write a similar book on the Catholic Indian missions—and then resign. Such a book might wake up the hierarchy and the people.[54]

This admission, coming from the man in charge of Catholic Indian missions, foresaw the dangers facing Catholic Indian boarding schools only worsening.

Although bruised and shaken, Burke and the OIA managed to weather the initial blast from the Meriam Report. The shockwaves had hardly begun to subside when, in 1929, the commissioner was called to testify before a special Senate subcommittee that was conducting its own probe into the federal Indian Service. During his appearance, the panel relentlessly grilled Burke on suspected irregularities in his handling of the trust funds of Jackson Barnett, an Oklahoma Creek Indian, on whose allotment oil had been discovered. In an uncensored moment, the commissioner accused Sen. William Bliss Pine of Oklahoma of heading a cabal organized to destroy him and the OIA.[55] Unable either to substantiate these charges or to soften them to mollify his enemies, Burke submitted his letter of resignation on 9 March 1929.[56]

Although Burke's career with the OIA was now technically at an end, he continued as the lame duck commissioner until the beginning of July. During the interim, Pres. Herbert Hoover's choice as new commissioner, Charles Rhoads, worked frantically to acquaint himself with the bureau's complex machinery. Upon assuming office, he directed his energies toward winning congressional approval for many reforms recommended by Meriam and his associates. As a former president of the Indian Rights Association, however, Rhoads remained committed to that organization's traditional assimilationist goals in ways that soon ran him afoul of the OIA's more radical critics. Among these opponents were Collier, cofounder and executive secretary of

the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA), and Harold C. Ickes, a progressive member of that organization.[57]

As a key player in Washington's Indian-policy establishment and a friend of Burke's, Hughes was undoubtedly cognizant of Collier's involvement in the successful effort to oust the former commissioner. But the monsignor was likely more concerned about the relationship of Collier and AIDA to the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Although Hughes now supported the position that assimilationist Indian policy was in need of a fundamental overhaul, he thought that many of AIDA's recommendations were far too radical. Of particular concern was the organization's opposition to Indian boarding schools, including those that the Catholic Church had long operated on many reservations. Given Hughes's falling out with Collier over Pueblo religion and the latter's leadership in AIDA, the monsignor worried that his old nemesis would use his influence over the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs to undermine congressional support for these institutions. Writing to St. Francis Mission superior Zimmerman on 4 June 1929, Hughes stressed the importance of enrolling in his school as many students as government contracts allowed. "We need to make the best showing possible," he urged, "because the Sub-Committee may possibly go into the matter of tribal contract schools. I hope not because publicity would probably result in great injustice to the Indians, by reason of the religious prejudice which would be aroused against our mission schools."[58]

After Franklin D. Roosevelt's victory in the presidential election of 1932, Hughes took for granted that the new commander in chief would replace most of Hoover's appointees with those of his own choosing. The casualties, he assumed, would almost certainly include Rhoads, whose conservative approach to changes in Indian affairs ran contrary to the new Democratic administration's social agenda. On 20 February 1933, Monsignor Hughes wrote to Katherine Drexel, mother superior of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament and heiress to the Philadelphia Drexel fortune, about the likelihood that Rhoads would be required to vacate his post and the significance of this change for the Catholic Indian schools. He assured her that "the important thing is not so much who will be made Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, but that the key men who know what it is all about, shall be retained."[59] Although Hughes was probably unhappy when Roosevelt chose AIDA affiliate Harold L. Ickes to replace Ray Lyman Wilbur as secretary of the interior, Ickes's championing of Collier for Indian commissioner must have horrified him. The monsignor, as we have seen, was beset with doubts concerning assimilationist Indian policy, but his hatred of Collier was undiminished. He quickly arranged for a meeting with James A. Farley,

Roosevelt's newly appointed postmaster general and the first Irish Catholic to gain such political prominence. Through Farley, the monsignor hoped to make Ickes revoke Collier's nomination. Hughes presented Farley with the following reasons: "First, because he [Collier] is an impractical agitator . . . secondly, because he would do endless harm not only to the Democratic Administration but also the Indians and, thirdly, because he is an avowed opponent of the contract school system." Hughes also urged Cardinal Patrick Joseph Hayes of New York to ask the postmaster to speak to the president. "Your Eminence may judge that this action is necessary," Hughes declared, "because in my seventeen years with the Bureau, I have never heretofore, found such action necessary. We have been able to take the Commissioners as they came, always establishing cordial relations."[60]

Indeed, Farley informed Ickes of the BCIM director's reservations concerning Collier. As Hughes learned later, however, Farley's message "had no effect, Secretary Ickes considering himself, as he is a coordinate member of the Cabinet with Mr. Farley."[61] Having thus failed to scuttle Collier's appointment, Hughes resigned himself to the fact that the "impractical agitator" would soon be in charge of setting a new course for federal Indian policy that, he was convinced, would have no place for Catholic missionary work on reservations.

Conclusion

As expected, Collier was appointed commissioner of Indian affairs on 21 April 1933. By June of the following year, Congress had approved (if tentatively) many of the provisions in his sweeping overhaul of federal Indian relations. Although officially designated the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the new policy was also referred to as the Wheeler-Howard Act and the Indian New Deal, the last label signifying its place in Roosevelt's overarching economic stimulus package. Collectively the IRA's various components constituted the final nail in the coffin for Indian "civilization and Christianization." Accordingly, both the policy of allotment, which had led to the loss of more than ninety million acres of tribally controlled land and the suppression of Native cultures and religions were immediately terminated at the federal level.

Contrary to Hughes's expectations, however, the IRA displayed no animus toward reservation missionary work. In his first annual report, Commissioner Collier warned, "No interference with Indian religious life will hereafter be tolerated," but he also insisted that his administration had no "intention of interfering unduly with intelligent and devoted mission effort on the part of Catholic or Protestant workings in the Indian field" or the operation of

denominational education.[62] The IRA prioritized community day schools over both government- and church-operated boarding facilities (a shift in policy recommended by the Meriam Report and actually initiated under Rhoads), but it also recognized the ongoing necessity for the latter. The government continued to underwrite boarding-school tuition for children living in economically ravaged households (which was not uncommon on depression-era reservations) and for those who lived great distances from day schools. Under these circumstances, denominational boarding schools, such as the one at St. Francis Mission, still provided significant educational service to tribal reservations.

Although Hughes was less than enthusiastic about a number of Collier's initiatives, the IRA was, to his surprise, a policy with which he could live. In "Indians of a New Trail" published in the *Catholic World* in July 1934, Hughes wrote that the IRA "will open up a new era for Indians in which all of the ardent hopes, misgivings, honest doubts and interested opposition will resolve themselves into team work by Government employees, missionaries, friends of Indians and the Indian [*sic*] themselves, under the idealistic but practical leadership of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the improvement of the Indians."[63] This optimistic assessment of the state of church-federal relations in Indian affairs is certainly at odds with the pessimism he expressed to Cardinal Hayes concerning his ability to work with Collier. Although he and the Indian commissioner might have never been able to establish "cordial relations," Hughes apparently now recognized Collier as someone with whom he could work, "taking him as he came."[64]

Notes

1. For overviews of evolutionary social and cultural change, see David Bidney, *Theoretical Anthropology* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967); and Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). For its application to American Indian policy, see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (1984; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); and Harvey Markowitz, *Converting the Rosebud: A Culture History of Catholic Mission and the Sicangu Lakotas, 1886–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Divinity School, 2002).
2. S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973), 46–47.
3. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888–1912* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979); and Harvey Markowitz, "The Catholic Mission

and the Sioux: A Crisis in the Early Paradigm," in *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 113–37.

4. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Pt. 1, Q.I, A. 8, ad. 2. An excellent example of the belief that the planting of church communities required appropriately civilized soil can be seen in the Catholic Church's strong advocacy for settling nomadic Indian tribes on reservations. Once these tribes had been made stationary, the missionaries could school them in western customs and values, and the work of missionaries would have a chance to take root.
5. John Collier, *From Every Zenith: A Memoir; and Some Essays on Life and Thought* (Denver, Colo.: Sage Books, 1962), 9–12.
6. Ibid., 10.
7. Ibid., 24 (first quote), 25 (second quote).
8. Collier, *Zenith*, 24–25, 63, 64, 68–69. Collier's close working associates in New York reflect his progressive stance. They included Robert E. Ely, founder of the League for Political Education, and Charles Sprague-Smith, organizer of the People's Institute, where Collier worked.
9. Ibid., 68–94.
10. Ibid., 115–23.
11. Collier, *Zenith*, 124.
12. Ibid., 126.
13. Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920–1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 24.
14. For a detailed treatment of Collier's work with the IWC and Stella Atwood, see Karin L. Huebner, "An Unexpected Alliance: Stella Atwood, the California Clubwomen, John Collier, and the Indians of the Southwest, 1917–1934," *Pacific Historical Review* 78 (August 2009): 337–66.
15. Collier, *Zenith*, 126–31.
16. United States v. Sandoval, 231 U.S. 28 (1913).
17. For an excellent summary of the convoluted evolution of Bursum and post-Bursum congressional actions on the Pueblo land crisis, see Philp, *Collier's Crusade*, 26–54.
18. Collier, *Zenith*, 132.
19. John Collier, "Plundering the Pueblo Indians," *Sunset*, January 1923, 21–27.
20. John Collier to Hughes, 29 September 1922, Papers of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Department of Special Collections and Archives, Raynor Memorial Libraries, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin [hereafter BCIM].
21. William Hughes to Gene, 10 October 1922, BCIM.
22. Schuster to William Hughes, 2 October 1922, BCIM.
23. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 1 November 1922, BCIM.
24. Ibid.
25. John Collier to William Hughes, 27 October 1922, BCIM.
26. Ibid.
27. For an excellent summary of the various congressional proposals to settle the Pueblo land controversy, see Philp, *Collier's Crusade*, 26–54.
28. The *Searchlight* no. 7 contains two important essays by Collier on the thorny negotiations between the pro- and anti-Bursum forces on the Pueblo land controversy: John

Collier, "Politicians Pillage the Pueblos," *Searchlight*, 31 December 1922, pp. 15–20; and "Congress Upholds and Upbuilds Bureaucracy," *Searchlight*, 1 May 1923, pp. 16–21.

29. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 19 November 1923, BCIM.
30. Fridolin Schuster to Irvine Lenroot, 27 January 1924, BCIM.
31. Charles Burke, "Segments from the Circular No. 1665 and Supplement to Circular No. 1665, Indian Dancing," 26 April 1921 and 14 February 1923, Washington, D.C.: Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior. For a description of the responses to Burke's pamphlet, see Tisa Joy Wenger, *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2009).
32. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 1 March 1923, BCIM.
33. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 19 November 1923, BCIM.
34. John Collier, "Persecuting the Pueblos," *Sunset*, July 1924, 93.
35. Ibid., 92.
36. Ibid.
37. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 28 May 1924, BCIM.
38. William Hughes, "Director of Catholic Indian Missions Says Pueblos Are Persecuted by Pagan Chiefs," *Sacramento (Calif.) Bee*, 26 July 1924.
39. Ibid.
40. William Hughes to Charles Burke, 26 July 1924, BCIM.
41. Charles Burke to William Hughes, 9 August 1924, BCIM.
42. William Hughes to Charles Burke, 10 August 1924, BCIM.
43. John Collier to Charley McLatchy, 8 August 1924, BCIM. Collier's response was published in the 23 August 1924 edition of the *Sacramento (Calif.) Bee* under the title "Religious Persecution of Indians Charged by Defense League Official." Collier's letter was one of his few public criticisms of Catholic Indian policy during his career.
44. Montoya to John Collier, 17 August 1924, BCIM.
45. Ibid.
46. Fridolin Schuster to Lusk, 31 May 1924, BCIM.
47. Pueblo Lands Board Act, 43 Stat. 636 (1924).
48. Herbert Welsh to William Hughes, 22 August 1924, BCIM.
49. John Collier, "The Indian and Religious Freedom," r. 9, *John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* (Sanford, N.C.: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1970).
50. An epitomizing statement of these goals is found in *The Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* for 1869, pp. 5–11, in *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha, 3d ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 130–33.
51. Lewis Meriam et al., Brookings Institution, Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him, February 21, 1928* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928).
52. See Vera Connolly, "The Cry of a Broken People," *Good Housekeeping*, February 1929, 30–31.
53. William Hughes to Zimmerman, 29 January 1929, BCIM.
54. Ibid.

55. *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, Seventieth Congress, Second Session Pursuant to S. Res. 79*, 70th Cong. (1928).
56. Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola, *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824–1977* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 260.
57. For an interesting examination of Rhoads's approach to federal Indian policy, see Thomas A. Britten, "Hoover and the Indians: The Case for Continuity in Federal Indian Policy, 1900–1933," *The Historian* 61 (1999): 518–38.
58. William Hughes to Joseph Zimmerman, 4 June 1929, BCIM.
59. William Hughes to Drexel, 20 February 1933, BCIM.
60. William Hughes to Hayes, 10 April 1933, BCIM. In this message Hughes presented a detailed summary of his meeting with Farley to Hayes, who was a member of the BCIM's board of directors.
61. Ibid.
62. One is tempted to speculate whether Collier's appreciation of the humanistic form of Catholicism he experienced as a child tempered his attitude toward church work on the reservations. If so, he does not indicate that this was the case in his autobiography.
63. William Hughes, "Indians on a New Trail," *Catholic World*, July 1934.
64. William Hughes to Patrick Joseph Hayes, 10 April 1933, BCIM.

Book Reviews

The Essential West: Collected Essays. By Elliott West, foreword by Richard White. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. xiii + 328 pp. Halftones, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-4296-8.)

In the foreword to this terrific anthology, Richard White asserts that "Elliott West is the best historian of the American West writing today" (p. xi). This is high praise indeed, given that, as West himself points out several pages later in the introduction, of the nine monographs awarded the Bancroft Prize (presented annually by Columbia University to the best works of U.S. history, regardless of field) from 2008–2010, five went to scholars of the American West. And of course the so-called New Western historians who revived the study of the region in the 1980s—Richard White among them—continue to publish pathbreaking books of their own.

With that said, this collection of new and previously published material proves that Elliott West belongs in any such conversation. Take, for example, the sheer breadth of his interests, neatly grouped under three subheadings: conquest, families, and myth. Throughout the first section, West examines the complex processes by which the trans-Mississippi West was absorbed by the United States during the nineteenth century. In the best of these pieces, he notes that disease (or, rather, its absence) had much to do with not only the success of Lewis and Clark but also the failure of a contemporaneous expedition to the African interior, with which West very profitably compares the voyage of the Corps of Discovery. For the second group of essays, West pivots back to some of the terrain he explored earliest in his career, contemplating

the march of conquest through the eyes (and ears) of children, Natives, non-Anglo Europeans, and Mormons. In the last set of writings, West unpacks the paradoxical but enduring ways in which the frontier has served as a cultural touchstone for the entire nation, from bison to Jesse James to the fictional (but unforgettable) characters of Larry McMurtry's *Lonesome Dove*.

As always with West, perhaps even more impressive than his capacious range is his unrivaled skill with a pen. Surely no one in the field writes better, captured by his uncanny ability to find just the right metaphor or simile to fix his meaning in the mind of the reader. Take, for example, West's summation of the intricate sequence by which yellow fever appeared in the western hemisphere in 1647: "Like tumblers in a lock, the factors fell into place and the New World opened to one of history's most lethal organisms" (pp. 26–27). Or consider this unforgettable description of the quickening slaughter of buffalo by white hide hunters operating on the Great Plains during the 1870s: "This was death metronomic, less like a hunt than like a forge stamping out rivets" (p. 225).

West, then, is that rarest of breeds: the academic historian who educates and entertains, who simplifies but never condescends. This anthology is thus at once a terrific teaching tool as well as a satisfying introduction to the region for the casual lay reader. Richard White might be on to something.

Andrew R. Graybill
Southern Methodist University

The Peyote Road: Religious Freedom and the Native American Church. By Thomas C. Maroukis. The Civilization of the American Indian Series, no. 265. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. xii + 281 pp. 11 halftones, line drawings, map, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-4323-1.)

The Peyote Road discusses the history and cultures of the Native American Church in North America and provides updates on historic and legal issues originally published by well-known scholars such as Vincenzo Petrullo, Weston La Barre, Omer Stewart, James Slotkin, and David Aberle.

The book broadly focuses on the origins and development of Peyotism, including the assault by federal and state legislators and white clerics against a prejudiced, misunderstood church that admittedly prays to Jesus Christ and ingests an hallucinogen (*Lophophora williamsii*) in the context of Native ceremonialism. Peyotism has existed in Mexico for thousands of years, but since the turn of the twentieth century, has added a Christian element.

