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Bourke on the Southwest, IX

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BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, IX

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Chapter XVII

ZUÑI ETHNOLOGY

[*May 20, 1881.*] . . . Put on my full uniform and paid a visit of state to Pedro Pino, one of the head men, formerly governor and father to Patricio, the present governor: with me went Palfrey, whose services proved to be of the greatest value to me.[1] When we entered the room, the old man was employed in tying feathers to little sticks which, as he soon told us were to be planted in the fields to insure good crops. He arose and made us welcome and sent one of the squaws to bring us a wooden trestle to serve as a seat, after a very fine blanket had been spread over it.

"I see you have on a uniform," said the old man, "wait a moment until I put on my good clothing"; and, suiting the action to the word, he drew from a rack in the corner a long-tailed red-flannel shirt which he donned with becoming dignity and was then ready for business. I explained to Pedro in my best Spanish that I was an officer of the army, that the Great Father had sent me out to see him and his son, as well as to see my friend, Cushing, in whose career the Great Father took the liveliest interest[2]; that I was very much disappointed in not being able to see Cushing who could so well explain all that I wanted to say and that, in his absence, I would only hope that Pedro and I might understand each other in Spanish. Many of the old army officers, I continued, remembered Pedro and spoke of him in the kindest way and from them I had learned that he knew more than any other Zuñi of the history, traditions and customs of his tribe. It was asserted by some ignorant people that the Zuñis were not a bit different from the wild Indians who roamed the plains and were only a little above the level of the brute, but *I* knew better than this and wished that Pedro would give me a list of the families or clans of his people so that I could show the white men when I returned to

1. On Palfrey, see page 118.
2. On Frank H. Cushing, see page 94.

Washington that the Zuñis were a most excellent race, equal to the Americans in every respect. In making this speech I was obliged to deal much in exaggeration and flattery, but the bait took and my hopes were gratified beyond my anticipations. Before the old chief could reply, I explained to him that Palfrey was also an officer like myself and that the absence of his wagons was the reason why he did not appear in full uniform in honor of the occasion. Our conversation and uniform combined seemed to make a great impression upon Pedro and much to my delight he became very communicative.

"These feathers, you see," he said, "are to bring us rain. All the Zuñis will plant these feather sticks in the ground and water will come down on their crops." The Zuñis (he continued), were a very good people and widely different in habits and behavior from the Apaches and Navajoes who were very bad. The Zuñis never had but one wife, while the other Indians had three or four. There are many "gentes" here. (Using the Spanish word "gente" to mean "gens" or "clan.") When a young man marries he goes to live with his wife's gens and his children belong to that gens. Now I, Pedro Pino, am one of the Aguila (eagle) gens, but my wife belongs to the Guacamayo (Parrot) gens and all my children belong to the same gens. And I live with my wife's people but when *I* die the Eagle gens will bury *me*, because I am an Eagle and have been a great captain in that gens. The names of these gentes are as follows:

1. Agua—water.
2. Grulla—crane.
3. Aguila—eagle.
4. Oso—bear.
5. Coyote—cayote.
6. Guacamayo—owl? (Huacamayo—Macaw—Parrot.)
7. Maiz—corn (Toácue, Zuñi.)
8. Tortuga—tortoise.
9. Pólilli—road runner.
10. Bunchi—tobacco.
11. Palo amarillo—yellow stick[3] (tá-subchí-cue, Zuñi).
12. Sol—sun.
13. Olla-jocué—sunflower?
14. Tejon—badger.

3. Bourke adds the following note: I think now (July 20th, 1881) that this gens is the Palmilla or Yucca, which is also found among the Tegua Pueblos.

The old man repeated each name twice and after I had written them down, the list was read to him for correction. With 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 12, there was no difficulty at all. No. 6, he explained was a small bird about the size of the "gabilan blanco" (white sparrow-hawk) which lived in this land and flew above us in the sky. Palfrey and I both conjectured from this explanation that it must be an owl.[4] No. 9 Palfrey identified from the feathers which Pedro showed him to be the "road-runner," a variety of tufted grouse having two long stiff feathers projecting from its tail and deriving its American name from its habit of running swiftly up and down roads and trails in Arizona and New Mexico. No. 10, we were told was "tobacco," probably the plant smoked by the Zuñis. Pedro said it was not *American* tobacco. Concerning the identity of 11 and 13, we were completely in the dark, but surmised that the former might be the osier and the latter the sunflower. Our host endeavored to make us know what Olla-jocué was by saying that it was a small plant not more than two feet high with a yellow flower. This account agreed perfectly with the description of the wild sun-flower of this Western country.

He gave us the clan captains:
Agua—Juan Setimo, the silver smith.
Grulla—Juan.
Aguila—himself, Pedro Pino.
Oso—Francisco
Coyote—Santiago.
Guacamayo— ————.
Maiz—José Pallé.
Tortuga—Vicente.
Pólilli—Vicente No. 2.
Tejon— ————.
Bunchi— ————.
Palo Amarillo— ————.
Sol—Manuel.
Olla-jócue— ————.
Clans marked ———— were not given.