Despite the threat of legal challenges, peyote religion has endured with little change since its introduction to the United States. By meticulously combing the literature and consulting leading Peyotists from several tribes, the author comprehensively treats these complex issues.

In his chapter "Religious Beliefs, Ceremony and Ritual," Maroukis seeks to provide new insights as to why peyote survives into the twenty-first century. The author believes that part of peyotism's endurance is its ability to integrate Christianity with older tribal beliefs and rituals. He compares peyote use with other tribal religious practices, which he calls "sacred commonalties" (p. 67). Such practices include, for example, the "sacred circle," "sacred numbers," "sacred plants," "the vision experience," and others such as the use of eagle feathers, eagle bone whistles, fire and fireplaces, singing and drumming, and tobacco, which he argues is a connective thread to peyotism (pp. 72, 74, 77, 80). He concludes "Peyotism had so many commonalities with prereservation spiritual beliefs that it could provide a meaningful spiritual life" (p. 87). In fact, the only reasonable comparison is between different tribes whose peyote rituals are relatively similar but whose tribal rituals are contextually distinct. Other scholars claim that it is peyote itself and its hallucinogenic effects that allow for its ecumenical success.

Curiously, most comparisons are with the Lakota, who have the least number of peyotists in the country. Circles, numbers, and plants carry different meanings for people throughout the world. For example, among the Lakota who follow the Red Road, four and seven are sacred numbers but they are frequently symbolized differentially even among spiritual leaders of the same reservation. The question is why did relatively few elect to follow the Peyote Road while the majority of Native Americans remained faithful to their Native beliefs or other religions? And, if Native traditions fulfill a people's religious needs, why should they have to change at all? These questions aside, this is a well-written and well-illustrated book that should be read by all who follow the Peyote Road.

William K. Powers
Editor and Publisher, Lakota Books

Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th Century New Mexico. By Matthew Liebmann. The Archaeology of Colonialism in Native North America Series. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, Published in cooperation with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2012. xvii + 287 pp. 13 halftones, 13 line drawings, 10 maps, tables, graphs, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2865-3, $30.00 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-3086-1.)

In *Revolt*, Liebmann brings the theorizations and methodologies of Historical Anthropology to bear on the crucial period between 1680 and 1696, traditionally referred to as the Pueblo Revolt(s) and more recently as the Pueblo-Spanish War. These decades witnessed unprecedented transformation of Pueblo society and augured the beginnings of an eighteenth-century Spanish colony that would redefine the cultural landscapes of New Mexico for centuries to come. Building on the wealth of historical and archaeological scholarship on this subject during the past twenty years, Liebmann provides a valuable contribution to the literature of this period and a compelling case study for the interweaving of textual, oral, and material evidence in historical research.

While the introduction clearly lays out the study's goals, theoretical framework, and methodological underpinnings, it is the dramatic narrative of *Astialakwa* that commands the reader's attention from the very first page. Liebmann's principal goal is to explore the production and negotiation of Pueblo society and identity in the context of European colonialism. To accomplish this task, he draws on an eclectic mix of social theory from more traditional themes such as revitalization movements and ethnogenesis, to recent postcolonial concerns such as social memory and subaltern subjectivity. Somewhat remarkably, Spivak, Guha, Gramsci, Foucault, Bhabha, Todorov, Sahlins, and many other divergent theorists make cameo appearances in support of this intellectual project. Nowhere, however, does this wide-ranging theoretical exploration overwhelm the basic goals and narrative force of the study. Liebmann's focus remains on creative tensions between nativism and revivalism in the creation of tradition during the foundational period between 1680 and 1696. Through this focus, he is able to show how continuity and tradition are cultural productions, even in moments of tremendous change and social rupture.

The book is composed of an introduction and three chronologically ordered sections. Section one provides a brief background to the seventeenth-century colony that prefigures and includes the events of 1680. The second section—the book's most substantial—traces the shifts in settlement and community in the Jemez province between 1680 and 1692. It is here that the

archaeological evidence makes its strongest appearance. Liebmann uses architectural and ceramic data to explore the reconfigurations of settlement and symbol that characterize this time period. He ably extends this analysis into the final section treating the period between 1692 and 1696. Throughout, the study demonstrates the value of material and oral evidence in understanding this period. Even those quite familiar with the documentary record of the Pueblo-Spanish War will find this study valuable for the new evidence and perspectives it provides on older source materials. While Liebmann successfully negotiates his central theoretical goal, this study can quite comfortably be read for its substantive contribution and narrative power even by those with little interest in postcolonial theory.

Mark T. Lycett
University of Chicago

We Will Secure Our Future: Empowering the Navajo Nation. By Peterson Zah and Peter Iverson. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012. xvii + 196 pp. 40 halftones, maps, appendix, notes, for further reading, illustration credits, index, about the authors. $40.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-0246-2, $17.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-0247-9.)

The Navajo Nation has witnessed rapid, significant change during the last forty years with dramatic shifts in the trading-post culture, advancements in education, changes in the legal system, reorganization of government, loss and addition of lands, disputes with neighbors, and the accession of twenty-first century technology. Peterson Zah was present for all of it and often involved, playing a prominent role as executive director of DNA (Navajo Legal Services), president of the Navajo Nation, and facilitator of Indian education at Arizona State University. Historian Peter Iverson, author of the best comprehensive Diné history, *Diné: A History of the Navajos* (2002), and associate of Zah (both worked at ASU and retired around the same time), seized the opportunity to conduct a number of interviews with Zah. The result: an inside view of a prominent Native leader's perspective.

Based on a series of discussions, the material for this book is shaped by two voices: Iverson's, who asks the questions and provides a framework; and that of Zah, who shares his insight. It is not a scholarly book in the sense of being heavily endnoted (there are only thirty-seven notes, which primarily reference other works by Iverson). It is not a narrow treatise of a particular topic (the book ranges from general Navajo history to a wide variety of contemporary events). And it is not polemical (although Zah had his fair share of battles as both an

advocate for change and Navajo Nation president). But it does provide rich insight into one man's life spent on behalf of his people. The material should be viewed as an internal dialogue reporting tough issues and decisions made during a time of flux.

Some readers may not agree. Those who faced Zah in the days of sometimes-hostile DNA legal confrontations, the traders who saw their world shift after nearly one hundred years of stasis, or Native and non-Native leaders who disagreed with his approach to problem solving, may dispute some of his points. But if there was one polestar that guided him through the surrounding tumult, it was the traditional teachings and background that laid the foundation for his approach. Zah candidly admits that his early years were not ones he wished to return to, but they were seminal in establishing the strength of character that carried him through the business of his later life. Indeed, if there is one message he wants to share it is that today there is a desperate need for the younger generation to get back to their cultural roots to understand and practice who they are—not as a return to the past, but as a pathway to a winning character for the future.

This book is recommended for students of Southwest and Navajo history and those interested in leadership. Iverson and Zah provide a source for young people to contemplate as they take the reins of ownership in the twenty-first century.

Robert S. McPherson
Utah State University, Blanding Campus

Where the Earth and Sky Are Sewn Together: Sobaipuri-O'odham Contexts of Contact and Colonialism. By Deni J. Seymour. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011. xv + 321 pp. 63 halftones, line drawings, 44 maps, charts, tables, references cited, index. $60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-1-60871-067-4.)

Since the beginning of the Age of Discovery, it is remarkable how often missionaries and explorers got things wrong. Or, did they? This is particularly salient for archaeologists and historians, who upon interpreting the accounts and maps of early colonizers, find that identifying the routes they travelled and the locations they visited is more than a little challenging. Yet, we still do it, and not just for the thrill of rediscovery. Ground-truthing the historical record engages these accounts and makes them all the more relevant. For all the indigenous places and peoples the European invaders encountered, there were many more never identified but influential nonetheless. For these places and peoples, we have only archaeology.

Deni J. Seymour's restless monograph, *Where the Earth and Sky Are Sewn Together*, draws on this tension, providing an unprecedented summation of archaeological and historical data regarding the Sobaipuri-O'odham of southern Arizona. Based on twenty-five years of archaeological work in and around the San Pedro River valley, Seymour provides, in thirteen chapters, a detailed historical and archaeological context of the Sobaipuri and their relationship to contemporaneous expressions of O'odham culture and the ancestral Hohokam culture. In addition to discussions of material culture, house construction, domestic space, dating, and land use, Seymour provides data-rich descriptions of key archaeological sites, such as Guevavi, San Cayetano de Tumacácori, Quiburi, Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, among others. Chronologically, the study centers on the protohistoric to historic divide encompassing the Cayetano Complex spanning roughly the late thirteenth to late seventeenth centuries. Her exhaustive compilation of information is the book's core contribution, which will appeal to an eager audience of archaeologists, historians, and O'odhams.

Seymour's work has teeth. She attacks Kino-centrism and the numerous factual errors that have tarnished public and academic fascination for Father Eusebio Kino, Arizona's mission history, and academic awareness of the Sobaipuri. Seymour updates and revises previous archaeological interpretations of such luminaries as Emil Haury and Charles Di Peso as a means of developing her own "Archaeologically Based History" (p. 14). Theoretically and methodologically, her work is consistent with current approaches in historical archaeology, many of which seek to emancipate undocumented peoples from the tyranny of European accounts. Seymour acknowledges that, however transformed by time, the descendants of the Sobaipuri persist to this day, as do those of the Kohatk, Hia-ced, Akimel, Tohono, and other regional and historical expressions of shared O'odham tradition, history, and culture.

Some readers may find this book controversial, and as the author's dedication and the heading to Chapter 12, "Contrarian Perspectives on Sobaipuri Transformation," implies, Seymour expects it. Perhaps, as one of Haury's last students, the author has difficulty assaulting old doctrines, but for this reviewer her observations seemed less heretical and more like critical reevaluation. Clearly there is still much to learn about the Sobaipuri-O'odham culture. For all readers, *Where the Earth and Sky Are Sewn Together* will enlighten. For some, it will provoke—and for that, Dr. Seymour might agree, "Heretics welcome."

J. Andrew Darling
Southwest Heritage Research, LLC/Southern Methodist University

The Daring Flight of My Pen: Cultural Politics and Gaspar Pérez De Villagrá's Historia De La Nueva Mexico, 1610. By Genaro M. Padilla. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010. xiv + 153 pp. Line drawings, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4970-5.)

Gaspar de Villagrá's *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (1610) has endured centuries of negative criticism. Since the 1990s, however, renewed critical interest has yielded more positive studies, including five new editions and two monographs: this reviewer's *Gaspar de Villagrá: Legista, soldado y poeta* (2009), and now Genaro Padilla's book. Like Villagrá's *Historia*, Padilla's is a hybrid text that combines literary analysis with cultural and family history. From that perspective, Padilla offers a compelling analysis of the *Historia*, and he is able to supplement critical rigor with conjecture in ways that a different approach would not have permitted. This makes for a lively text that effectively brings the past to the present.

Building on previous scholarship, Padilla perceives a tripartite structure in the *Historia*, and he organizes his analysis around those parts. In Chapter 1, the author considers the first third of the poem, in which he recognizes "an embryonic mestizo subjectivity" (p. 35). Padilla reflects on the reclamation of the poem in our own days, astutely noting how it challenges a heroic colonial fantasy common in New Mexico. In his opinion, the massacre of Acoma and Villagrá's presentation of Oñate as a weak leader preclude a celebratory appropriation. Chapter 2 centers on the establishment of a Spanish settlement. Padilla continues his criticism of "historical amnesia" by contrasting contemporary representations of that event to Villagrá's epic (p. 46). He reads the *Historia* as exposing "a foundation of deceit and fracture within the Spanish camp that troubles any facile reading of the epic as a panegyric," not unlike Virgil's double-edged encomium of Augustus (p. 46). Elaborating on my study of Villagrá's interpolation of legal texts, Padilla also discusses an "indirect poetics of ambivalence and derision" that Villagrá employs to criticize the Spanish camp while expressing admiration for the Native world (p. 58). The final chapter focuses on the battle of Acoma, which Padilla analyzes as an instance of butchery by a superior military machine. For Padilla, this ending offers Villagrá a space for representing culpability, suggesting that the *Historia* was its author's way of coping with guilt for his participation in a campaign he saw with critical eyes. This original thesis is supplemented in the "Epilogue" by an emotional turn that offers the responses to the poem of Padilla's mother and of Acoma poet Simon J. Ortiz.

The Daring Flight of My Pen presents a cohesive interpretation of Villagrá's *Historia*, but some of its insights may need further elaboration. For example,

Padilla strongly suggests a personal falling-out between Villagrá and Oñate that the historical record does not support: after leaving New Mexico in 1600, Villagrá continued working for Oñate's army from New Spain, and later, in Spain, he represented Oñate's interests for five years. Padilla also asserts that Villagrá wrote his poem in Spain but, as I have documented elsewhere, the *Historia* was penned in New Spain, which, incidentally, strengthens any analysis of Villagrá's *criollismo*.

Overall, this book is a substantial contribution to the study of Villagrá and his poem. To his solid critical apparatus, Padilla adds the cultural authority of a Nuevomexicano for whom the *Historia* is an ambivalent foundational text. As a result, the book is also a must for scholars interested in the recovery of the U.S. Hispanic literary heritage.

Manuel M. Martín-Rodríguez
University of California, Merced

The Writings of Eusebio Chacón. Reintroduced, translated, and edited by A. Gabriel Meléndez and Francisco A. Lomelí. Pasó por Aquí Series. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012. xiii + 273 pp. 15 halftones, appendixes. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-5100-5.)

A triumph of archival research, *The Writings of Eusebio Chacón* provides historical context and translation of Chacón's previously published and lesser-known work. Meléndez and Lomelí have produced a useful collection, accessible to students and scholars alike. The book's logical organization, rhetorical focus, and regional situation are a welcome addition to the field of early studies of Mexican American writers and thinkers.

Because he was writing in Spanish at the turn of the twentieth century, scholars have occasionally overlooked Chacón's contribution to the Latino literary canon. Work on other early writers from California, Texas, or New Mexico, has overshadowed Chacón's oeuvre. This valuable collection rectifies that omission by providing a coherent, useful presentation of Chacón's variety of textual production. The book's most worthwhile contribution in this regard is the authors' archival work to collect and situate Chacón's student writing in relation to his later essays. The student essays reveal Chacón's defense of a Mexican literary tradition despite Mexico's distance from Spain and his own distance from his home. The first move Meléndez and Lomelí make then is to not only assert Chacón's importance to Mexican American literary history but also to show how he was invested in the long trajectory of Latin American literature and culture.

The organization of the text indicates several points that Meléndez and Lomelí want to make. Chacón's essays that appear in the third part of the book are his best-known writings. The editors made a good choice to decenter these essays in the collection; in this way, readers can draw their own conclusions as they progress through the text. Meléndez argues that the compilation shores up the intellectual currents between northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, thereby expanding the regional interest and focus of the book. He persuasively declares, "Here was a generation not simply concerned with announcing grievances but one committed to a program of social and cultural empowerment" (p. 5). Additionally, Lomelí seeks to establish Chacón as the originator of the New Mexican novel. The novels included support this argument, but the essays, poems, and early student work show Chacón's wide literary ambitions and talents. The letters included in an appendix show Chacón's sense of humor: "I don't particularly relish the role of playing wet-nurse to a litter of cats, but my cup of chagrin has to be kept filled" (p. 250). Overall, the collection rounds out Chacón's body of work to include much more than his famous speech.

Meléndez and Lomelí have made an important contribution to the study of Mexican American literary production with this book. The work is more than regionally valuable to New Mexico—it has the potential to open new avenues of scholarly inquiry into the broader Southwest intellectual history.

Leigh Johnson
Marymount University

Religious Lessons: Catholic Sisters and the Captured Schools Crisis in New Mexico. By Kathleen Holscher. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. xii + 260 pp. 13 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth, ISBN-978-0-19-978173-7.)

The recently closed traveling exhibit "Women and Spirit: Catholic Sisters in America" provided many individuals, including Catholics, a more sophisticated understanding of the agency of nuns in American life. This acclaimed display built on the efforts of historians who for nearly a generation have chronicled the activities and challenges of religious sisters in the United States who extended the reach and influence of the Catholic Church into every corner of the nation. Vowed women not only served their co-religionists, but were sometimes among the first to provide critical social services—often health care and orphanages—before public agencies could do so. In a number of places, Catholic sisters also functioned as public school teachers, often in

impoverished or rural areas where civil leaders were unable or unwilling to assume the responsibility. Most of the stories of these women were positive and accentuated, as did the museum display, the extent to which they served critical human needs and were not bound by strict denominational loyalties. Likewise, the agency of these women underscored their ability to make critical decisions that were often reserved to men, especially in a patriarchal American society and the Catholic Church.

Kathleen Holscher's book provides another viewpoint on the agency of sisters—one not-so-celebratory—by chronicling the escalating dispute over their presence in some of New Mexico's public schools. Opposition to sisters developed among a determined body of citizens who objected not only on the basis of the separation of church and state, but also for rather blatantly anti-Catholic reasons. Controversy and litigation over the habited nuns in one public school, a Catholic building in the tiny community of Dixon (but in other places in New Mexico as well), culminated in the case of *Zellers v. Huff* (1948). The lower state courts eventually ruled against these arrangements. This judgment was upheld by the New Mexico Supreme Court in 1951.

Holscher provides a very good backdrop to all phases of the case, which is especially helpful to those unfamiliar with the formation and practices of nuns and the organizational structure of the Catholic Church. She also probes the motivations of the Catholic actors and their Protestant antagonists as well as the various legal arguments of the case, situating them in the context of church-state litigation argued before the U.S. Supreme Court after World War II.

She argues correctly that this particular case was but one phase of the very active legal and rhetorical war that took place between Protestants and Catholics in the post-war period. Opponents of these nun-directed public schools reached back to the anti-Catholic invective of the nineteenth century and tagged them "captured schools"—a term often deployed in the hateful literature and public discourse of "former" nuns who claimed that convents and Catholic institutions were like penitentiaries where children and young women were held against their will and brainwashed to accept Catholic dogma.

Holscher is remarkably even-handed. The sisters left behind many good memories of their years in the schools (wonderfully captured by the author's deft oral history work), but also violated the delicate boundary between church and state and proselytized their young charges. Holscher's depiction of Lydia Zeller or her allies in the Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (POAU) is hardly sympathetic. These were not faithful guardians of the separation of church and state, but rather small-minded people who trafficked in the worst stereotypes and caricatures

of Catholicism and religious sisters to achieve their ends. The sisters made their mistakes and in the end it was a good thing that they left the schools. However, the verbal barbs and obloquy both sides hurled at the other were not symmetrical—the sisters received far more than they gave. Church-state separation never needed the admixture of religious bigotry to make its case.

Apart from some minor editorial issues (the surnames of religious sisters are not always provided but just their religious or baptismal names), Holscher's book adds a richer understanding of church-state issues after World War II, the history of women religious in the American West, and the history of New Mexico.

Steven M. Avella
Marquette University

Frontier Naturalist: Jean Louis Berlandier and the Exploration of Northern Mexico and Texas. By Russell M. Lawson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012. xxi + 262 pp. Halftones, 10 maps, appendixes, notes, sources consulted, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-5217-0.)

Russell M. Lawson has performed a tour-de-force integration of subjective travel notes and scientific information gathered by Jean Louis Berlandier during his journeys of exploration across Mexico and Texas between 1827 and 1851. Following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo and Mexico's independence from Spain, national boundaries in Europe and North America repeatedly came into question. Territorial ambition and intellectual curiosity led to the formation of the Mexican Boundary Commission under Manuel Mier y Terán in 1826. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lucas Alamán, requested that [his former] professor Alphonse de Candolle in Geneva, suggest a qualified "life scientist" to join the expedition. Berlandier, a Frenchman, had demonstrated exceptional competence in botany to Condolle. Accepting commissions from both Condolle and Alamán to gather botanical specimens in Mexico, Berlandier joined Terán's commission as a civilian scientist. The healthy young bachelor arrived in Mexico in December 1826. Curious and pragmatic, he observed and noted, collected and sorted, and often interviewed subjects throughout his lifetime. He never returned to Europe. Berlandier's collected observations comprise history's initial scientific descriptions of northern Mexico.

Berlandier's work has heretofore appeared in English in two magna opera of illustrated reference publications and a handful of scholarly articles. Lawson's narrative selectively exploits earlier publications, but he eschews

the traditional arrangement of an erudite biographical introduction followed by Berlandier's copiously annotated scientific observations. Instead, Lawson launches into an integrated narrative that flows chronologically while obeying the physical itinerary of Berlandier's journeys. Lawson comments and explains en route. Significantly, Lawson introduces Darius Nash Couch even before presenting Berlandier. He thus pays tribute to the unsung hero who helped ensure the survival of the Berlandier collections and their arrival to the United States. Lawson's accessible and scholarly text fills a lacuna in Berlandier studies between erudite specialists narrowly focused on a pet branch of scientific investigation on the one hand, and children's literature on the other hand, where authors such as Betsy Warren place Berlandier among other naturalists exploring Texas (*Wilderness Walkers: Naturalists in Early Texas*, 1987). Unfortunately, among his sources Lawson fails to include local historians such as Terán's biographer, Jack Jackson, whose in-depth knowledge of Mexican and Texas politics as well as Berlandier's papers, would have added authenticity to *Frontier Naturalist*. Occasionally the author uses vague language. His reference to the Trinity River—"like most Western rivers during springtime"—leaves the reader asking west of what, in a book about Mexico and Texas (p. 76). He mentions "lupines" several times before pointing out that they are bluebonnets, flowers sacred to Texans.

Berlandier's objective descriptions of various tribes create distinctions seldom perceived by observers who saw only "savages." His positive attention to oft-ignored Kickapoo peoples piqued my curiosity. Lawson selects memorable details from Berlandier's encyclopedic notations blending botany, medicine, and native wisdom. Mastodon bones are unearthed while anecdotes about perpetual horse thievery lace through the chapters. The reader learns to use pulverized mountain laurel seed to kill head lice, but freedom from mosquito bites remains impossible. Lawson respects the Romantic generation's mentalité of seeking extensive enlightenment and recording subjective interaction with observed natural phenomena without attempting to bleach out such notions as "the sublime." Objective notations and calculations capture irretrievable details about Texas weather, augmented by descriptions of the rain's impact on travel through mud and across rivers. One easily envisions Terán's ridiculous carriage, often stuck in the mud. Omnipresent flies and mosquitoes play the role of villains that harass and take down the heroes with their natural weapons: all commissioners contract malaria, Berlandier worst of all because he was European. In 1851 Berlandier drowned in a swollen river, leaving his work unfinished. Thanks to Couch, however, the physical collection documenting people and places Berlandier explored provides scientists and historians irreplaceable information. Lawson has integrated the

disparate components into a readable exposition of an individual's remarkable journey.

Betje B. Klier
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The Brothers Robidoux and the Opening of the American West. By Robert J. Willoughby. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2012. xiii + 252 pp. 15 halftones, maps, chart, notes, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8262-1991-6.)

The adventurous Robidoux brothers "epitomize the spirit of the American West," glowingly concludes Robert Willoughby (p. 212). The brothers were given to gambling and excessive drinking; some were polygamous and engaged in other less than honorable activities. Nonetheless, their contributions to the opening of the American West far outweigh their failings, according to the author. They were explorers, guides, public servants, and town builders. As polyglots, they skillfully wielded multilingual skills and marriages to Indian and Mexican women to their advantage. As risktakers, they were engaged in various kinds of entrepreneurial activities besides fur trading. Self-described as a "merchant and a trader," Joseph Robidoux III was a veteran of the lower Missouri fur trade and founder of St. Joseph, jumping-off point for the overland trail (p. 21). He was the family patriarch, directing the far-flung activities of his five younger brothers: Francois, Isadore, Antoine, Louis, and Michel. In the mid-1820s Louis and Antoine expanded trade operations on the Santa Fe Trail, became naturalized Mexican citizens, and established fur-trading posts in the intermountain West. Louis ultimately moved to Southern California and became a major landowner. The other brothers centered their energies on a trading post in the vicinity of Scott's Bluff at mid-century. In 1971 overland trails expert Merrell Mattes aptly identified the continental wanderings of the Robidoux brothers as a family affair.

This collective biography corrects the historical record. According to Mattes, Joseph Robidoux III's biographer, the Robidoux family's contributions to fur trade history have long been underappreciated. The most original part of the book is Willoughby's insightful chapter on their father, Joseph Robidoux II. An early resident of St. Louis, he was a powerful role model: he adeptly straddled the law and national allegiances—as well as relations with multiple women—and was a tenacious and resourceful competitor in the late eighteenth-century fur trade. *The Brothers Robidoux* adds weight to Jay Gitlin's recent argument in *The Bourgeois Frontier* (2010) about the

significance of St. Louis's entrepreneurial middling class to the history of the Trans-Mississippi West. Like the Chouteaus, the Robidouxes were venture capitalists. Unfortunately, Willoughby is the victim of his sparse sources. Though the book is reasonably well-researched, Willoughby is unable to elaborate on the brothers' individual personalities, changing fortunes, or family lives. This is frustrating for those who might expect more from the book's title. Other biographers are more precise and discriminating in sifting through the historical record and clearer in their interpretations. *The Brothers Robidoux* includes no new biographical information.

Willoughby's inclusion of many lengthy direct quotations from primary sources provides some compensation for his dearth of sources. Setting the brothers' activities against the well-known events of the Missouri fur trade as it expanded into the Rocky Mountains, the book is as much a synthesis of the fur trade as it is a collective biography. As such, it has a dated quality, reprising the actions of the era's reckless breed of men. The book also suffers from multiple typographic errors, inconsistencies in spelling, conjectures, and occasional misdirection.

Tanis C. Thorne
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Short Nights of the Shadow Catcher: The Epic Life and Immortal Photographs of Edward Curtis. By Timothy Egan. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012. 370 pp. 38 halftones, acknowledgments, sources, photo credits, index. $28.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-618-96902-9, $15.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-544-10276-7.)

Timothy Egan's *Short Nights of the Shadow Catcher* describes the career of Edward Curtis, the most renowned and infamous photographer of Native Americans in the twentieth century. The book begins with the story of the production of Curtis' first photograph of a Native American—"Princess Angeline" of the Duwamish and Suquamish people, whom he photographed in 1896. Egan's book then proceeds to chronologically track the events and interactions that led to the production of *The North American Indian*, a multivolume compendium of what Curtis and others (including Theodore Roosevelt and J. P. Morgan) thought of as a late-hour attempt to capture photographically what was left of Native Americans across the American West before their cultures were lost forever. Egan described this multi-year, million-dollar effort (by today's standards) with rapturous admiration. Indeed, the thesis of this book is that Curtis created "the largest, most comprehensive and ambitious photographic odyssey in American history," that his life was "epic," and his photographs "immortal" (p. 20).

Egan's notion that Curtis should be considered a heroic figure who sought to save the old ways of a dying people was certainly the photographer's own perception of himself and his career, and it has been the received wisdom from early scholarship on the photographer to highlight his noblesse oblige in contrast to the increasing degradation of Native peoples in the early twentieth century. While such early takes on Curtis have historiographical significance, more nuanced approaches to understanding his work have been undertaken since—essays from the surviving relatives of those pictured in Curtis's work, and from scholars specializing in western Americana who have questioned Curtis's methods of data collection and examined the power relationship inherent in this type of photography. For example, Egan gives a nod to the contentious theory of the vanishing Indian, but neither wholly embraces it, redefines it, nor strives to discredit it. Egan also paints Curtis as singular, failing to acknowledge the downright craze for photographing Indians in that era. Egan neither wades into the complex discourse of Curtis studies nor demonstrates an appropriate criticality—perhaps not to detract from the "great man" thesis. Additionally, *Short Nights of the Shadow Catcher* is woefully underillustrated. Not only is this frustrating for the reader, but demonstrates a lack of understanding of the historical relevance of photographs as primary documents in and of themselves.

Short Nights of the Shadow Catcher is written for a lay audience. While Egan sensationalizes Curtis's history to appeal to a broad readership he does so with a plethora of primary sources which he weaves together to create a solid narrative. Egan presents a good story, but for those in the fields of Western history, art history, American studies, anthropology, and ethnic studies, it is not a new one.

Rachel M. Sailor
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Deliverance from the Little Big Horn: Doctor Henry Porter and Custer's Seventh Cavalry. By Joan Nabseth Stevenson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. xv + 213 pp. 20 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. $24.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-4266-1.)

More than 130 years after Lakota and Cheyenne warriors defeated Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer and the Seventh Cavalry, the Battle of the Little Big Horn continues to be a subject of great interest to the reading public. *Deliverance from the Little Big Horn: Doctor Henry Porter and Custer's Seventh Cavalry*, by Joan Nabseth Stevenson, is a volume that will undoubtedly add

to the battle's enduring allure. Stevenson, who holds a doctorate in Slavic Languages and Literature from Stanford, has crafted a concise and compelling biography that showcases the extraordinary heroism of contract surgeon Dr. Henry Porter during and after the epic battle. As the only member of the Seventh Cavalry's medical staff to survive the opening phases of the battle, the responsibility for rendering medical care to Maj. Marcus Reno's command fell entirely to Dr. Porter. During the two days of fighting, with "as many as 2,000 Indian warriors menacing them from all sides," Stevenson details the extraordinary circumstances the doctor confronted as he treated the injuries of sixty-eight wounded troopers and two Indian scouts (p. xiii). Lacking adequate medical supplies and equipment, suffering from water shortages and extreme heat, and exposed to constant gunfire from Indian rifles, Porter performed a number of surgeries under the crudest conditions with little regard for his own safety.

Displaying a thorough knowledge of nineteenth-century medical procedures, the author provides an insightful examination of the methods employed by Porter to treat the injured, as well as explaining the limitations and inherent dangers of those treatments given the state of medicine in 1876. It is a testament to Stevenson's strength as a writer that she ably weaves her knowledge of these procedures into the narrative without sacrificing the pace or drama of the larger story. Furthermore, Stevenson's mastery of sources allows her to offer a fresh interpretation of the fighting that took place away from Custer and his doomed command. While her conclusions are hardly novel, her efforts to characterize the Seventh Cavalry as a factious unit are convincing. Specifically, Stevenson suggests that the memory of Maj. Joel Elliott, killed at the Washita in 1868, crowded the minds of Reno and Capt. Frederick Benteen with fears that they too had been abandoned by the glory-hunting Custer. As a result, neither officer made any serious attempt to move beyond the hilltop where they would make their defensive stand.

Stevenson's biography illustrates the service and dedication provided to the U.S. Army by contract surgeons during the late nineteenth century. Denied the rank and respect of commissioned officers, the possibility of promotion or pension, and forced to endure the hardships of military service, the author argues that these committed professionals performed an essential duty for the Army with little hope of recognition or reward. As noted by the author, in 1898, Porter was nominated for the Medal of Honor for his heroic work during the Battle of the Little Big Horn, but "nothing came of the proposal" (p. xv).

Jeffrey V. Pearson
Arkansas Tech University

Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860–2009. By Philip R. VanderMeer. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010. xvii + 459 pp. 21 halftones, line drawings, 12 maps, 18 tables, graphs, notes, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4891-3, $34.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-4892-0.)

VanderMeer's *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix* is a lengthy survey of the role of leadership in Phoenix's transformation from a small farming community to the nation's fifth largest city. In a three-part narrative—"The First Desert Vision: An American Eden"; "Creating and Pursuing a New Vision, 1940–1960"; "Elaborating and Modifying the High-Tech Suburban Vision"—VanderMeer examines three developmental visions that shaped the desert metropolis. These temporally defined meta-visions were the tools of elites who sought to grow the city's economy and to determine its physical form, politics, and culture.

In each era, VanderMeer describes how leaders reckoned with environmental constraints as they adopted various models of economic development and experimented with new urban forms. Phoenix's early Anglo settlers imported a pastoral dream of "An American Eden" in which hardworking ingenious people would turn the desert into profitable farms. Through intensive irrigation, they created new ecosystems, establishing the basis of an agricultural empire while providing the town site with greenery and shade. Early boosters also "redefined harsh as healthy," touting the benefits of the region's punishing "dry heat" and marketing Phoenix as an "Oasis City" for health seekers (p. 9).

VanderMeer builds on the work of urban historians Gerald Nash and Carl Abbott, who established the centrality of federal spending and the role of public-private partnerships in the development of western cities after 1941. "World War II," he acknowledges, "provided lessons in development," but the primary reason for the city's growth after 1940 was the adoption of a "high tech suburban vision" (p. 105). Emphasizing the intentional, comprehensive nature of planning from 1940–1960, VanderMeer argues that a "holistic" style of city management by a "cohesive leadership group" of department store owners, builders, bankers, and lawyers explains Phoenix's rapid growth (pp. 116, 181). To promote an economy based on aviation, computers, and semiconductors, and to encourage suburban development, leaders advocated for "citywide governance, an emphasis on administrative autonomy and inexpensive city services, aggressive annexation, community development and affordable housing, and the development of cultural institutions" (p. 6).

VanderMeer's most important contribution is his analysis of the post-1960 transformation in urban governance and the simultaneous evolution of Phoenix's multimodal urban form. He argues that residents influenced by

social movements demanded greater participation in local government. In the late 1970s voters eschewed the charter system in favor of a district system of representation, and city government "moved beyond its initial, limited definition of city services to include actions relevant to social issues and problems" (p. 185). While he explains that Phoenix adopted a more splintered, yet more democratic, approach to city planning, VanderMeer focuses almost solely on elected officials, rarely identifying the social activists who pressed for more participatory government.