"The people of Laguna and Acoma are divided the same as we, but you must go there to ask them; my grandson, Napoleon, is governor of Acoma. In Zuñi, we call

4. Note by Bourke: It proved to be the Mexican Huacamayo or Macaw parrot of Sonora.

Father—tá-chu.
Mother—si-tá.
Uncle—chachu.
Aunt—cha-sé.
Cousin—hom-sué.
Brother—hom-pápu.

The old fellow went on to tell us that each Indian in the pueblo had been baptized and had a name given, but he evaded my inquiries as to the Indian names they have, if any.

He said that each gens had its captain or cacique and over the whole community presided the "gobernador." There was also a cacique of the sun who watched the sun and apprised the people when the time for planting, etc., had come. He eluded all our efforts to ascertain who this "cacique of the Sun" was. His orders had to be obeyed by everybody when he gave them; one of the principal functions of this cacique was to kindle the sacred fire in honor of the Sun. The Sun was good for the Zuñis, but the rattlesnake was bad.

In playing their great national game of "kicking the sticks," the different clans sent their representative players to the field, decked and painted with clan "totems;" thus the Eagle gens would be painted with yellow specks on front of body to represent that bird; the Agua (water) would have a toad on belly; the Crane, painted like a crane on the back; the Bear, like a bear in front; the cayote painted with white clay to resemble that animal; the Corn would have the fruit and flowers of that plant on back; the Tortoise, painted like a tortoise on back; the Road-runners would wear a crest of feathers; the Badger, white stripes down his face; the Tobacco, the Bunchi plant on breast; the Palo Amarillo, that plant in yellow on the breast; the Sun, a blue, rayed sun on the back, while the Olla-jocué had arms, hands and feet painted white.

Our visit, thus far, had been most satisfactory, but I had now to suffer a very decided rebuff. I asked Pedro if he would not let me accompany him to the fields and help him plant the medicine feathers which he had been making during our conversation.

"My friend," rejoined the old man, "everybody in this world has his own business to attend to; for instance, there is the maestro, (i. e., the school-master, the missionary, Rev. Dr. Ealy) he has his business, he teaches school; then there is Mr. Graham, he has his business, he sells flour and sugar

and coffee in his store, and I have my business, *I* am going to plant these feathers and so, everybody has his own business."

I got the idea from this remark that my services as a planter would not be needed, and, therefore, thought I would get the old man in a good humor by thanking him for all he had told me and inviting him to go down to Mr. Graham's store for a present of sugar. When we reached the store, Mr. Graham made his dog climb up and down a ladder for our amusement; this is an accomplishment in which all the dogs of the Zuñi are proficient; the little babies also begin to ascend and descend these ladders at an extremely early age; indeed, I saw numbers of naked children that couldn't have been two years old, climbing up and down with the greatest of freedom.

Looked down into an "estufa," which was 65′ long, 25′ wide, and 8′ high, built of sandstone rubble laid in mud, foundation just upon ground. Entrance by ladders. Air-hole one foot square in roof and three windows, each one foot square, with sills of sandstone; no panes of glass or "yeso."

Called, with Palfrey, upon Dr. and Mrs. Ealy and Miss Hannecker, Presbyterian missionaries and teacher.

The Zuñis have the game of "fox and geese," played upon slabs of sandstone, marked in squares. Rude straw matting is made for covers to doors. The chimneys are made of "ollas," the "flues" are built of stone and mud and wood.

In the evening, I had a long conversation with Charles Franklin, to whom I read the list of "gentes" obtained from Pedro. Franklin is not a man of fine education, but is unusually clear-headed. He understood at once what I meant by "gentes," altho' he persisted in calling them "cliques." He said he thought the list was almost complete, except that it lacked the Snake, the Wolf and the Deer or Antelope gente, which he was certain existed. The "cayote" may be a clan which Franklin designates as the "Wolf," and I agree with him in believing that there may be a small Rattlesnake gens, because Palfrey and I saw the figure of that reptile worked in high relief on a single piece of pottery this afternoon; for the like reason, we do not deny that there may be a Deer gens, since the figure of the deer frequently occurs upon their ollas and vases.

Franklin instanced a curious superstition prevalent among the Zuñis. They reverence the sun-flower highly and when absent upon some commercial or warlike expedition at a distance from home, the Zuñi warrior will pluck one of these flowers from its stem, breathe a prayer upon it and cast it from him with all his strength. If the flower fall downward, the Zuñi knows that his wife has been untrue to him; but if it turn toward him or the Sun, the loyalty of the absent spouse is established beyond question.

Each "clique," said Franklin, has a cacique, whose office is elective, not hereditary; the tenure is for life or during good behavior. These caciques elect the "tapoop," or gobernador, who holds his place for two (2) years. The election is secret, but generally a fair representation of the wishes of the community which the caciques from their office have the best means for learning.