VanderMeer's claim that developers played a major role in addressing social and environmental critiques about sprawl moves the scholarship on urban sustainability in new directions. The affordability of land and sustained population growth in Phoenix allowed developers to evolve from building houses in subdivisions to more comprehensive projects of community building. As they experimented with retirement communities, New Towns, planned communities, and super suburbs, developers reconceptualized suburban designs and reevaluated the "structure of neighborhoods" in the city (p. 210). Government also played a role in crafting a contemporary vision for a "centripetal urban model" after 1980 by promoting downtown, the biotech industry, and professional sports teams (p. 324). The city adopted development impact fees, revised building standards, and decreased lot sizes to increase population density; it also took steps to decrease pollution, reduce the urban heat island effect, and manage water consumption.

Desert Visions is an urban biography, but it warrants a broad audience as VanderMeer situates Phoenix's history within the context of region and makes clear the influence of both the regional environment and other western cities on Phoenix's growth and development. Western historians and urban studies scholars who seek to understand the politics of growth will appreciate *Desert Visions*. Urban planners and city officials will find VanderMeer's ideas about Phoenix's path to a more democratic and sustainable future provocative and useful.

Amy Scott
Bradley University

Politics, Labor, and the War on Big Business: The Path of Reform in Arizona, 1890–1920. By David R. Berman. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012, xiii + 330 pp. 17 halftones, maps. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-1-6073-2181-1.)

The title of political scientist David R. Berman's book succinctly describes its subject. From 1890 to 1917, politics in the territory of Arizona and later the

state (post-1912) featured persistent conflict between a majority of its residents, especially those who toiled in its mines and on its railroads and who joined militant trade unions, notably the Western Federation of Miners (WFM and, after 1911, the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers), and the large corporations that controlled the most productive copper mines and managed the Southern Pacific and Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroads. In Arizona Territory, as in other western hard-rock mining states, Populism developed as a labor and union-based movement rather than as an agrarian revolt. Its adherents sought to regulate railroads and mining companies and also to open politics to popular influence through the referendum, initiative, and recall of public officials, including judges. The territory's radical political tendencies and its citizens' aversion to Republican Party interests forestalled Arizona statehood in Republican-dominated Washington. Such resistance grew when the territory's delegates to a constitutional convention drafted a document that included the referendum, the initiative, and recall as well as other radical features that benefitted workers.

As explained by Berman, Arizona's Republican Party favored the railroad and mining corporations while the Democratic Party split between a conservative minority that supported business interests and a "radical" majority influenced by Populism, socialism, and trade unionism. Between 1912 and 1916 radical Democrats dominated state politics as personified by Gov. George W. Hunt, who castigated the railroads and the mining corporations. By 1912 Arizona's politics had grown so radicalized that William Howard Taft, the Republican candidate for president, received fewer popular votes than his Democratic, Progressive, and Socialist opponents. After the United States declared war in April 1917, Arizona Republicans and their corporate allies used the crisis to delegitimize their trade union and Democratic adversaries, attack Hunt, smash the mining unions, deport nearly 1,500 unionists, and fasten a "copper collar" on the state's citizens. Such is the tale told by Berman.

The book reminds readers that a century ago Arizonans elected a Democratic governor who railed against the one percent, defended the ninety-nine percent, and condemned the influence of corporate money on state politics. Unfortunately, Berman leaves much unexplained. He suggests that Arizona's Mexican American citizens leaned Republican, perhaps because the territory's Democrats and Anglo trade unionists were racist. After statehood, however, the Hunt Democrats and the WFM sought Hispanic support. Berman fails to explain why Hispanics joined the unions but rejected Democratic courtiers. He provides little detailed and longitudinal voting data; the book is bereft of quantitative election analysis by precinct, ethnicity, race, class, or gender. It lacks concrete information about common workers, instead using

union publications and policy statements as proxies for miners and union members. Berman's leaden prose, moreover, will discourage many readers from discovering the real value in his narrative.

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Last Water on the Devil's Highway: A Cultural and Natural History of Tinajas Altas. By Bill Broyles, Gayle Harrison Hartmann, Thomas E. Sheridan, Gary Paul Nabhan, and Mary Charlotte Thurtle. The Southwest Center Series. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2012. xiii + 275 pp. Color plates, 144 halftones, line drawings, 26 maps, tables, appendixes, references, index. $49.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2964-3, $26.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-3083-0.)

Last Water on the Devil's Highway is the story of "a series of waterholes in the hottest and most arid part of North America" (p. xiii). The Tinajas Altas are a grouping of natural rock basins that loom large in Borderland history. The Tinajas are not just waterholes; for millennia they have been a unique natural and cultural site supporting "a rich diversity of life" (p. 184). The authors expertly collaborate in documenting this strangely beautiful but inhospitable area of the Sonoran Desert, a place unlike any in the world.

Last Water includes five chapters and five appendixes. In "Desert Water," Broyles, Hartmann, and Sheridan describe the physical environment of the Tinajas as part of a network of waterholes along El Camino del Diablo. Ciphering firsthand accounts, readers "feel like pioneers" following in the footsteps of the hardy, adventurous, and inquisitive indigenous, European, and American sojourners (p. 9). In "Native People," Hartmann, Thurtle, and Nabhan examine the indigenous presence in the Tinajas. The Hia C'ed O'odham and Quechan histories are replete with cultural references to the Tinajas and remind us that the "perennial water (of the desert) . . . is of profound importance" (p. 69).

In "The First Europeans," Sheridan and Broyles chronicle Spanish and American forays to and near the Tinajas. The authors painstakingly examine scores of diaries and, using GPS and triangulation mapping, conclude that not all sojourners imbibed the waters of the Tinajas Altas, contrary to their diaries. In "Surveyors to Campers," Broyles and Hartmann bring the narrative to the present. Once described as "forbidding" and "harsh," travelers in later years saw the "beauty [and] adventure" of the Tinajas Altas (p. 115). Geologists, botanists, surveyors, and cartographers invaded the region, later joined by federal agents, archeologists, campers, hunters, and journalists. By

weaving their reports and studies into the story, the authors enable the reader to experience the Tinajas Altas vicariously. In "Natural History," Broyles elaborates on the natural history of the area, with five appendixes providing the reader with a wealth of scientific data on the plants, mammals, birds, and reptiles of the Tinajas Altas.

Last Water is necessary reading on "a signature waterhole on a heritage trail that covers millennia of Southwest history" (p. 191). The authors meticulously analyze the contradictions and amazements of the Tinajas Altas, always underscoring the fragility of life in the desert. They make a convincing case that the Tinajas Altas "should be a National Register nomination . . . as a Traditional Cultural Property" (p. 191). The Tinajas Altas is a place of great value, reminding us of the importance of physical, cultural, and spiritual places.

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Pregnancy, Motherhood, and Choice in Twentieth-Century Arizona. By Mary S. Melcher. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2012. x + 248 pp. 10 halftones, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2846-2.)

Mary S. Melcher's history has four great strengths. First, by integrating birth control with maternal and infant health, she offers a holistic treatment of reproductive matters, in contrast to other studies that treat birth control as an exclusively anti-natal policy. Second, she joins a few other historians in examining reproductive health clinics in practice, as opposed to earlier studies that surveyed the national history. Third, Melcher pays particular attention to racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. And fourth, her extensive research not only illuminates much about Arizona but could also be usefully compared with other locations.

Starting before Arizona became a state, Melcher sets the context: a desert territory, thinly populated, with undeveloped transportation and isolated settlements. Female friends and midwives typically delivered babies. As late as the 1930s, infant mortality in Arizona was the highest in the nation. Meanwhile, birth rates among American Indians and Mexican Americans remained high. State and federal attempts to reduce infant mortality in the 1920s largely bypassed these groups.

After Margaret Sanger moved to Tucson in 1934, elite white women created the first birth control clinics. In Phoenix, the key founders and funders were Peggy Goldwater, wife of Barry Goldwater, and the wives of the owners of the

city's largest bank and newspaper (a reminder of the difference between the Republican Party then and now). This stratum of rich women deserves our respect. Unfortunately, Melcher fails to note the class politics of reproductive health as she does its racial politics. While elite women sought to introduce birth control to women of color, they did not—at least not in Melcher's evidence—devote comparable effort to more broadly improve the health and welfare of minority people. Thus the clinic strategy provides some basis for minority suspicions of birth control as an effort to reduce their numbers in relation to whites. Melcher provides useful evidence confirming that many women of color were eager to gain access to contraception, but fails to discuss how African American, American Indian, and Chicana/o civil rights movements, especially in their nationalist form, intensified that suspicion. She also inadequately discusses the coercive sterilization of Indians. Many of these themes might have become clearer had the book been organized differently, bringing all the material on a topic together in one place. The book ends with abortion politics, and in this respect Arizona was not unique.

Melcher's narrative introduces several notable individuals. Annie Wauneka, the daughter of a Navajo chief and first woman on the Navajo Nation Council, led a struggle against tuberculosis among Indians from the 1940s through the 1970s. Dr. Pearl Tang, a Chinese American immigrant, devoted her skills to public doctoring, including devising a system of sterilizing bottles for mothers who could not breastfeed because they had to work in the cotton fields. Francisca Montoya, a farmworkers' union organizer, brought birth control into her work. Father Emmett McLoughlin defied his bishop and church by supporting birth control and campaigning for health care for the mainly African American and Mexican American mothers and children in his South Phoenix parish. Perhaps Melcher's book will lead to greater recognition for these champions of women's and children's health.

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WD Farr: Cowboy in the Boardroom. By Daniel Tyler, foreword by Sen. Hank Brown. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. xx + 292 pp. 31 halftones, maps, bibliography, index. $19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-4328-6.)

There is no guarantee that the details of what is essentially part biography and part corporate history will offer a great read, but this account of the ninety-seven-year-long life of Colorado's WD Farr (1910–2007), a rancher who was "first and foremost a businessman," packs into its pages enough momentous

events that the telling is, as Wallace Stegner once wrote of John Wesley Powell, not so much the biography of an individual as of a career (p. 124).

Biographer Daniel Tyler, a professor emeritus of history at Colorado State University in Fort Collins, offers up an effective and tempered survey of Farr's life and times. The beginning, with the usual family history and background, is straightforward and unsurprising. As Farr's story builds, however, so does our amazement, gradually giving way to astonishment at the sheer scope of his accomplishments. Farr was hardly to the manner born; he started in a farm family, and benefited from runs of good luck and skill in bad times, including pioneering sugar beet farming near Greeley, Colorado's famed Union Colony. His rise is tied to that of Weld County, with its pivotal location where the Great Plains meet the Rocky Mountains.

During the Depression, the Farr family's role with Home Gas and Electric proved a cash cow, and Tyler characterizes Farr's ability as that of a "connector," borrowing the phrase from *New Yorker* author Malcolm Gladwell. Sugar beet growing and processing made the Great Western Sugar enterprise a financial buffer through hard times, and Farr fared well. Farr would move on to partner with Warren Monfort and Bert Avery in feed lot development—turning what we now speak of as Confined Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs) into an epic undertaking that in Farr's lifetime eventually broadened in Colorado from cattle to pigs and poultry and boosted Weld County to its current perennial status as one of the top ten agricultural producers in the United States.

Farr began with ranching sheep and cattle—although the photograph of the newlyweds on page 57 shows a strapping young man in a business suit and not a rural rustic rancher. He would go on to the presidency of the National Cattlemen's Association. The details of his ranching life are fairly nominal in this telling. As Tyler argues, Farr was not the loner so often portrayed as a builder of the American West. Instead, he had a "genuine interest in others," and believed that building community always required "cooperation" (pp. 53–54). He started at home, courting "Judy" (Gladwell M. Judy) and building a new house with her in 1937—in the middle of the Depression—and a family followed. A thoroughly modern westerner, he particularly cherished one of his ranches where farming, raising livestock, feeding cattle, hosting guided hunts, and developing housing coexisted on the property, making for one great serendipitous mix. He matched that with business undertakings that included packers, feedlot creation, ranching on Colorado's western slope, and serious investment in water procurement that eventually led to the state's crucial interbasin water transfers.

At age seventy, in 1980, Farr was operating two ranches, two feedlots, and seven farms, while advising Pres. Richard Nixon on water quality and other

environmental issues. He traveled to China, Japan, Mongolia, Tibet, and the USSR, yet was obliged to sell two ranches when financial straits hit in 1984. Farr remained a linchpin in Colorado water policy, holding a seat on the omnipotent Denver Water Board. He knew its significance: before his death in 2007 he said, "Tell them I knew water" (p. 107). The allusion to John Wesley Powell at the start of this review was no accident; like Powell, Farr "was convinced that each basin should be operated by a set of rules unique to its own history and circumstances" (p. 165). Farr saw natural and human-made environments as an "integrated unit" (p. 122).

His friends, his neighbors, his offspring, and many a westerner interested in resource and environmental questions have good reason to mull the role played by Farr. He was as visionary as any western water pioneer could be. Tyler, whose family acquired one of Farr's early ranches and therefore has a personal interest, has delivered Farr's story with aplomb.

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Women and the Texas Revolution. Edited by Mary L. Scheer. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2012. x + 244 pp. 15 halftones, contributors, index. $24.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-469-1.)

The Texas Revolution has a long, distinguished, and overwhelmingly masculine historiography, recounting battles and political machinations. The eight essays in *Women in the Texas Revolution* aim to redress the absence of women in the overall narrative. With relatively little evidence to rely on, the essays are masterpieces of recovery work. They create a counter narrative by examining ordinary people coping with daily life and the changing rules and mores brought about by shifting national governments. In their complexity, the essays also demonstrate that Texas in the 1830s had a multiethnic culture that would quickly be dominated by Anglo Americans.

Three essays place women at pivotal events of the Revolution, proving that even these military actions had participants who were not white males. Dora Elizondo Guerra points out that at least seven Tejanas and their children were present during the siege of the Alamo, despite previous historians' focus only on the American Susanna Dickinson. Light Cummins poignantly describes thousands of women and children fleeing from Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna's rumored approach in the Runaway Scrape, suffering losses of life, property, and security. Jeffrey Dunn probes the experiences of the women living near the San Jacinto battleground and the *soldaderas* accompanying the Mexican army. He

weighs the evidence for two controversial stories—that a Texian soldier killed a Mexican woman during the battle and that Emily Morgan was with Santa Anna beforehand—but concludes that neither can be proven nor disproven.

Four essays examine women from different ethnic groups, all concluding that the Revolution and its aftermath undermined women's status in the region. For Native women, the Texan victory proved devastating as new policies dictated their eventual removal from the region, according to Lindy Eakin. Jean Stuntz discusses how Hispanic women lost much of the legal standing that they enjoyed under Spanish and Mexican law, and they also suffered as Anglo culture swamped their own. Angela Boswell documents the changes in slave life as Americans brought increasing numbers of slaves into Texas. The new Republic of Texas constitution ensured that the bondswomen would remain chattel for the rest of their lives. The status of Anglo-American women remained largely unchanged by the Revolution, writes Mary Scheer. Many manifested support for the war, but they also suffered the loss of their men and their possessions. As English common law supplanted the more egalitarian rules of Spain and Mexico, even Anglo women "realized little positive political, legal, or social benefit from the Texas Revolution" (p. 89).

Laura Lyons McLemore concludes the volume with the work of three women in memorializing the Texas Revolution. Adina de Zavala, the daughter of a Tejano who fought for Texas, had a markedly more inclusive version of Texas history than did her Anglo counterparts. The romantic Anglo-centric version of Texas history has long held sway, but this volume owes much more to the multicultural, clear-eyed perspective of de Zavala. The essays in *Women and the Texas Revolution* abundantly support the "old woman" whom early author Noah Smithwick quoted: early Texas was "a heaven for men and dogs, but a hell for women and oxen."

Rebecca Sharpless
Texas Christian University

A Rough Ride to Redemption: The Ben Daniels Story. By Robert K. DeArment and Jack DeMattos, foreword by William B. Secrest. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. xvi + 246 pp. 20 halftones, line drawing, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-4112-1.)

Civil War military biographies, once almost exclusively about generals, seem increasingly reliant on the life stories of colonels or company commanders. It would now seem that lesser figures are all that remain of nineteenth-century law officers and gunmen as well.