Deposition is likewise determined upon in secret; some 12 or 15 years ago, one of their tapoops was deposed for inefficiency. The manner of proceeding was about as follows: the caciques assembled with "closed doors" and selected (3) three of their number who were to effectually disguise themselves and perform the ceremony of deposing the old governor and installing the new. The whole tribe was assembled, all being present who were not sick, excepting the caciques who from motives of prudence remained concealed or if they mingled among the crowd did so in disguise. The three (3) deputies now entered, all muffled up and one of them dressed as an old woman. The delinquent tapoop was brought before them and in squeaky artificial voices they reproached him with his inefficiencies and shortcomings and he was then commanded to surrender his baton of office. Then the "old woman" took a rag and slapped the deposed tapoop in the face with it, saying that he was no better than an old woman and should now begone. The complete disguise of the judges and the fact that only three of the caciques officiated would naturally increase the difficulty of determining their personality, in case the deposed official should at any time contemplate revenge.

Franklin said that each cacique has his specific duties; he of the sun is the "time-keeper" and perhaps, has more power than any of the others. He notifies the "tapoop" who is the executive officer of the town, when the time has come

for planting, reaping, etc., and that for the celebration of any of their feasts.

At the commencement of their new year, some time in December when the days are very short, (Winter Solstice?) they put out all fires and sweep the chimneys clean; sweep and clean out all their houses. New fires are kindled from the sacred fire, which is either a fire made and blessed by the caciques or else is one they preserve, I don't know where. When I was first with them I had been for a long time sick with scarlet fever, and about the time this fire feast came on, I was lying on my bed, alone in the house and feeling chilly, got up and kindled a little flame to warm myself. The smoke, escaping from the chimney, betrayed and aroused the indignation and fears of the caciques, who hurried to the house where I was living and found me suffering from a relapse brought on by over-exertion. They cautioned me against my indiscretion and said that my sickness was a just punishment for having committed the crime of kindling that fire, that I was now a Zuñi, I must conform to their ways, unless I wished bad luck to pursue me, when I violated them. For (10) ten days, they allowed no fire at all, except in cases of greatest necessity, such as cooking a small amount of food. No one is allowed to smoke in the streets and nobody eats any meat for the first (4) four days. If a man should eat any meat during those four days, he would die.

They made peace with the Apaches (150) one hundred and fifty years ago and have kept it ever since. They know the Navajoes and the Pueblos very well and do a good deal of trading with them. They used to have wars with the the Navajoes and the tops of their houses were protected by parapets when I first came here. There were *no* doors on the lower floors; all these doors have been put in since 1865. They told me that during the Navajo war, (1862-3) one of their men betrayed symptoms of cowardice. They held a sort of a court martial over him and sentenced him to *run the gauntlet*; he was beaten to death with clubs.

"They eat peaches, the only fruit they raise; piñon nuts, they have no acorns; pumpkin, squash and melon seeds as well as the fruits themselves; the roots of wild cane (carrizo); the bulb of the tulé; wild dates (Spanish bayonet) and the tuna (nopal cactus.) They plant corn, wheat, beans (frijoles), chile, melons, squashes, pumpkins, onions, garlic, parsley and peaches. The Zuñis and other Pueblos use a

great deal of mutton tallow in their cooking. They have a "Buffalo Dance" in the winter, which, according to their traditions, is the dance to secure a good hunt. The buffalo, they say, used to come near here, that is nearer than it has done in our time.[5] They don't hunt buffalo now. They eat deer, antelope, jack-rabbits and dogs, crickets, grasshoppers, horses, mules, donkeys, beef, mutton and kid. They eat rats (field rats). They won't eat squirrels or hogs, but will eat bacon. They have horned cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, horses, chickens, hogs and turkeys. They won't eat chickens or eggs, but keep them to sell and raise eagles for their feathers; they catch them when they're young. They attach great importance to the "medicine" power of the eagle feather which the clowns use in their dances. One of these dances is a very wonderful thing. I must tell you about it, as I saw it years ago and up to that time at least was certainly the only American who ever had seen it.[6]

They are extremely superstitious in regard to persons suffering gun-shot wounds. They think that presence in the room in which is a woman about to be confined will have a disastrous effect upon the new-born child. This danger can be obviated by calling in the medicine men who will repeat prayers and then blow ashes up the chimney.

A little baby is carefully rubbed with ashes, which they think act as a depilatory and keep hair from growing on face and body.

Women, as a general rule, bear the pangs of childbirth with great ease. When the time of accouchement has arrived, they prepare a bed of sand upon which the patient kneels, easing her pains by pulling upon raw-hide ropes attached to the rafters. During labor she is assisted by one or two old women. In their treatment of lying-in women, the Zuñis closely resemble the Navajoes. They do not commit proticide, and are very fond of their children, whom they rarely, if ever, punish. Bastards are treated with the same consideration as legitimate children. The names of these Zuñis are of Spanish origin received in baptism, to

5. This tradition must date from prehistoric times. At least, Coronado's men in 1540 saw no buffalo until they got east of the Pecos river.

6. It has seemed best to delete the brief description which follows, but the editor will furnish it to any student of ethnology who requests it. Bourke himself comments: "This peculiar ceermony can safely be set down as a survival of phallic worship, having for its object the development of amorous tendencies among the growing girls to induce them to marry early."

which most of the older people have been subjected. Each has a second name which it is almost impossible for a stranger to obtain. Their names are not changed after reaching maturity. A system of ward and guardianship seems to obtain among them.

The Zuñi women wear an underskirt of calico and over this a blanket dress made exactly like those of the Moquis—extending from shoulder to knee, fastened at right shoulder and leaving the left arm shoulder and upper half of left bust exposed. It is fastened again under arm-pits (but leaving room for nursing their babies from under the arms) and from waist to extremities, much as the dress of the Shoshonee women. A red and yellow worsted girdle, four inches wide, confines the dress at the waist and a pattern of herringbone stitch is darned in blue in the skirt at hem and in red or yellow at the right shoulder. These dresses in color are black or dark blue and sometimes have scarlet bands woven at the upper and lower borders. Their leggings and moccasins have already been described. Women frequently wear aprons and while within doors a square blanket thrown around neck; in the open air, this is used as a "tapalo"; it is at times replaced by a square piece of cloth whose ends are made to serve the double purpose of dish-clout and handkerchief. The arms, necks and busts of the Zuñi women who have not outlived their first youth, are beautifully rounded, owing, I imagine, to their habit of working at grinding meal and also of carrying large jars of water on their heads. This last practice no doubt strengthens the spine and shoulders and keeps them in shape. The men, when out of doors are nearly always enveloped in blankets. They use the fibre of the Spanish bayonet for thread and the feathers of the wild turkey and eagle to ornament their heads and hats.

The cradles of the Zuñi children differ but slightly if at all, from those of the Apaches, Navajoes, Shoshones, Sioux, and other tribes. The shape is practically the same, altho' the ornamentation employed by each tribe may be peculiar to itself. But, very frequently, the Zuñi mother, in a hurry to run out and gossip with some neighbor, will pick up her infant and carry it on her back, wrapped in her blanket.

Their necklaces are made of beads of malachite, of seashells, silver buttons and balls, made by themselves. Their finger rings are of silver and their ear-rings and bangles of

same material cannot be distinguished from those made by the Navajoes. They wear no nose-rings, nose-sticks or labrets.

The hair of both men and women is gathered carefully together at the back of the head and wrapped with red yarn; that growing on sides and forehead is suffered to hang loose, with a part on one side. Very often, the men wear a bandeau or bandana or colored muslin tied about the forehead, the same as the Navajoes and Apaches. The women never wear these bands, but part the hair on the side, brush it down flat on sides and cut off the ends square at the level of the mouth.

For toys, the Zuñi children have tops, bows and arrows, slings, dolls and doll's dresses, and also are allowed to play with very young puppies and with dead kids stuffed with hair or wool for this purpose.

Both boys and girls play "shinny," and "fox and geese," —the shinny ball is made of buckskin stuffed with wool and in shape is flat like a pat of butter. The men play "sock-ball" and a game something like our "hen and chickens." They have among them a modification of the "odd or even" of the Shoshonees; a white ball or stick is hidden under one of several tiles (made of pottery) and its place is determined by guess-work. They have ten (10) tally straws and in all its other features adhere to the practice of the game as played by the tribes farther to the North. They engage in this contest with much zest, saying many prayers and singing many refrains. They don't often play cards.

For musical instruments, they make gourd-rattles, and use strings of shells, tortoise shells and antelope or sheep toes, drums, & flageolets. They have drums made of great crockery "ollas" covered with skin & beaten with peculiarly shaped sticks: and for same purpose use hollow logs covered all over with skin. They make great use of these last two kinds in their Harvest dance, in which one bevy of young maidens is kept at work grinding corn for the feast, while others sing and dance.

The Zunis look to be undersized, but have good physical proportions. The expressions of their faces are generally pleasant and good-natured and their muscles are well developed by hard work (for Indians). Neither sex tattoos or disfigures face or body in any way and the amount of paint used in every day life is very small indeed.

Girls are nubile at from 12 to 14.

Both sexes are industrious, before and after marriage. The women do an immense amount of work, within doors and without: they make the pottery and burn it, weave all blankets, girdles and garters, do the cooking and other house work and at odd moments attend to the tiny patches of ground, cultivated within the limits of the town. For this last purpose, they have to pack water on their heads for considerable distances. The men do most of the farm work, and the more onerous duties involved in the care of their herds, of ponies & flocks of sheep. They also provide most of the fire-wood, dig and repair the irrigating canals &c.

Courtship is much like that of other Indians, but if a suitor enter the house of his sweet-heart and she don't ask him to sit down, he must at once go out.