A Rough Ride to Redemption is a well-told saga of a western outlaw turned peace officer and Spanish American War fighter, written by two veteran western writers. From the beginning, however, the story does not seem very extraordinary nor is Daniels' life very unique. Having read DeArment's extraordinarily insightful and fascinating biography of Frank Canton—Texas convict, Wyoming stock detective, and Oklahoma National Guard adjutant general—I expected Daniels to be equally larger than life. After reading DeMattos' work on Bat Masterson and Teddy Roosevelt, I anticipated a similar match up of legendary figures in this book. Unfortunately, the facts of Daniels' life are relatively scarce, his career seems opportunistic, and his adventures are little more than peripheral to more important characters as he shifts among a number of personas.

While a lawman in Dodge City, Daniels also operated a combination saloon and gambling house, eventually murdering a rival saloon owner. He turns up as a prisoner in Wyoming at the territorial penitentiary in Laramie and travels around the Southern Plains alternately as a law officer in such places as Cripple Creek, Colorado, and as an outlaw in Oklahoma. In his mid-forties, he appears with Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders in Cuba and then tries to turn the acquaintance into an appointment as U.S. Marshal for Arizona and a stint as warden at Yuma, Arizona. Throughout the first few chapters, the authors promise a remarkable story and keep reminding the reader that Daniels was where all of the action was taking place. Yes, he was present, yet, in the end, one gains little sense of the man—what made him change locations and occupations, what drove him between one side of the law and the other, and what made his life seem so fascinating to his biographers.

Certainly, the authors have done yeoman's work to uncover documentary evidence of Daniels' life. They are handicapped, however, by a lack of introspective sources—no diaries, few letters, and precious little direct quotation even in contemporary local newspapers. The reader is left with the impression that while Daniels may seem relatively typical of men looking for their best chance in those times, the authors protest that his story is truly unique. As a western law officer, Daniels' experiences and his actions while wearing the badge seem no different than a few hundred others from his era. As a mostly small-town gambler and saloonkeeper, his type was legion in the West in the late nineteenth century. Even his relatively casual and brief acquaintance with Theodore Roosevelt takes on the whiff of opportunism rather than genuine friendship. This is not the story of a particularly insightful individual nor one with whom the reader can have much sympathy.

Readers of stories about Old West characters will enjoy the book, not so much because Daniels' biography is all that unusual, but because the two

authors are engaging writers who tell a good story. In the end, DeArment and DeMattos have done admirable research, but this is the story of a peripheral figure that chanced upon events and met people who lived more interesting lives.

Phil Roberts
University of Wyoming

The McLaurys in Tombstone, Arizona: An O.K. Corral Obituary. By Paul Lee Johnson. A. C. Greene Series, no. 12. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2012. xv + 380 pp. 24 halftones, line drawing, map, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-5744-1450-9.)

The gunfight at the O.K. Corral is one of the most famous events in western history. On 26 October 1881, in Tombstone, Arizona, the Earp brothers—Wyatt, Virgil, and Morgan—and Doc Holliday had a shootout with two sets of brothers, Ike and Billy Clanton and Frank and Tom McLaury. When the gunsmoke cleared, there was little doubt about the outcome. Wyatt Earp emerged unscathed from the thirty-second gunfight. Virgil and Morgan were wounded, and Holliday was grazed by a bullet. Their opponents were not as fortunate. Although Ike Clanton escaped without serious injury, Frank McLaury lay dead on the ground. Nearby were Tom McLaury and Billy Clanton, both of whom died shortly thereafter.

Several days later, Frank and Tom's older brother, Fort Worth attorney Will McLaury, arrived in Tombstone to settle his brothers' affairs and redeem the family name. He even joined an unsuccessful attempt to bring murder charges against the Earps and Holliday. Despite Will's efforts, Wyatt Earp and company went down in history as fast-on-the-draw, good guys who upheld the law against criminals. While the Earps' reputation has been tarnished a bit in recent years, most books and popular histories continue to treat Wyatt Earp and Doc Holliday as western heroes, while the Clantons and McLaurys are dismissed as villainous outlaws.

Paul Lee Johnson's more nuanced approach to the O.K. Corral drama presents a far more complicated picture of the McLaury brothers. The author has painstakingly pieced together the McLaurys' backstory through secondary works and primary sources that include newspaper articles, private letters, unpublished manuscripts, public records, and interviews with McLaury descendants. Johnson shows that Frank and Tom were not the black-hearted desperados that history has made them out to be. In many ways, they were just like other settlers who headed West hoping for a better life. The McLaurys

came from a good family, worked hard, saved money, and even had their own ranch. Unfortunately, as Johnson notes, sometimes good people do bad things. The brothers chose the wrong friends and became involved with rustlers, stole property, and performed other illegal activities. Despite those indiscretions, the author believes that Tom and Frank might have become upstanding ranchers or farmers had they not been killed at the O.K. Corral. "What makes this story both human and contemporary," suggests Johnson, "is this paradox" (p. 301).

Johnson's book is a welcome addition to the literature about the Gunfight at the O.K. Corral. But the narrative is confusing at times. All too often, the author veers off into a cul-de-sac of names while serving up details about the McLaurys' extended family or various individuals involved with the McLaurys, Clantons, and Earps. Better editing or at least a glossary of names would have made the story line easier to follow. Despite this flaw, Johnson's book should appeal to anyone interested in western history. Not only does it shed light on the McLaury brothers, but it offers fascinating information about local politics and daily life on the Arizona frontier.

Richard Aquila
Pennsylvania State University, Erie

"The First Province of that Kingdom"

NOTES ON THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE PIRO AREA

Michael Bletzer

To the casual observer, the Piro Pueblo area appears to have been largely on the periphery of events in early colonial New Mexico.[1] The very term *Piro* does not occur in written records until the founding of the first Piro missions in the mid-1620s. Sixty years later, the Piro pueblos lay in ruins, the last of them abandoned in the wake of the Pueblo Revolt. Today the Piros and their place in New Mexican history are often overlooked. Drawing on current documentary and archaeological research, this essay offers a broad outline of developments in the Piro "province" during the critical years from 1600 to 1680.

Like most, if not all, Native groups in what later Spanish explorers would call the "Kingdom of New Mexico," the Piros undoubtedly had their share

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of encounters with the peripatetic Coronado Expedition of 1540–1542. Unlike their Puebloan neighbors to the north and west, however, the Piros probably saw only small numbers of Coronado's men. In the fall of 1540, the first party to travel through Piro territory may have been led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado himself while en route from Zuni to Tiguex, the land of the southern Tiwas. Neither this nor perhaps two later visits by other members of the expedition seem to have been more than scouting forays. Whether and to what extent those occasional early encounters with Spanish parties affected individual Piro communities or the Piros as a whole over the long run cannot be determined from extant Spanish sources.[2] Nothing in the Coronado documents indicates adverse relations, let alone anything approaching the transgressions committed by Coronado's men in the neighboring Tiguex province. Historical records are largely silent on these ventures, apart from mentioning Tutahaco, a province comprised of eight pueblos down the Rio Grande from Tiguex, and four pueblos located still farther south.[3]

It is not until the late sixteenth century that the Piros enter the historical record with certainty, although not yet by name. In late August 1581, the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition—a party of Spanish friars and soldiers drawn north by rumors of large settlements of "people wearing [cotton] clothes" and visions of a "new Mexico"—halted outside a ruined pueblo not far from the basalt ridge known today as Black Mesa.[4] After a month and a half on the trail, the party christened both the pueblo and the region "San Felipe del Nuevo México." The soldier Hernán Gallegos wrote that "judging by the buildings" there once lived "a large number of people, who must have been very advanced, and whose discovery would be of great importance, if they could be found."[5] Over the next several days, Gallegos and his companions did just that, discovering a "nation" whose pueblos lined a long stretch of the Rio Grande bottomlands. "We journeyed through the territory of this nation for four days, always passing numerous pueblos—indeed, we sometimes passed through two a day—continuing until we reached the frontier of another nation," wrote Gallegos.[6]

In January 1582, the explorers reappeared at the Piro pueblos, homeward-bound. No information on this stage of their journey exists other than that they undertook some side trips to prospect for mineral deposits. Once back on the Spanish frontier word of their discoveries spread quickly, and before the year was out another expedition was on its way north. On 1 February 1583, the Espejo-Beltrán party passed by the ruined pueblo of San Felipe. The accounts of this group's march through Piro territory in many ways mirror those of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition, including a lack of anything resembling Native ethnonyms or toponyms.[7] While the Espejo-Beltrán party

was still deep in Pueblo country, officials in Madrid were deciding the future of New Mexico.

On 19 April 1583, King Philip II decreed that the newly discovered land "be settled by Spaniards and pacified so that the Holy Gospel can be preached there."[8] More than a dozen years later, Juan de Oñate led and financed a formal colonizing expedition. Before that, two unauthorized expeditions threatened to undercut the official process. In 1590 Gaspar Castaño de Sosa led more than 150 would-be colonists up the Pecos River and on to the Rio Grande pueblos. The enterprise collapsed when the viceroy in Mexico City, fearing the mistreatment of Native populations, sent troops to bring Castaño's group back to New Spain. A few years later, a military party led by Francisco de Leyva Bonilla also made a run for the Rio Grande. After a year or so of imposing themselves on the Pueblos, Leyva and his men ventured out on the Plains and were never seen again.[9]

Following the arrival of Oñate and his colonists in January 1598, fray Juan Claros was assigned to "the province of the Chiguas, or Tiguas, [and] the province of Atzigues down the river, with all its pueblos"—a clear acknowledgment of the area that would eventually become known as the "Piro province" (fig. 1).[10] This mission assignment in September 1598 is the first explicit mention of Spanish interest in the Piro area. There are no other references to Spanish missionary efforts among the Piros prior to 1626, nor is there evidence of other Spanish activities in the area before 1630. An early outpost may have existed at Senecú, the southernmost Piro pueblo, but the fragile state of early Spanish settlement in northern New Mexico left little room for a permanent presence in Piro territory. Even so, with the bulk of the Piro pueblos sitting astride the colonists' lifeline to Mexico, Piro-Spanish contact was probably frequent. At least the northernmost Piro pueblos may have been visited by some of the requisitioning parties that harassed Puebloan communities located closer to the nascent Spanish center on the upper Rio Grande.[11]

Some twenty years before the Claros assignment, members of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo-Beltrán parties noted a dense occupation of the Piro lowlands along the Rio Grande. All their accounts, though, lack detail and consistency in numbers, distances, directions, and names. According to Gallegos, "There were . . . twenty-odd pueblos," and traveling from one pueblo to the next, he and his companions were surrounded by "more than twelve thousand people." Another explorer mentions "ten inhabited pueblos on both sides of the river and close to its banks, in addition to others which seemed to be off the beaten track," with a total population of "more than twelve thousand people, including men, women, and children." A third observer saw fourteen pueblos, including five occupied by four hundred people, one by eight hundred

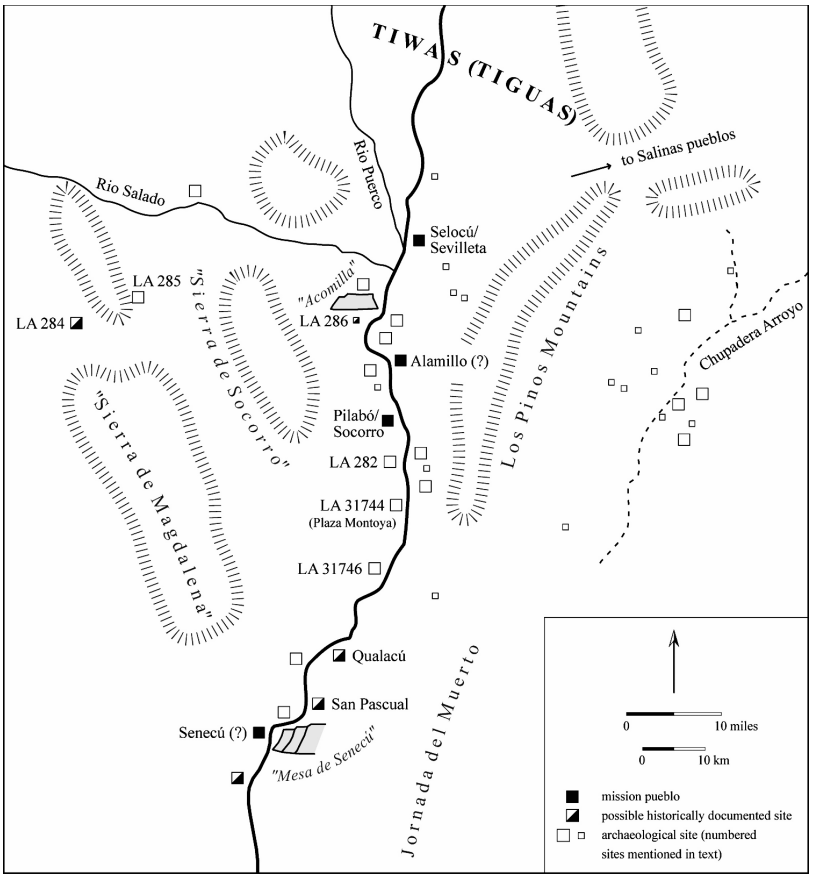

FIG. 1. HISTORIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES OF THE PIRO AREA
(Map courtesy of author)

"souls," and four others in ruins. A fourth explorer recalled "twelve pueblos with two hundred and fifty flat-roofed houses each."[12] Adding to this ambiguity, the Claros assignment lists a total of forty-four "Atzigues" pueblos.

The missionary assignment is intriguing because for the first time settlement names are given as transcriptions of Native terms. Its interpretive value, however, is limited by duplications, name splits, and the possible inclusion of pueblos in the Salinas area. Settlement names in the assignment are listed in relation to the Rio Grande (east or west of the river) and in north-south order, without further locational data. In its scope the list is impossible to reconcile with the so-called Martínez map of 1602, the sole contemporary source specifically on pueblo locations, which shows thirty-two numbered and several unnumbered pueblos as far north as Taos. Of the twenty-five named pueblos, three are identifiable as Piro. Based on map location, at least three of the unnamed and some of the unnumbered pueblos must have been Piro also.[13]

Settlement figures in the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo-Beltrán expedition accounts, though limited, indicate a double-digit number of Piro pueblos. Scale and length of habitation of specific pueblos remain unknown. This is also true for the initial years of the Oñate colonization. Several Oñate-period sources mention temporary abandonment of pueblos, but the available information is too vague to reveal extended trends. Fray Alonso de Benavides, founder of the first permanent Piro missions in the mid- to late 1620s, hints at general long-term population continuity; at the time of his work among the Piros there still existed fourteen Piro pueblos.[14]

Little archaeological data exists to help clarify the picture of contact-period and early colonial Piro settlement. Along the Rio Grande, in the uplands west of Socorro, and in the Chupadera Basin to the east, some thirty sites of potential sixteenth- and/or seventeenth-century affiliation range from ceramic scatters to multi-component pueblos with hundreds of rooms (see fig. 1). Most sites are greatly reduced and subject to continuing man-made and natural deterioration. Given the general lack of preservation and the scope of modern changes to the riverside landscape, it is uncertain to what extent this archaeological record represents colonial Piro settlement as a whole. To cloud matters further, few sites are known beyond simple surface observations. Attempts to link even the largest lowland sites to historically documented pueblos are thus precarious at best. Indeed, based mainly on location only four sites can be identified with some certainty: the mission pueblos of Socorro (Pilabó, Site LA 791, under modern Socorro); Sevilleta (Selocú, LA 774); and the two southernmost pueblos on the east side of the Rio Grande, Qualacú (LA 757), and San Pascual (LA 487) (see fig. 1).[15]

The case of Senecú Pueblo perhaps best illustrates some of the basic flaws in the historical and archaeological site inventory. A mission pueblo for half a century, Senecú was undoubtedly large. There are references to a church and *convento* (convent), a cemetery, corrals, and at least one warehouse. Documents consistently place the pueblo across the Rio Grande from the basalt ridge of Mesa de Senecú, today's Black Mesa (see fig. 1). Yet the gravel benches and bottomlands in the area are entirely devoid of remains that might indicate the presence of a mission pueblo. Aggradations have transformed the river margins to such an extent that today even the ruins of the early twentieth-century town of San Marcial are hardly visible. Any traces of Senecú that could have survived the rise of San Marcial are likely to be buried under the modern floodplain as well.[16]

As at Puebloan sites to the north and east, key archaeological indicators of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Piro occupations are diagnostic glaze-decorated ceramic rims archaeologists label Glaze E (dated to the sixteenth

to mid-seventeenth century) and F (seventeenth century). Samples exist for only four of the large riverside Piro sites (see fig. 1). Site LA 757 is probably the historic pueblo of Qualacú. Discoveries of Glaze E and F rim sherds at Qualacú are few and occur mainly in the pueblo's unexcavated northwest section, indicating limited post-contact occupation. At LA 282 (south of Socorro), a low frequency of Glaze E and F also points to a limited late occupation. At LA 31746 (located in the village of San Antonio), only a trace of Glaze E occurs on site, but the sample is too small to suggest a site-wide pattern of distribution.[17] Individually and as a group the three sites contrast markedly with LA 31744 (known now as Plaza Montoya Pueblo). Multiyear archaeological testing of this site has produced substantial surface and excavation samples of glaze wares. Glaze E specimens dominate all samples. Glaze F rims are more thinly distributed, but can be found across the site. Together with metal objects in and under rooms, the Plaza Montoya ceramics point to sizeable building or remodeling between the first contacts with Spanish explorers in the 1580s and the founding of the first Piro missions in the mid-1620s. The data from Qualacú, LA 282, and LA 31746 suggest a good deal of variability in Piro settlement during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Comparisons require caution, however, for only Plaza Montoya has seen sufficient excavation coverage to permit detailed analysis of site construction and occupation (fig. 2). Overall, questions of how densely or consistently Piros occupied contact-period sites are impossible to address without a much-expanded archaeological database for the region as a whole.[18]

Colonial Beginnings: Missions and Mission Pueblos

In Santa Fe on 3 August 1626, Franciscan fray Alonso de Benavides heard testimony concerning an incident at Socorro "in the convent and oratory where the friars reside."[19] This is the earliest reference to a Piro mission. Benavides states that after arriving from Mexico as *custos* (superior) of the Conversion of St. Paul in New Mexico, he began converting Piros by "consecrating their principal pueblo [of Pilabó] to the blessed Most Holy Virgin of Socorro." On his arrival there, he claims, all residents "hid or hurried away, so that I did not see anybody in the streets. The first thing I did, as in all other conversions, was to conjure and banish the devil from this place through the exorcism of the church." He then persuaded an ailing "100-year old chief" to have "a house . . . given to me in which to live," and received from the chief "advice as to how I ought to proceed to convert the people of this nation."[20]

The historical record of the Piro area mentions four missions: Socorro, Senecú, Sevilleta, and Alamillo. Only Socorro and Sevilleta can be located

FIG. 2. PLAZA MONTOYA PUEBLO
Contours are 20 cm, zero-elevation is main site datum.
(Map courtesy of author)

today, and only the latter is still visible. Alamillo and Senecú have vanished completely.[21] Benavides claims to have founded all Piro missions except for Alamillo, but with his time in New Mexico limited to little more than three years (1625–1629), his involvement would have been largely preparatory. Judging by the record of missions in the Salinas area and the later Manso mission at El Paso, the friars likely invested up to six years to erect a full-fledged operation. Benavides himself notes that once he "put this conversion [of the Piros] in good order and baptized the majority and the important persons" he handed the mission over to fray Martín de Arvide, who "baptized and converted many people and founded a convent in which to minister to them."[22]

In all, the record of these early missionary activities is fragmentary at best and contains little on the Piros. Benavides's sketch of his reception at Pilabó/Socorro affords a rare glimpse of Native responses to the appearance of a representative from an alien, absolutist belief system. Elsewhere, Benavides derides the Piro work ethic—especially the male work ethic—and, by extension, traditional Piro labor divisions. Piros, however, not only built the missions in the first place, but turned them into centers of agriculture, ranching, and handicrafts such as weaving and carpentry. They produced the surpluses that the friars stored in mission warehouses as safeguards against lean times and sold to get money for the church.[23]

Although the general processes of development indicated by Benavides undoubtedly played out at all three of the Piro missions he founded, at Sevilleta he faced a different challenge, namely a population dispersed by conflict. The pueblo, whose Piro name he gives as "Selocú," had been burnt in a war "with other nations," and its residents were "scattered over sundry hills." Benavides says that he resettled Selocú with the refugees and "many others," probably from neighboring pueblos.[24] This is the only statement about a *reducción*, or settlement to consolidate people in the Piro area. By establishing such settlements, civil and religious officials aimed to "reduce" the number of Native villages and thus to facilitate civil control and religious indoctrination of the Native residents. In so doing, officials were instructed to make sure that there were "lands, waters, and forests and everything else necessary for every kind of ranching and farming," and the locale chosen should be similar to that of the original settlements to avoid "turmoil or discontent among the Indians."[25]

Information on reducciones in New Mexico is scarce. For the seventeenth century, the only documented reducciones were located in the Jemez and northern Salinas areas. In other parts of the Spanish Americas, this type of settlement was usually reserved for mobile groups, small and isolated sedentary communities, or villages with declining populations.[26] In the case of Selocú/Sevilleta, no data suggest demographic volatility beyond the village level. As late as 1629, Benavides counts fourteen Piro pueblos, a number generally in line with pre-Claros figures. Benavides adds that each mission had "under its charge other neighboring pueblos, which the religious attend to with great care and spirit." In this hierarchy the mission pueblos served as administrative centers for *visitas* (occasionally-visited outlying settlements). This arrangement implies some level of demographic constancy, to which Benavides himself seems to have contributed. "I refounded several pueblos which had been burned down during their wars," he writes in his passage on Sevilleta, indicating that some pueblos were restored, rather than abandoned in favor of the mission pueblos.[27]

As the sole surviving Piro mission pueblo, Sevilleta is of unique interest, but archaeological data are limited to surface observations and a few ceramic samples. Sited on a gravel bench east of the Rio Grande, Sevilleta had at least five room blocks, grouped loosely around a large plaza, with the mission a short distance to the southeast. The church foundations measure 23 x 6.5 meters on the inside, and an adjoining structure, probably the convento, measures 8 x 14 meters. By comparison, the church of San Isidro established in 1629 at the Salinas pueblo of Las Humanas or Gran Quivira (LA 120) is 35 x 9 meters on the inside, and the first convento there measures 13 x 12

meters. The first convento was a fifteen-room suite at the west end of the pueblo's main room block, with rooms modified (windows, corner fireplaces, and low-threshold doors) to fit the tastes of the new Franciscan occupant(s). As such, the remodeled rooms at Las Humanas very likely approximate the structure and layout of the first Benavides house at Pilabó/Socorro.[28]

Settlers and Civil Officials

As missionaries like Benavides were trying to induce Natives to part with traditional beliefs, Spanish colonists were eager to secure grants of encomienda. The viceroy of New Spain had authorized Oñate to assign encomiendas to his fellow colonizers, but it was not until the tenure of Juan de Eulate (1618–1625) that governors allotted encomiendas on a wider scale.[29] In a land that held little other discernible material value for Spanish settlers, an encomienda essentially ensured socioeconomic elevation and outright survival. Not surprisingly, Spaniards contested these grants, sparking partisan struggles and triggering a range of abuses harming Pueblo communities throughout New Mexico. To curb the worst excesses, the Crown in the 1640s capped the number of all New Mexican encomiendas at thirty-five, but this did not necessarily cap the ranks of encomenderos as well. Some colonists held *partes* (partial grants) in one encomienda, others in several, and still others a full one or more. In the Piro province, for instance, Senecú was held by both Felis de Carvajal and Juan de Mondragón in 1660, and there may have been others with partes in that pueblo.[30]

Besides giving access to Native resource and labor pools, encomiendas could also bring their holders close to choice agricultural lands. Royal decrees protected portions of ancestral Native lands from alienation, but in remote Spanish provinces like New Mexico enforcement of such rules tended to be arbitrary and uneven. For example, although forbidden to live among their charges, New Mexican encomenderos often settled near their encomiendas—as did Diego de Guadalajara, encomendero of Sevilleta in the early 1660s.[31] Although legal restrictions on encomiendas and land grants were only spottily enforced, the Pueblos were at least aware of them. They "sometimes start to plant some corn fields in reserved parts," observed one governor in the late 1630s, "to prevent the establishment of estancias." It was ultimately the governor's responsibility to avert encomienda- and land-related troubles. However, private interests and political partisanship, often involving the missionaries, trumped considerations of Native welfare.[32]

Neither the first encomiendas nor the beginnings of Spanish settlement are recorded for the Piro area. Benavides mentions an effort to exploit mineral

deposits in "el cerro del pueblo del Socorro," but there is no other record of this undertaking.[33] The earliest reference to colonists in the Piro area is found in a document from 1631 that mentions an estancia at Acomilla and its owner, Gerónimo Márquez. One of the leading and more controversial figures of the Oñate period, Márquez may have been the first Spaniard to reside among Piros and appears with some frequency in early colonial documents. In 1614 he was condemned to perpetual banishment from New Mexico for various transgressions committed during the Oñate years, but apparently the sentence was not carried out. In 1627 he was accused of "having always been an enemy of the church," and Benavides, as comisario of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Mexico, had him investigated. In Santa Fe, the Inquisition questioned six witnesses who knew Márquez. None of the witnesses who gave affidavits are described as residents of the Piro area. Despite such troubles, Márquez and his family apparently were still well entrenched in the Piro area by 1630.[34]

Although Spanish sites in the Piro area have yet to be positively identified on the ground, the Márquez story may have an archaeological dimension to it. A small site (LA 286) north of Socorro has an unusual layout of two small L-shaped room blocks, the larger of which has what appears to be an interior courtyard. The site's ceramic assemblage is comparable only to that of the mission complex at Sevilleta, a pattern also pointing to non-Piro residents. The possible identification of LA 286 as the Márquez estancia of Acomilla rests on the identification of San Acacia Butte with the prominent landmark known historically as Acomilla.[35] If LA 286 is indeed the Márquez estancia, it was probably one of the "ten or twelve farms of Spaniards." In the late 1630s, Spanish farmers planted "wheat and maize by irrigating" along the fifty-league (130-mile) stretch from Senecú to Santa Fe.[36]

Surviving records identify only about two dozen Spanish residents of the Piro area between 1630 and 1680. Some of these settlers served as alcalde mayor, an unsalaried office with administrative and judicial authority over a *jurisdicción* (district). Appointed by the governor, the alcalde mayor also held the title of *capitán a guerra* (war captain) in military campaigns. In theory, an alcalde mayor could not be in charge of a jurisdicción in which he resided or held an encomienda; but as with encomienda regulations, enforcement of the rule was erratic.[37] No information exists on when alcaldes mayores were first installed in the Piro area, although it seems unlikely that much time would have elapsed between the establishment of the missions and the introduction of civil government, especially with Spanish settlers already present in the area by the early 1630s. The first known reference to the office is from the governorship of Diego de Peñalosa (1661–1664), when Luis López held the post variously

described as alcalde mayor "de los Piros" or "de Senecú." Inquisition records show that the church investigated López for blasphemy in the mid-1660s, but by 1668 he may have had charge of the Senecú district again.[38]

Opportunities for enrichment through the management of Native labor and tribute came easily to civil officials in New Mexico. Some indication of how official collusion and factionalism exposed the Piros to abuse comes from Inquisition records on governors Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659–1661) and Diego de Peñalosa. The records show a mix of accusations and counter-accusations over abuses of office and other transgressions by governors, alcaldes mayores, and encomenderos throughout New Mexico. These abuses included forcing the Piros to make lengthy trips (sometimes as far as the mining center of Parral in what is now southern Chihuahua) to collect and transport salt, piñon nuts, hides, and maize; to weave; and to build storage facilities (recorded for Senecú)—all for little or no compensation. The case of Governor López and Nicolas de Aguilar, his alcalde mayor in the Salinas district, highlights the extreme factionalism between officials and settlers over partisan economic and political interests. Most of the known documentation of López's tenure is in a lengthy Inquisition file on his alleged hostility toward New Mexico's Franciscan friars. Charges brought against López by Antonio González, the "protector y defensor de los naturales cristianos de Nuevo México" (protector and defender of the Christian Natives of New Mexico), in the summer of 1661 shed light on "official" activities in the Piro area. Among other things, González accused López of ordering "nine Indians on horseback" from Senecú to the "paraje de los mimbres" on the Sonora road as an escort for female Apache slaves, an unpaid, twenty-day trip of "more than 100 leagues coming and going." Documents suggest that neither such slaving expeditions nor the compulsory use of Native "auxiliaries" were isolated occurrences. As residents of New Mexico's de facto port of entry, the Piros of Senecú in particular faced frequent demands for provisions, horses, carts, escorts, and other supplies and services.[39]

Dubious dealings by officials also affected the Piros of Sevilleta. According to Governor López, his predecessor had settled Sevilleta's residents at Alamillo in return "for a number of sheep and a valuable horse." The priest in charge of Sevilleta (then a visita of Socorro) endorsed this move. Next, the pueblo was sold to a rancher in the Isleta district. Claiming increased risk of Apache raids, López reversed the move and directed Diego Romero, then protector de los naturales cristianos, to send the Sevilletans back to their pueblo. This may not be the whole story, for Romero was possibly a kinsman of Felipe Romero, the son-in-law of Diego de Guadalajara, encomendero of Sevilleta in 1661.[40] Because tributes were levied by household, encomenderos were hardly keen on

relocating their tributaries. In another case, Juan de Mondragón, encomendero of Senecú, apparently tried to stop the relocation—overseen by Senecú's resident priest—of several families from Senecú to assist in the conversion of the Mansos at El Paso. Such a stance may reflect a fear of losing revenue since Mondragón only held title to a partial grant. Few details of this episode are known, but Mondragón's resolve was allegedly driven directly by Governor López or indirectly through the alcalde mayor of the Senecú area.[41]

Piro (Mis)Fortunes

Regardless of whether they touch on actions by missionaries, settlers, or civil officials, the sparse records relating to the Spanish presence in the Piro area leave little doubt that the Spanish actions were intrusive and often harmful to the lives of Piros from Senecú to Sevilleta. The extent to which "man-made" effects contributed to the decline of Piro communities remains vague, however, as does the role of external factors such as epidemic disease and climatic fluctuations. The spread of foreign pathogens is especially unclear, both in terms of timing and scale.[42] In general, Native population levels in New Mexico seem to have remained more or less stable into the mid-1630s. There are no records of major disease outbreaks until the late 1630s, when an epidemic ravaging much of northern New Spain reached New Mexico. Up to one third of the Puebloan population may have perished in this epidemic (possibly smallpox). Contemporary demographic figures are sketchy, but some indication of the scale of loss comes from a statement, relating to the mid-1660s, that there were "more than 24,000 Indian men and women in all the missions" of New Mexico. This represents a dramatic drop from figures given at the start of the century.[43]

For the Piro area, evidence of the epidemic's impact is even more circumstantial. Again, in the late 1620s, Benavides gives figures of fourteen pueblos and six thousand "souls," which are by and large in agreement with the contact-period estimates and perhaps reflect a Pueblo-wide trend of relative demographic stability.[44] The subsequent absence from the record of references to non-mission pueblos is problematic. Whether this reflects extensive settlement consolidation (i.e. reducciones) in favor of the mission pueblos or simply observer bias is unclear. Even references to missions lack consistency. A New Mexican inventory from the early 1640s lists only Socorro as a Piro mission. Sevilleta and Alamillo appear as visitas, suggesting a sharp drop in parishioners. Puzzling at this time is the absence of references to Senecú. Barring scribal oversight, Senecú then seems to have had neither resident missionaries nor even visita status—an odd scenario unless the pueblo had

suffered a catastrophic decline. How long this hiatus (if such it was) lasted is unknown, but Senecú does not reappear in the documentary record until the 1650s.[45]

A possible demographic breakdown in the late 1630s raises the question of scale. If just one of four mission settlements maintained its status, what then happened to the ten non-mission pueblos after 1630? Archaeologically, the surface distribution of Glaze E and F ceramics hints at a complex process of settlement change. Of forty sites with structural remains ranging in size from single rooms to multiplaza pueblos, twenty-nine have Glaze E and/or F forms in their surface assemblages, but only at the possible Spanish ranch of LA 286 are Glaze F forms in the majority. Among large sites (over one hundred rooms) that may represent pueblos seen by Benavides, fourteen have Glaze E or F forms in varying quantities and combinations with and without earlier ceramics. This category includes Sevilleta, two pueblos (sites LA 284, 285) in the uplands west of Socorro, and Plaza Montoya Pueblo. In addition, the ceramic inventories of a dozen smaller sites (down to individual field houses) scattered throughout the Rio Grande Valley and adjacent uplands also include Glaze E or F forms.[46]

Variability in site size, structure, location, and ceramic distribution suggests a range of continuous and discontinuous occupation histories far beyond the reach of the documentary record. Yet only Plaza Montoya Pueblo has a database of sufficient breadth to approximate a construction and occupation sequence. Excavation tests throughout the pueblo show substantial postcontact construction; it must have ranked (with approximately 250 ground-floor rooms) among the largest Piro communities (see fig. 2). Radiocarbon dates, metal and other foreign artifacts, and a predominance in all excavation levels of diagnostic late glaze rim sherds (currently 132 E, 102 E/F, 52 F rims) place the apogee of the pueblo's occupation in the late 1500s and early 1600s. All this differs substantially from the data for Qualacú and the neighboring sites LA 282 and LA 31746. Moreover, artifact distribution and patterns of refuse disposal and room maintenance at Plaza Montoya are consistent with rapid and planned site abandonment, possibly in a reducción-context following the establishment of the nearby Socorro mission.[47]