The gentler sex is of considerable consequence among the Zunis. Parents are *not* paid for their daughters and girls are free to marry whom they choose. The Zunis have but *one* wife. They marry a brother's widow. Divorces are easily arranged and almost always by mutual consent, and upon separation from her husband the wife takes away her children and property. They don't mutilate women suspected of adultery. Gentile emblems are inscribed upon their houses and upon their pottery, or rather their pottery is made in shape of the clan patronym.

Thus, I saw toads, owls, rattlesnakes, tortoises, eagles, deer and other marks upon their ollas and dishes, or dishes made in those forms.

Menstrual lodges are not employed by this tribe and women are not isolated during periods of purgation, but after delivery will remain secluded and abstain from nearly all food for ten (10) days.

The "estufas" are used for religious purposes only, and not for council. They don't use disinfecting or aromatic grasses in their houses. The peaceful nature of the Zunis is typified in the almost complete absence of implements of war of any kind: a few old muzzle-loading, cap and even flint-lock rifles and shot-guns made up the inventory of all the arms of precision I could find in their houses. They have wooden war-clubs, similar to the "macanas" of the Pimas and Maricopas of Arizona. Stone berry-mashers are common, as are sticks for catching field-rats and as follows from the necessities of the case, each house has a liberal provision of stone metates. I have stated elsewhere that these are

arranged in lines, and are graded in fineness from the 1st of coarse vesicular lava occupying the compartments up to the 4th, 5th, or even 8th in fineness, of smooth sandstone on the extreme right.

Pipes are scarcely ever used, but much tobacco is consumed in the form of cigarettes.

Earthen utensils of all kinds are to be found in abundance. The Zunis have attained great dexterity in their fabrication and annually turn out hundreds of pieces which evince great artistic taste. Dishes, basins, bowls, ollas, jars of all sizes, spoons, ladles, cups, pitchers—figures of animals —every design, suggested by consideration of utility, ornament or mere passing fancy, fill their houses and are purchasable at very reasonable prices. To some extent, they manufacture gourd and wooden spoons, and also basket ware—the last of very ordinary quality and inferior in every way to the beautiful work of their more savage neighbors, the Apaches & Navajoes.

The Zunis concede this by purchasing whenever they can the baskets of these two tribes.

Silver and paper money are alike currency among them; they prefer the former. They have no currency of their own; their beads of malachite and sea-shell no doubt were once available for all mercantile purposes and have only within the historic period fallen to the more degraded estate of being held as mere ornaments.

I am pretty certain that their clans are combined in phratries and also think thaty they have secret and soldier societies.

They have no idols, at least, I could see none. They have a god or spirit for everything. They have hymns, prayers and invocations.

On page 1330 [7] may be seen the picture of an antelope, copied from the wall of one of their houses (inside). The line running down from the animal's mouth and terminating at its heart may be described as a "prayer." It is a pictographic invocation to the "spirit of the antelope" to incline the hearts of the antelope on earth to put themselves in the way of the Zunis that they may kill them for food. I made careful inquiries upon this point and know that I have obtained the correct explanation. Sacrifices are offered to the sun and moon, and the morning star is also worshipped; prayers are said while smoking and at commencement of each meal, a small fragment of bread is thrown in fire.

7. See illustration at page 117.

Their prayers are without number and applicable to every occasion. Some of them, I am told, take *3 hours* to recite: and again others have been so long in use that many of the words in them have dropped out of the common language of every-day life and have an import known only to the priests and the better instructed of what we may call the laity.

Before owning horses, they had no draught animals; now they are well mounted. Their saddles and bridles are of home manufacture and often richly mounted with solid silver. The flat, Turkish stirrup is the one they employ. Their ponies are of a good average in the qualities of beauty, bottom, nerve and speed. Their saddles, bridles, blankets, & silver work are closely alike to those of the Navajoes. . .

To sum up my account of this little visit, I will say that the Zunis are officially estimated at about 1700, all told; they answer to the name of Zunis, but call themselves Ah'si-vich, which has a striking resemblance to the name Si-Vich, of the tribe living in the grand canyon of the Colorado, near the mouth of Cataract creek, Arizona T'y.

The Zunis are firm believers in witchcraft and will not allow owl feathers to be burned near their corn fields from fear of drought to their growing crops. The rattlesnake is said to be held in high esteem among them and never killed unnecessarily; but this I doubt.

The noises in the village are fearful; imagine a congregation of jackasses, quarrelsome dogs, and chickens, bleating lambs & kids, shrill voiced eagles, gobbling turkeys, screaming children and women mourning for the two dead relatives whose burial has been described; incite all these, each according to its kind and degree, to make all the noise in its power and a just, but still not altogether adequate conception of the hubbub may be attained. As with the turmoil, so with the effluvia; the place is never policed and I am not going one jot beyond the limits of strict verity when I characterize Zuni as a Babel of noise and a Cologne of stinks.