The example of Plaza Montoya demonstrates that without some understanding of site stratigraphies it is impossible to say how long into the mid- or late 1600s Piro Glaze F sites persevered. Throughout the Piro area, conditions seem to have had increasingly destructive effects on settlement persistence by mid-century. Climate reconstructions show that most years from 1653 to 1671 experienced drought. Crops reportedly failed several times, and by 1670 a "very great famine" was ravaging the province. In 1671 an

epidemic carried off people as well as livestock, and a year later Apaches went on a rampage.[48] During this period only the mission pueblos of Socorro and Senecú figure in the historical record of the Piro area. In early 1668, Gov. Fernando de Villanueva called for provisions from the mission stores of Socorro and Senecú for an Apache campaign. According to a local settler, the friars at both missions had earlier handed out rations "on Sundays for the entire week." That mission stores were deemed capable of aiding a military venture, while also being able to alleviate local food shortages, implies not only some degree of economic resilience but also centralized control over local food production and supply.[49] During the mid-1660s, the priest residing at Socorro was also in charge of two unnamed visitas—presumably Alamillo and Sevilleta—and two estancias. Another priest was said to be "necessary" for the Socorro mission to function properly. Two friars worked at Senecú, but at least one more was said to be needed. Such a concentration of friars seems unusual given that no references suggest any visitas or estancias assigned to the Senecú mission.[50]

Politically, the years after 1660 kept pace with the worsening ecological situation. During Governor Villanueva's tenure (1665–1668), the Mansos at El Paso rose against the Spaniards in a rebellion allegedly backed by Gila Apaches. Villanueva sent the alcalde mayor of Senecú into the Gila Mountains to pacify the rebels. Shortly thereafter, similar troubles erupted in the Piro province involving both Piros and Apaches. An ambush in the Sierra de Magdalena killed the alcalde mayor and five other Spaniards. Severe Spanish reprisals followed. Six "Christian Indians" including the main Piro ringleader, "called in his language El Tanbulita," were hanged. Another source mentions an unspecified number of captives "hanged and burned as traitors and witches in the pueblo of Senecú." Militia detachments subsequently stationed at both Socorro and Senecú may have kept further Piro unrest in check, but otherwise seem to have had little effect. In June 1671, at El Muerto, two days south of Senecú, Gila Apaches trapped the wagon train bringing the new governor, Juan de Miranda. Apparently only the arrival of a relief force from Senecú saved Miranda and his party. Perhaps in retaliation for this rescue, the Gila Apaches next carried out a daylight raid on Senecú, driving off horses and livestock. A Spanish-Piro party pursued the raiders but was ambushed and only narrowly averted a repeat of the Sierra de Magdalena disaster.[51]

In 1672 new priests took over at Senecú, Socorro, and Alamillo. That the Spanish were again operating missions at these three Piro pueblos was likely caused by an influx of refugees from the Salinas area. Documents and paleoclimatic data paint a dismal picture for the Salinas pueblos after 1670. They were abandoned by the mid-1670s; most surviving residents moved to

pueblos in the Rio Grande valley. One of those Rio Grande pueblos was most likely Senecú (fig. 3). In 1674 Senecú saw the arrival of fray Alonso Gil de Ávila who had served at the Salinas mission pueblo of Abó until that pueblo was abandoned in 1673 or 1674. Ávila's appearance at Senecú several months later suggests that he brought some of Abó's residents with him.[52] In early 1675, however, Ávila was killed with many Senecú residents in another Apache raid or Piro rebellion. By June 1675, Senecú was deserted and remained so until late 1677 or early 1678, at which time "more than one hundred families of Christian Indians" of unspecified origin were sent to resettle the "frontiers" of Senecú. Despite scant provisions and the continued threat of Apache raids, this reoccupation seems to have lasted until August 1680.[53]

Beyond large-scale officially sanctioned population transfers to bolster flagging frontier pueblos like Senecú, both individual and group movements

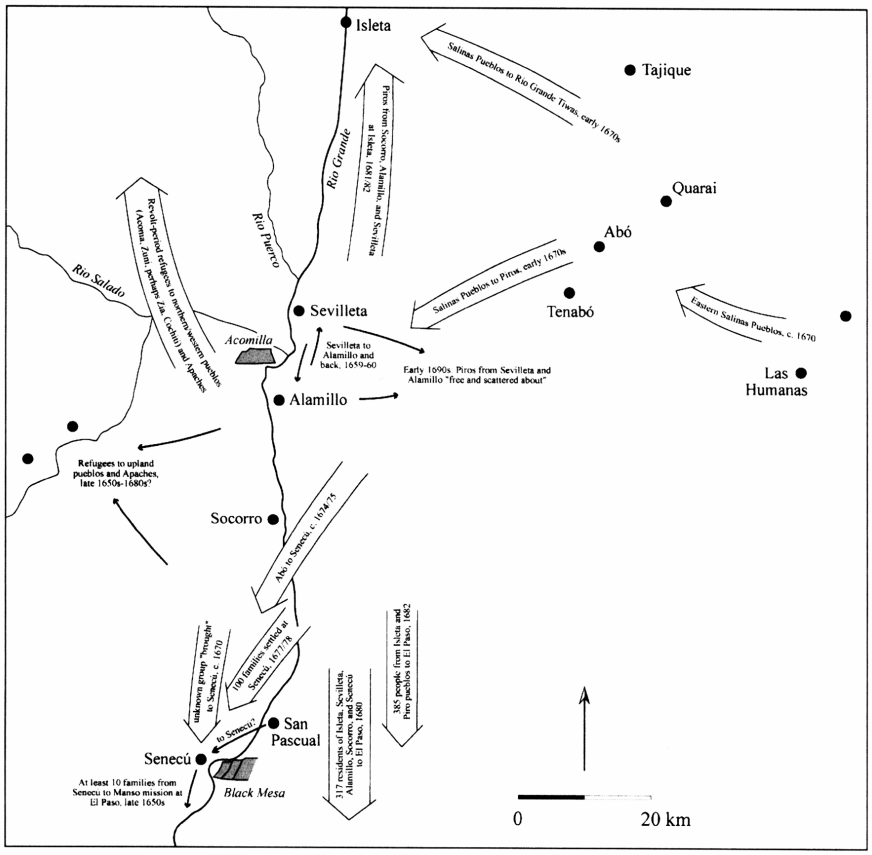

FIG. 3. PIRO-AREA POPULATION MOVEMENTS BETWEEN C. 1650 AND 1692/1693 AS INDICATED IN CONTEMPORARY RECORDS
(Map courtesy of author)

into, within, and from the Piro area were likely common during the 1660s and 1670s (see fig. 3). Mobility as a strategy to cope with environmental and societal changes, as well as with economic facets of life, had been part of the Puebloan adaptive toolkit long before Spanish contact. A number of documents point to how the burdens of colonial rule prompted Natives to retreat from areas of Spanish control, but those documents rarely indicate scale and permanence of such efforts. Archaeology could help fill in some of the documentary gaps but only through concerted research.[54]

In the Piro area, assumptions about population movements after the mid-1600s rely necessarily on surface data and site location, a tenuous combination as illustrated in arguments regarding a possible refuge function of sites LA 284 and 285. The two sites stand out because of their location in the uplands west of Socorro. Some scholars suggest that their isolation (in relation to the large lowland Piro pueblos) could have attracted Piros who wanted to move away from the Spanish-dominated pueblos along the Rio Grande.[55] Yet the impression of isolation is more apparent than real. Both pueblos were easily accessible via tributaries of the Rio Grande, and with 150 or more rooms, both were far from inconspicuous to the vigilant Spaniards. Moreover, pre– and post–Pueblo Revolt references to Spanish activities in the Sierra de Magdalena cast doubt on whether the two pueblos were beyond the reach of Spanish influence.[56]

As elsewhere in New Mexico, the troublesome history of Native-Spanish relations came to a head in the Piro area with the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Spanish accounts of the revolt state that the Piros and Tiwas of Isleta did not actively participate in the uprising, but at the same time they indicate that the province of the Piros was not a safe haven for the retreating Spaniards. At least some Piros considered attacking the Spanish refugees collecting themselves in Piro territory. According to testimony relating to the Spanish withdrawal, the Piros of Socorro, "on account of an envoy who came to them from the enemy," were planning to join the revolt even as hundreds of Spanish refugees were encamped at the pueblo.[57] In response to this threat, the Spanish leaders decided to remove the remaining residents of Socorro and the three other Piro mission pueblos, as well as the residual population of the Tiwa pueblo of Isleta—317 "women and men, old and young"—to the El Paso area. Spanish documents do not mention if the 317 individuals went of their own free will, but whatever the precise circumstances of their relocation, they did not represent the whole surviving Piro and Tiwa populations. Even if losses from disease, conflict, and malnutrition were severe, the Spaniards would have unlikely maintained one mission pueblo for an average of just sixty residents, let alone five of them. In addition, references to rebel plans

to carry the fight to El Paso furthermore indicate that Piros and Tiwas were to play a major role in such a thrust.[58] Where those Piros and Tiwas resided is not explicitly mentioned, though some Piros were reportedly then living among the Zunis, Keres, and Apache groups. Subsequently, a large number of displaced Piros also gathered at Isleta, where Gov. Antonio de Otermín found them in early December 1681.

Marching up the Rio Grande, Otermín and a force of 260 men from El Paso (including some sixty Piro conscripts from among those taken south the previous year) had passed the riverside pueblos of the Piro province but encountered no inhabitants, only signs of people, especially at Sevilleta, where a kiva had been built with materials taken from the mission. Otermín found all Piro missions burnt. He blamed the destruction on Apaches and "apostates"—an allegation indicating that former residents of the mission pueblos had come back to demolish the missions. At Otermín's approach the "apostates" fled to the mountains. In the end, the Spanish governor had the four Piro pueblos and the pueblo of Isleta torched, taking from the latter 385 persons back to El Paso, among them Piros from Sevilleta, Alamillo, and Socorro.[59]

Yet, even after those final acts of devastation, some Piros remained in their homeland, though not apparently in their old settlements. In January 1693, Gov. Diego de Vargas noted that the "inhabitants" of Sevilleta and Alamillo were "free and scattered about" and should be "reduced" to their former pueblos. Vargas suggested that Piros from El Paso reoccupy Socorro, but not Senecú, "because the river has ruined the fields, and it is Apache country." Although later officials from time to time voiced similar ideas, no Piro pueblo was ever reconstituted. Socorro and Senecú lived on only in the names of two of three new settlements south of El Paso. Piros and members of other Puebloan groups who had ended up with the Spaniards settled there, again under the supervision of friars, but remained at times willing to fight against the role assigned them in the colonial system.[60]

The fate of the Piros is one of the most extreme manifestations of the crisis of seventeenth-century Puebloan life. The twin issues of demographic decline and settlement abandonment have long attracted scholarly interest. Even so, assumptions about cause, effect, and process tend to be based on limited data.[61] Archaeology has the potential to address some of the gaps and biases inherent in the historical record, especially if research focuses on sites that were not mission pueblos. In the case of the Piro area, for instance, the excavations at Plaza Montoya Pueblo have created a sizeable database relating to a period when immense outside pressures were beginning to disrupt established patterns of Piro settlement. Stratigraphic and depositional

data from Plaza Montoya indicate more variability in pre- to post-contact Piro population and settlement trends than was previously apparent from historical and archaeological data. Given this, more information from other Piro sites, both large and small, and better comparative data from other Puebloan sites should improve understanding of the demographic consequences of the colonial encounter in New Mexico.[62]

Notes

1. The phrase "la primera Provincia de aquel Reyno" (the first Province of that Kingdom) reflects the fact that Piros were the first Puebloan group Spanish travelers encountered on the journey north along the Rio Grande. Edward E. Ayer, trans., *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, 1630, annot. Charles F. Lummis and Fred W. Hodge (Chicago: privately printed, 1916), 95.
2. It is possible that rumors of Spanish slavers raiding north from the mining frontier of New Spain during the 1570s may have reached the Piros. Yet given the hazy geographical knowledge evident in the accounts of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo-Beltrán expeditions—both of which originated on that frontier—it seems unlikely that any Spanish slave-raiding party ever came near to reaching Piro territory.
3. One of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's scouting parties reportedly went so far down the Rio Grande that it reached a stretch "where the river disappeared underground like the Guadiana in Extremadura," which seems to indicate that the party reached a point beyond the San Marcial–Black Mesa area, where the southernmost Piro pueblos were located in the 1580s. See Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542*, ed. and trans. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), fol. 92r-v, 682 n. 367. See also H. P. Mera, *Population Changes in the Rio Grande Glaze-Paint Area*, Technical Series Bulletin 9 (Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, 1940), 14, 16; Adolph F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885, Part I*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, no. 3 (Cambridge, Mass: John Wilson and Son, 1892), 234; Adolph F. Bandelier, "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico, Part I—1536–1542," *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (October 1929): 327–28; Elinore M. Barrett, *The Geography of Rio Grande Pueblos Revealed by Spanish Explorers, 1540–1598*, Research Paper Series, no. 30 (Albuquerque: Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, 1997), 3–4; and David H. Snow, "Initial Entradas and Explorations: 1540–1593," in *The North Central Regional Overview: Strategies for the Comprehensive Survey of the Architectural and Historic Archaeological Resources of North Central New Mexico*, ed. Boyd C. Pratt and David H. Snow, 2 vols. (Santa Fe: New Mexico Historic Preservation Division and New Mexico Office of Cultural Affairs, 1988), 1:79–128.
4. Dr. Juan Bautista de Orozco to the king, 25 November 1576, Mexico City, in *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History*, comp. and ed. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., 2 vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 1:50.

5. "Gallegos' Relation of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition," in *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580–1594*, ed. and trans. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 81–83. On the location of this first abandoned pueblo, see Michael P. Marshall and Henry J. Walt, *Rio Abajo: Prehistory and History of a Rio Grande Province* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, 1984), 229–30, 248.
6. "Gallegos' Relation of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition," in *Rediscovery*, Hammond and Rey, 83.
7. There are accounts of the Espejo-Beltrán Expedition by Antonio de Espejo, by the soldier Diego Pérez de Luxán, and by Baltasar de Obregón (who did not participate but interviewed another soldier, Bernardino de Luna). The first two are in Hammond and Rey, *Rediscovery*, 213–31, 153–212, respectively; and the latter is in Baltasar de Obregón, *Historia de los descubrimientos de Nueva España* (Sevilla: Ediciones Alfar, 1997), 256–73.
8. "The king to viceroy conde de Coruña," 19 April 1583, Madrid, in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias (CDII)*, 42 vols. (Madrid: Ministerio de Ultramar, 1864–1884), 16:297.
9. Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson, eds., *A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal, 1590–1591* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: School of American Research, 1965). On the Leyva party, see "Account of an Indian of the flight of Leyva and Humaña from New Mexico," in *Rediscovery*, Hammond and Rey, 323–26; and George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds. and trans., *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), 1:416–19.
10. Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate*, 1:346.
11. Testimonies of Capt. Manuel Correa Falcón, 29 July 1626, Santa Fe, Archivo General de la Nación, México, D.F. [hereafter AGN], Inquisición, tomo 356, fol. 296r; and Capt. Diego de Santa Cruz, 3 August 1626, Santa Fe, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 356, fol. 297v; France V. Scholes and Lansing B. Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598–1629 (Part I)," *New Mexico Historical Review* 19 (October 1944): 320–23; and Michael Bletzer, "'Pueblos Without Names': A Case Study of Piro Settlement in Early Colonial New Mexico" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2009), 284–98.
12. "Diego Pérez de Luxán's Account of the Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, 1582," and "Report of Antonio de Espejo," in *Rediscovery*, Hammond and Rey, 82, 172–74, 219; and Obregón, *Historia*, 272.
13. Of these pueblos, notes the map's anonymous author, "I have no notice of their names." Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 296–98. The Martínez map is in the frontispiece of Hammond and Rey, *Rediscovery*.
14. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 286–321.
15. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 235–56; Michael P. Marshall, *Qualacu: Archaeological Investigations of a Piro Pueblo* (Albuquerque: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, 1987); David R. Wilcox, "Discussion of Pueblo Research," in *Current Research on the Late Prehistory and Early History of New Mexico*, ed. Bradley J. Vierra (Albuquerque: New Mexico Archaeological Council, 1992), 103–6; and Elinore M. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe:*

Changing Rio Grande Settlement Patterns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 20–22.

16. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 252–54; and Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 59, 91–92, 303.
17. Michael P. Marshall, *Archaeological Investigations in a 16th- to Early 17th-Century Pueblo in the Village of San Antonio, New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, 1986); Marshall, *Qualacu*; and Amy C. Earls, *An Archaeological Assessment of "Las Huertas," Socorro, New Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, 1987).
18. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 624–34.
19. Testimonies of Capt. Diego de Santa Cruz, 3 August 1626, Santa Fe, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 356, fol. 297r; and Capt. Juan Gómez and Antonio Baca, 22 October 1627, Socorro, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 363, exp. 6, fols. 3–4r.
20. *Fray Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, ed. and trans. Frederick W. Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 63, 248 n. 72.
21. France V. Scholes and Lansing B. Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598–1629 (Part II)," *New Mexico Historical Review* 20 (January 1945): 69–72; and Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 254–56.
22. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Revised Memorial*, 62–63, 79; Scholes and Bloom, "Friar Personnel (Part II)," 77–80; James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: the Architectural History of the Salinas Missions* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: National Park Service, 1988), 54; and James E. Ivey, "Pueblo and Estancia: The Spanish Presence in the Pueblo, A.D. 1620–1680," in *Current Research*, Vierra, 221–24.
23. Ayer, *Memorial*, 33; Ivey, *In the Midst*, 229–35; and Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 311–12, 328–32.
24. Ayer, *Memorial*, 17; and Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 245–47.
25. Lansing B. Bloom and Ireneo L. Chaves, eds. and trans., "Ynstruccion a Peralta por Vi-Rey," *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (April 1929): 184.
26. Peter Gerhard, "Congregaciones de Indios en la Nueva España Antes de 1570," *Historia Mexicana* 103 (1977): 347–95; Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 307–10; and Jeremy Kulisheck, "Settlement Patterns, Population and *Congregación* on the 17th Century Jemez Plateau," in *Following Through: Papers in Honor of Phyllis S. Davis*, ed. Regge N. Wiseman, Thomas C. O'Laughlin, and Cordelia T. Snow (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 2001), 77–101.
27. Ayer, *Memorial*, 17, 19; Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Revised Memorial*, 64; and "Petition of fray Juan de Prada," 26 September 1638, Mexico City, in *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, ed. and trans. Charles Wilson Hackett, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1923–1937), 3:108. See also Ivey, "Pueblo and Estancia," 225.
28. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 203–7, 245–48; Ivey, *In the Midst*, 157–70; Gordon Vivian, *Gran Quivira: Excavations in a Seventeenth-Century Jumano Pueblo* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1964), 61–93; and Alden C. Hayes, Jon Nathan Young, and A. H. Warren, *Excavation of Mound 7, Gran Quivira National Monument, New Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1981), 31–36.
29. Viceroy marqués de Guadalcázar to the king, 27 May 1620, Mexico City, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain [hereafter AGI], México, 29, N. 127; H. Allen

Anderson, "The Encomienda in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 60 (October 1985): 353–77; and David H. Snow, "A Note on Encomienda Economics in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico," in *Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory in the Southwest*, ed. Martha Weigle (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Ancient City Press, 1983), 347–57.

30. France V. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 (April 1935): 75–80; and Primera audiencia de don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, 1663, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 594, exp. 1, fol. 45; tomo 507, pp. 281, 456; and tomo 587, p. 133.
31. Testimony of Capt. Juan García Holgado, 21 April 1667, Senecú, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 608, exp. 6, fol. 427r.
32. "Petition of Francisco de la Mora," 4 February 1639, Mexico City, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:118; and Roxanne A. Dunbar, "Land Tenure in Northern New Mexico: An Historical Perspective" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974).
33. Ayer, *Memorial*, 97–99; and Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Revised Memorial*, 63.
34. Testimonies of Francisco Márquez, 1 October 1631, and María Núñez, 14 October 1631, Sandía, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 372, exp. 19, fols. 18r and 19, respectively. Gerónimo Márquez's inquisition file is in AGN, Inquisición, tomo 318, fols. 492r–496v. See also fray Angélico Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families: A Genealogy of the Spanish Colonial Period* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1992), 69–70.
35. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 199–201, 254–56, 344.
36. "Petition of Francisco Martínez de Baeza," 12 February 1639, Mexico City, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:119.
37. Scholes, "Civil Government," 80–99.
38. Testimonies of Capt. Juan García Holgado, 21 and 24 April 1667, Senecú, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 608, exp. 6, fols. 426v, 427v; and Capt. Joseph Téllez Girón, 19 April 1667, Socorro, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 608, fols. 424r–425v. These testimonies are part of the incomplete Inquisition file on Luis López, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 608, fols. 417–428.
39. On the López years, see France V. Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659–1670* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942). See also Van Hastings Garner, "Seventeenth Century New Mexico," *Journal of Mexican American History* 4 (1974): 41–70; and Charles R. Cutter, *The Protector de Indios in Colonial New Mexico, 1659–1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 21–40. The episode with the Piro slave escort is in AGN, Tierras, tomo 3268, fols. 4v–5r. For official involvement in slave trading of "enemigos apaches," see the letters of fray Cristóbal de Quiros Zambrano to the viceroy, 1 December 1636, Santa Fe, AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 35, exp. 3, fol. 93; and Francisco Gómez to the viceroy, 23 October 1638, Santa Fe, AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 34, N. 1, fol. 27r. See also Rick Hendricks and Gerald Mandell, "The Apache Slave Trade in Parral, 1637–1679," *Journal of Big Bend Studies* 16 (2004).
40. Scholes, *Troublous Times*, 29; and Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 246–47, 254–55.
41. "Testimony of fray Nicolás de Freitas," 24 January 1661, Mexico City, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:158.
42. See for example Daniel T. Reff, "The Introduction of Smallpox in the Greater Southwest," *American Anthropologist* 89 (1987): 704–8; Ann F. Ramenofsky, "The Problem of Introduced Infectious Diseases in New Mexico: 1540–1680," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 54 (1996): 161–84; Henry E. Dobyns, "Disease Transfer at Contact," *Annual*

Review of Anthropology 22 (1993): 271–91; Ann M. Palkovich, "Historic Epidemics of the American Pueblos," in *In the Wake of Contact: Biological Responses to Conquest*, ed. Clark S. Larsen and George R. Miller (New York: Wiley-Liss, 1994), 87–95; and Ann M. Palkovich, "Historic Depopulation in the American Southwest: Issues of Interpretation and Context-Embedded Analysis," in *Bioarchaeology of Native Adaptation in the Spanish Borderlands*, ed. Brenda J. Baker and Lisa Kealhofer (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 179–97.

43. "Declaration of fray Miguel de Menchero," 10 May 1744, Santa Bárbara, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:396. See also Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*, 62–64.
44. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*, 59–62, 67.
45. France V. Scholes, "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions (Part I)," *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (January 1929): 50; and Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 323–24.
46. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 113–89, 343–406; and Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, appendixes 1 and 2.
47. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 530–634.
48. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*, 76–77, apps. A-D; James E. Ivey, "'The Greatest Misfortune of All': Famine in the Province of New Mexico, 1667–1672," *Journal of the Southwest* 36 (1994): 76–100; and John P. Wilson, "Before the Pueblo Revolt: Population Trends, Apache Relations and Pueblo Abandonments in Seventeenth Century New Mexico," in *Prehistory and History in the Southwest*, ed. Nancy Fox (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 1985), 113–20.
49. Petition of Fernando de Villanueva, 18 February 1668, Santa Fe, Biblioteca Nacional de México, México, D.F. [hereafter BNM], 1, N. 29, p. 2.
50. "Letter of fray Domingo Cardoso," in "Documents," Scholes, 55–56.
51. Amy C. Earls, "Raiding, Trading and Population Reduction Among the Piro Pueblos, A.D. 1540–1680," in *Current Research*, Vierra, 15–18; Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 131–41; Wilson "Before the Pueblo Revolt," 114–16; and Michael Bletzer, "Attack at El Muerto: Raiding and Rebellion on the Southern Pueblo Frontier, 1650–1680" (unpublished manuscript, 2011).
52. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 327–29; Wilson, "Before the Pueblo Revolt," 113–20; Lansing B. Bloom and Lynn B. Mitchell, "The Chapter Elections in 1672," *New Mexico Historical Review* 13 (January 1938): 113–15; and Ivey, *In the Midst*, 231–32. In the 1880s, residents of Senecú del Sur told Adolph Bandelier that they were "the last descendants of the Abó tribe." See Bandelier, *Final Report*, 2:273.
53. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 328–29; "Petition of fray Francisco de Ayeta," (ca. 1679), in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:292; "Petition of fray Francisco de Ayeta, Mexico," 10 May 1679, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:297–98; and Declaration of Juan Martín Serrano, 15 June 1675, Socorro, AGN, Civil, 511, fol. 13v.
54. Perhaps most famous is the flight in the 1660s of families from Taos Pueblo to El Cuartelejo. See Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696–1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 11–12. On Puebloan mobility, see Sarah H. Schlanger, "Patterns of Population Movement and Long-Term Population Growth in Southwestern Colorado," *American Antiquity* 53 (October 1988): 773–93; Mark D. Varien, "New Perspectives on Settlement Patterns:

Sedentism and Mobility in a Social Landscape" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1997); Michael L. Elliott, "Mission and Mesa: Some Thoughts on the Archaeology of Pueblo Revolt Era Sites in the Jemez Region, New Mexico," in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*, ed. Robert W. Preucel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 45–60; and Ann F. Ramenofsky, Fraser D. Nelman, and Christopher D. Pierce, "Measuring Time, Population, and Residential Mobility from the Surface at San Marcos Pueblo, North Central New Mexico," *American Antiquity* 74 (July 2009): 505–30.

55. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 213–17; and Jeremy Kulisheck, "Pueblo Population Movements, Abandonment and Settlement Change in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century New Mexico," *Kiva* 69 (Fall 2003): 44–45.
56. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 255–67, 631–32.
57. *Auto* of Alonso García, 24 August 1680, Socorro, AGN, Historia, tomo 26, p. 34.
58. "Muster at the paraje de la Salineta," 3 October 1680, in *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest*, ed. and trans. Charles W. Hackett and Charmion Clair Shelby, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), 1:159.
59. The destruction of the Piro pueblos in 1681 is in the records of the Spanish army's advance and retreat between 5 November 1681 and 10 February 1682, in *Revolt*, Hackett and Shelby, 2:203–8, 361–64.
60. "Petition of fray Francisco de Ayeta," 10 May 1679, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:298–99; "Letter of Diego de Vargas to Viceroy conde de Galve," 12 January 1693, El Paso, in *To the Royal Crown Restored: the Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1692–94*, ed. John L. Kessell, Meredith D. Dodge, and Rick Hendricks (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 114–15.
61. See for example Albert H. Schroeder, "Pueblos Abandoned in Historic Times," in *Southwest*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, vol. 9 of Handbook of North American Indians, ed. William C. Sturterant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 236–42; Stuart Baldwin, "Studies in Piro-Tompiro Ethnohistory and Western Tompiro Archaeology" (manuscript, Mountainair, N.Mex.: Salinas National Monument, 1988); Wilcox, "Discussion," 101–7; Kulisheck, "Pueblo Population Movements," 30–54; and Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*.
62. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 624–33.

Book Notes

Grandma's Santo on Its Head, El Santo Patas Arriba de mi Abuelita: Stories of Days Gone By in Hispanic Villages of New Mexico, Cuentos de Días Gloriosos en Pueblitos Hispanos de Nuevo México. By Nasario García. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. xv + 152 pp. 14 halftones, glossary. $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-5328-3.)

Riding Lucifer's Line: Ranger Deaths along the Texas-Mexico Border. By Bob Alexander. Foreword by Bryon A. Johnson. Frances B. Vick Series. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013. xxvi + 404 pp. 62 halftones, endnotes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-499-8.)

The Legend of Ponciano Gutiérrez and the Mountain Thieves. By A. Gabriel Meléndez and members of the Paiz Family. Illustrations by Amy Córdova. Pasó por Aquí Series on the Nuevomexicano Literary Heritage. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. 40 pp. 24 color plates. $18.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-5239-2.)

West from Salt Lake: Diaries from the Central Overland Trail. Edited by Jesse G. Petersen. American Trails Series. (Norman: Arthur H. Clark Company, an imprint of University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. 328 pp. Maps, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-8706-2407-0.)

Colorado: A History of the Centennial State, Fifth Edition. By Carl Abbott, Stephen J. Leonard, and Thomas J. Noel. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2013. xvi + 575 pp. 138 halftones, line drawing, maps, notes, further reading, index. $29.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-60732-226-9.)

A Lawless Breed: John Wesley Hardin, Texas Reconstruction, and Violence in the Wild West. By Chuck Parsons and Norman Wayne Brown. Foreword by Leon C. Metz. A. C. Greene Series. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013. 83 halftones, maps, appendix, endnotes, selected bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-505-6.)

Santa Fe's Historic Hotels. By Paul R. Secord. Images of America series. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2013. 127 pp. 187 halftones, map. $21.99 paper, ISBN 978-1-4671-3009-7.)

The Mexican Revolution: Conflict and Consolidation, 1910–1940. Edited by Douglas W. Richmond and Sam W. Haynes. Introduction by John Mason Hart. Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013. x + 251 pp. 19 halftones, maps, tables, about the contributors, index. $35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-1-60344-816-1.)

From the Pass to the Pueblos: El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail. By George D. Torok. (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Sunstone Press, 2013. 372 pp. 74 halftones, 11 maps, notes, bibliography, index. $26.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-86534-896-7.)

News Notes

Archives, Exhibits, and Historic (Web) Sites

The Albuquerque Museum of Art and History presents "Vernacular Architecture of New Mexico: Photographs by Robert Christensen." The installation includes prints of images created between 1974 and 2013 that document changes in "spontaneously designed buildings" such as gas stations, garages, and bars. This exhibit runs through 16 March 2014. The Albuquerque Museum of Art and History is located at 2000 Mountain Road NW in Albuquerque. For more information, visit the website: http://albuquerquemuseum.org/.

The New Mexico History Museum presents "Cowboys Real and Imagined," an exhibit that explores that changing status of the cowboy from the days of colonial Spain in New Mexico to Hollywood Western films. This exhibit runs through 16 March 2014. The New Mexico History Museum is located at 113 Lincoln Avenue in Santa Fe. For more information, visit the website: www.nmhistorymuseum.org/.

Silver City Museum presents "Our Saints Among Us: Revisited." The exhibit showcases the private collection of Barbe Awalt and Paul Rhetts that includes works in the forms of santos, retablos, bultos, colcha, tinwork, and other media depicting saints and other traditional themes. The exhibit runs through 2 March 2014. The Silver City Museum is located on 312 W. Broadway Street in Silver City, New Mexico. For more information, call (575) 538–5921 or visit the website: www.silvercitymuseum.org.

The Museum of International Folk Art presents "Brasil and Arte Popular," opening 17 November 2013. Mestre Virgulino and his group, Capoeira

Cangaço CDO, will perform at the opening. The exhibit runs through 10 August 2014. The Museum of International Folk Art is located at 706 Camino Lejo in Santa Fe. For more information, call (505) 476–1200 or visit the website: www.internationalfolkart.org/exhibitions/upcoming.html.

The Jesus M. Casaus house is now open! The house showcases life on the plains of eastern New Mexico at the beginning of the 20th Century. The Jesus M. Casaus house is located at 628 3rd Street in Santa Rosa. For more information, visit the website: nmasw.org.

Calendar of Events

20–24 November The American Anthropological Association announces its 112th annual meeting, "Future Publics, Current Engagements." The meeting will be held at the Chicago Hilton in Chicago, Illinois. For more information, visit the website: www.aaanet.org/meetings/.

21 November The Center for the Southwest is pleased to announce the 2013 Richard W. Etulain Lecture in History, "A Tale of Two Species: How Chocolate and Macaws became Prestige Items in Mesoamerica, the American Southwest, and Europe," presented by Dr. Patricia Crown, UNM Professor of Anthropology, at the Hibben Center on the University of New Mexico's Main Campus. The event is free and open to the public. For more information, call (505) 277-4344, email cntrsw@unm.edu, or visit the website: www.facebook.com/centerforthesouthwest.

22–24 November The annual meeting of the Center for French Colonial Studies will be held at the Bob Bullock Texas State History Museum in Austin, Texas. The topic of the meeting will be "The Lasting Legacy of René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle from the St. Lawrence River Valley to the Gulf of Mexico." For more information, visit the website: frenchcolonialstudies.org/annual-meeting/.

2–5 January The American Historical Association announces its 128th annual meeting, "Disagreement, Debate, Discussion." The meeting will be held in Washington, D.C. at the Marriott Wardman Park, the Omni Shoreham Hotel, and the Washington Hilton. For more information, visit the website: www.historians.org/annual/2014/index.cfm.

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