The well of Zuni deserves special mention; it is a *spring,* 15′ deep walled in with sandstone rubble masonry, 20 feet high and roofed over with vigas, saplings, brush and earth.

In speaking of the ladders for entering the houses of the Zunis, I should also have referred to the notched poles and stone steps used for the same purpose.

As this was to be my last night in the village, I bade good-bye to Palfrey and also to Dr. and Mrs. Ealy: and returning home, stumbled against the public crier who was bawling out at the top of his voice that Juan Lucero had that afternoon lost $30.00.

May 21st, 1881. Mr. Graham refused all compensation for his hospitality, and left me only the pleasure of thanking Hathorn and himself to whom as well as to Dr. Cushing, who was at breakfast with us, I bade farewell, leaving many kind messages for Mr. Frank Cushing, whom I was very much disappointed in not being able to see.

Left for our return to Wingate; on the road, picked up an old Zuni [8] who with hoe on shoulder was plodding his way out to his little "milpa" or corn-field, 3 or four miles up the creek. Like all the older men of the tribe, he spoke a little Spanish and told me that the field he now pointed out was his *own* property. This was another link of evidence to show me that the Zunis are *not* communists, but individual proprietors in the soil. The "farm" in question, was not over an eighth of an acre in extent. So, in Zuni itself, women take care of the little vegetable patches, as personal and not as communal farms. The driver of my buck-board told me that 2 or 3 miles from Zuni, were fine large fields of growing corn and orchards of peach trees.

I feel that my report upon Zuni is at best meagre and unsatisfactory; I had hoped to meet Mr. Frank Cushing, in which case I should have remained at least twice as long, feeling delighted to reflect that each moment spent in his society would be an advantage to me in every way. He has so thoroughly explored the field of Zuni investigation that my little scout therein will appear ridiculously insignificant in contrast; nevertheless, it was to me a personal experience I shall always look back upon as one of the most pleasant of my whole life. At some other time, I hope to be able to return and resume my studies in Zuni and also in the vicinity, especially the ruins of Toyallani, upon the vertical sandstone crags, 1000 feet above the level of the present village. The reports heretofore published upon Zuni are as unsatisfactory as my own; Sitgreaves is notably insufficient, the pictures accompanying it being *burlesques.* Mr. Cushing's

8. Note by Bourke: This old man said that the Zunis called themselves Ah' see-vitch.

monograph will fill the gap and place him where he properly belongs in the world of science, *at the top.*[9]

I have already said that the present situation of the Zuni village did not fulfill in my mind, the requirements of the seven cities of Cibola, visited by Coronado in 1541-2. Franklin tells me that in their traditions the Zunis say that the Spaniards first came from the West; that the other pueblos killed the missionaries who visited *them,* but that the Zunis spared the one who came to them; for which reason the Spaniards destroyed the other villages, but did not harm the Zunis. This story, as given me by Franklin, is evidently a mélange of their story of the first invasion by Coronado in 1541, and the *re-conquest* by Vargas in 1692, after the general revolt of the Indians in 1680. At *that* time, the Spaniards did destroy many villages, the fugitives taking refuge among the Navajoes to the West. When the Spaniards approached Zuni, says Franklin, a trumpeter advanced and sounded a parley; to his astonishment, a native shouted to him in his own Castilian! The terrified soldier, satisfied that he was in the direct presence of the dread enemy of souls, fled precipately back to the main body of his countrymen, to whom he related what he had heard & seen.

The Commander drew near the foot of the sandstone mesa, near the summit of which stood, in Indian garb, the man who had caused such terror to the trumpeter. In his hand he held a piece of white buckskin which he first waved in the air and then, wrapping it up in a large stone, threw in the direction of the Spaniards. It proved to be a statement, written with charcoal, and to the effect that he was and had been for some years a prisoner among the Zunis and had almost forgotten his own language. His release was effected without delay and the Zunis coming down from the high mesa, which must have been Toyalani (upon summit of which are great ruins) built their present town.[10]

In the evening called upon Gen'l and Mrs. Bradley and upon Dr. and Mrs. Matthews,[11] who showed me a fine collec-

9. Later, under date of June 14, Bourke inserted clippings from the Chicago *Times* and the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* (both of that date) and from the Omaha *Herald* of June 15, all contributed by Bourke and praising Cushing and his work at Zuñi.

10. Bourke's note: For a complete outline description of the posts of Forts Wingate and Defiance, see the official work issued from Headquarters, Military Division of the Missouri.

11. Dr. Washington Matthews was born in Ireland in July 1843. Brought to the United States as a child, he grew up in Iowa and in 1864 he received the M.D. degree from the University of that state. After serving the balance of the Civil War he was stationed at various army posts in the west, rising ot the rank of major surgeon and

tion of Zuni and Navajo blankets, as well as the series of pictures, illustrations of life among the Zunis, taken by Mr. Frank Cushing. Also a little "olla" found by Mr. Cushing in one of the secred burial caverns of this region and said by the Zunis to have been placed there by the Maiz, or Corn gens in some of their ceremonies. Dr. Matthews says that the ruin I paced off was built by the Zunis; that since living in it, they have built seven other pueblos, not counting those they now possess and which they have occupied for from 200 to 300 years. (My belief is that the present Zuni dates back to about 1695.) Dr. Matthews went on to say that on the summit of Toyalani moccasin trails are worn deep in the solid sandstone; and also that Frank Cushing had told him the same story about the captive priest which I received from Franklin and that for their kindness to this priest, the Zunis were treated with greater consideration than was accorded to the other pueblos. The clowns of the Zuni dances are called "mud-heads," because they wear masks of earthen ware, covering head, face, neck & shoulders.

There will be some further reference to both Matthews and Cushing in the chapter which follows, but this is a good point at which to comment upon the generous recognition which Bourke always accorded to both of them.

Of the two, Bourke felt more closely drawn to Cushing. Matthews with his medical training and experience was already deeply interested in the study of skeletal material—he was a pioneer in physical anthropology. Yet he and Bourke were on such terms that, when they happened to meet in Washington some years later, they went to a Dime Museum together.

The regard which Bourke and Cushing had for each other is revealed by the record of a conversation between them in a Washington hospital in 1889. By that time, Cushing had done further work in Florida, and in Arizona, but his health had been seriously impaired by his experiences,

not retiring until September 1895. Very early in his army life, Matthews became a student of Indian life and he soon won recognition as an ethnologist of the first rank. But all of his important writings on the Navaho appeared from 1883 to 1902, and therefore they were subsequent to this meeting with Bourke at Fort Wingate. At this time also he had been married only four years. He was to outlive Bourke by nearly ten years.

and his most important writings were still to appear. The *Zuñi Creation Myths* was to be published in 1896—the year of Bourke's death; *Zuñi Folk Tales in 1901*, and *Zuñi Breadstuff* in 1920.

May 26th 1889. Sunday. Went with Sara [12] to the Garfield Memorial Hospital to see Mr. and Mrs. Frank H. Cushing; with them, we found Dr. Wortman, Mr. Baxter, and Dr. Yarrow. On the wall of Cushing's room, was a photograph of the picture recently exhibited with high honors (medal) in the Paris salon last year, by Mr. Metcalf, the young artist whom I met with Cushing and Baxter in the Zuni country in 1881. Cushing had a graphophone from which he extracted the words of Zuni, Apache and Navajo dances, to Sara's undisguised horror and astonishment. . . .

May 30th 1889. Thursday. Decoration Day. Rained fiercely in paroxysms from sun-rise to sunset. Mrs. Bourke and I took some roses, pansies and mignonette from our garden to Mr. and Mrs. Cushing, at the Garfield Hospital. Cushing was in poor spirits, seemed to think that his Boston friends misjudged him for being broken down in health and that his life-work would be ruined: "Bourke," he said, "you must cherish my memory; make the reputation you are surely going to make when your books shall appear, but let the world know of my hard work and say that my method was the correct one in ethnological investigation. You have wonderful intuitions, Bourke: your brain is powerful and logical and your education and experience in ethnological and frontier matters cannot be equalled. When I die, you must take my place. No other can do it. Matthews is the only man to compare to you, but his training has made him narrow. He cares more for skeletons and crania than anything else. But, you, Bourke, are an exceedingly broad man: all appeals to you, beads, shells, bones, nothing escapes you."

—After a pause, he resumed, "I saw in Zuni, just what kind of a man you were and you have come forward just as I expected you surely would. Now, I have a favor to ask of you, one I never asked of mortal man: make mention of me in your books. I'll feel proud to know that my name shall appear in them."

12. Bourke's oldest daughter was then about four years old. Now the wife of Colonel Luther R. James, U. S. A., it is through her courtesy that the present editing of material from her father's notebooks has been made possible.

I said: "Cushing, old man, you're sick, nervous and excitable: you are the first ethnologist in the world to-day and no one can remove you from your pinnacle."

For an understanding of Cushing's reference to his "Boston friends," we turn to Bourke's notes of August, 1887, nearly two years earlier than the above conversation in the Washington hospital:

August 12th, [*1887*] By Express to Boston, our train lighted by Electricity. Ran over a horse and buggy, containing a man and woman, near Worcester, Mass., killing one of the poor, unfortunate wretches and maiming the other for life. Arrived in Boston, at midnight; went, as usual, to the old-fashioned Parker House, now past its prime, but still possessing an excellent table.
August 13, 1887. Paid my respects to my friend, Francis Parkman, at his residence, Jamaica Plains, Mass. Was received most cordially by himself and sister, a lovely lady, of great personal charms, decided intellectuality, and most winning manners. Mr. Parkman had just returned from a brief voyage to Madrid, Spain, which has been of some benefit to his health . . .
August 14[h] *1887* . . . In the afternoon, a delightful home dinner with Dr. and Mrs. Parkman, who afterwards drove me all round Jamaica Plains and home to my hotel. At night, took the train for Malden and hunted up Sylvester Baxter, whose mother and sister I found to be charming people.
August 15[h] *1887. Monday.* Baxter and myself started for Manchester by the Sea, the train going through Swamscott, Lynn, and Salem. We were gratified to see, coming on our train at Swamscott, Mrs. Goddard, one of the ladies whom I had hoped to see at Mrs. Hemenway's where we were to take dinner.[13] Mrs. Hemenway is a noble type of the New England woman; frank, keen, honest, true to her convictions, sincere in her friendships, charitable, anxious to do good, without ostentation and with wise discriminations. The possessor of boundless wealth, she dispenses a royal hospital-

13. Mrs. Mary P. T. Hemenway (1820-1894), widow since 1876 of a wealthy Boston merchant, was devoting herself and her large resources to philanthropical and educational interests. She is remembered, for example, as the one chiefly responsible for the preservation of the Old South meeting-house in Boston.

In 1886, she had started the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, which was begun under Cushing and which was one of the reasons why she had invited Bourke to visit her at this time.

ity, is the friend of the poor, the struggling, the down-cast. Her mansion is one of the most beautiful on the New England coast, and is filled with quaint and curious specimens of the world's arts and industries. There were a number of guests at the dinner, but I can remember only our hostess, Mrs. Goddard, Mrs. Armstrong, Mrs. Rogers—the beautiful young grand-daughter of Mrs. Hemenway, and Mr. Baxter.

The menu was simple, but excellently cooked and varied to suit all appetites.

Baxter showed me over the grounds, which are spacious and beautiful, kept in fine condition.

Within pistol-shot of her own house, Mrs. Hemenway has several smaller houses, built for occupancy by her children; one of these "Ramona Villa," so named in compliment to Mrs. H. H. Jackson, the author of the simple and touching tale of California Mission Indian life, "Ramona," was tenanted for many months by Mr. F. H. Cushing, wife and sister-in-law. Mrs. Hemenway, at great personal expense, sent to New Mexico for three of Cushing's Zuni friends, and upon their arrival, employed a stenographer and a typewriter, thus giving every inducement and facility for Cushing to resume and complete his invaluable researches in North American Ethnology.

Her benefactions didn't end here. She sent Cushing, as soon as restored to partial health, down to Arizona, there near Phoenix, on Salt River.

Dinner had scarecely ended, when we were favored with a visit from three most charming women, Mrs. Dana, Mrs. Thorpe and Miss Longfellow, daughters of America's great poet. The conversation naturally turned upon the Indian question,[14] which the ladies discussed in a calm, common sense spirit, influenced by charity, and devoid of sentimentalism . . . The next topic of conversation was the broken down physical condition of Mr. Cushing, whose health had given way, under the strain of work and climate in Arizona. Mrs. Hemenway asked me to name a suitable man, to take charge of Mr. Cushing's work for one or two months? I answered: "nothing easier in the world, Madam. My friend, Dr. Matthews, of the Army, is just the man for the place. As an ethnologist, he has no superior in the world. Cushing, of course, in his special field, is approached by nobody, but if

14. This Indian question was about the Apaches, renegades and scouts, who had been sent in 1886 as prisoners from Arizona to Fort Marion, in St. Augustine, Florida.

anybody can be compared to Cushing, it is Dr. Matthews, whose extended researches among the Navajoes dove-tail in with those made by Cushing among the Zunis. Matthews would gladly go, and as he is a friend of Cushing's, he would be a great help to him, not forgetting too that Cushing needs a medical adviser at this crisis. The Secretary of War will, I am certain, grant permission, and more than that, altho I cannot assure such a thing, he may, if all the facts be laid before him, *order* Matthews to Arizona, and thus not have his pay reduced one half, as it would be were he to go there simply on leave."

"That's capital," said the practical Mrs. Hemenway, "and now, as you and Mr. Baxter have talked over this matter since this morning and know just what is wanted in the case, perhaps you have a telegram ready which you can send at once to Dr. Matthews." This was ready and sent by Baxter from Boston, upon our getting back that evening. "But, Captain Bourke, supposing that Dr. Matthews cannot go or that he cannot remain long enough, can we not induce you to go down there?" "Yes, Madame. I'll be a free agent in two months. Just now, it's impossible, even if Dr. Matthews were out of sight."

The carriage, at this moment, drove up to take us to the depot, Mrs. Goddard, Baxter and myself, bade hasty but cordial farewells and were soon in the Hub, giving me barely time to catch the Fall River Line's last train for New York, by the steamer . . .

As a direct consequence of my conversation with Mrs. Hemenway, Mrs. Goddard and Mr. Baxter, Dr. Washington Matthews, Surgeon, U. S. Army, was ordered by the Secretary of War, Honorable Wm. C. Endicott, to proceed to Phoenix, Arizona, where he will assume charge of Mr. Cushing's work, pending the latter's restoration to health.

(To be continued)