New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 13 | Number 2 Article 1

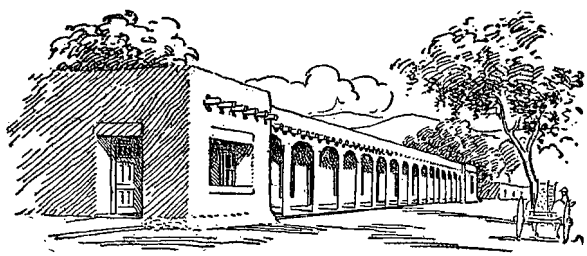
4-1-1938

Full Issue

New Mexico Historical Review

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XIII APRIL, 1938 NO. 2



PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
AND
THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XIII APRIL, 1938 NO. 2

CONTENTS

Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers (except Vol. I, 1, 2, and II, 1) may be had at $1.00 each.

Volumes III-XII can be supplied at $4.00 each; Vols. I-II are out of print in part.

Address business communications to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Bloom at the State University, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

1859 — COL. JOHN B. GRAYSON, U. S. A.
1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.
1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT
adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

re-established Dec. 27, 1880

1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH
1883 — HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE
1923 — HON. FRANK W. CLANCY
1925 — COL. RALPH E. TWITCHELL
1926 — PAUL A. F. WALTER

OFFICERS FOR 1936-1937

PAUL A. F. WALTER, *President*
JOSÉ D. SENA, *Vice-President*
JAMES F. HINKLE, *Vice-President*
LANSING B. BLOOM, *Cor. Sec'y-Treas.*
MISS HESTER JONES, *Recording Secretary*

FELLOWS

PERCY M. BALDWIN
RALPH P. BIEBER
WILLIAM C. BINKLEY
LANSING B. BLOOM
HERBERT E. BOLTON
AURELIO M. ESPINOSA
CHARLES W. HACKETT
GEORGE P. HAMMOND
EDGAR L. HEWETT
FREDERICK W. HODGE
ALFRED V. KIDDER
J. LLOYD MECHAM
THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.
FRANCE V. SCHOLES
ALFRED B. THOMAS
PAUL A. F. WALTER

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars; or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Artice 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be $3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review.*

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XIII APRIL, 1938 No. 2

OUR LADY OF LIGHT ACADEMY, SANTA FÉ

By SISTER M. LILLIANA OWENS, S.L., PH.D.

SANTA FÉ has long been the seat of civil, military and ecclesiastical government. Church and state were planted there when America was *El Nuevo Mundo*. The faith was first brought to the Indians of New Mexico by the Franciscans of the sixteenth century, but the early missionaries were put to death by the savages whom they had come to save, and no lasting work was accomplished by them.

Before Columbus landed on this continent the site of Santa Fé had had an existence as an Indian pueblo and it will probably be the pilgrim's mecca long after the present generation and generations yet unborn are forgotten. The old government building, the churches, the tombs and bones of her heroes, all make Santa Fé a city of fascination for tourists throughout the land. In 1846 General Stephen W. Kearny took possession of Santa Fé and hoisted there the American flag. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo confirmed the title of the United States to that territory and New Mexico was organized as a Territory, with Santa Fé continuing, as under Spanish and Mexican rule, to serve as the capital. The first railroad projected for New Mexico had the name Santa Fé in its charter, but if it had not been that this charter contained a condition that the old city was to be connected by iron bands with the cities of the East, it is doubtful whether a railroad would so soon have penetrated beyond the Ratón mountains. The building of that

railroad in 1880 to Santa Fé and beyond made East Las Vegas and New Albuquerque and the many towns along its line.

In Santa Fé there are no imposing sights such as one finds in the larger cities. Many of the buildings still are plain adobe, and for the most part they are but one story in height. Yet the old government building called the *Palace of the Governors* has a much richer history than many finer buildings elsewhere in the United States. Bandelier gives us an interesting account of this old land mark. He tells us, among other things, that General Kearny, after his long weary march of a thousand miles, slept on the carpeted floors of the *Palace*. It was here, while governor of New Mexico, that General Lew Wallace is said to have written at least a part of his magnificent *Ben Hur*.

By the decree of July 19, 1850, Pope Pius IX, made New Mexico a Vicariate-Apostolic, and on the 23rd of the some month appointed the Reverend John B. Lamy, a priest of the Diocese of Cincinnati, Bishop *in partibus* of Agothonica and Vicar Apostolic of New Mexico. When Bishop Lamy arrived at Santa Fé in 1851 he found that the educational work[1] in New Mexico had fallen to the zero mark, and being ever anxious for the good of souls he desired to establish, in his diocese, sisters devoted to the teaching of the young. Early in the spring of 1852 the missionary bishop left Santa Fé to attend the First Plenary Council of Baltimore. He determined to look for a community of sisters to return with him and undertake this great work of bringing education and culture into the Southwest. His determination in regard to this is expressed in a letter written by Father Joseph Machebeuf to his sister from Peña Blanca under date of 1852:[2]

> . . . As the source of evil here is the profound ignorance of the people, the first necessity must be instruction, and for this we need Christian schools

1. See Lansing B. Bloom, *Old Santa Fé*, I (Jan. 1914), p. 258 and footnotes.
2. Ms. (French) *apud* Archives, Denver Diocese.

> for the youth of both sexes, but especially for young girls. The means of forming them to virtue, and to good example, which is rare in New Mexico, is the establishment of religious houses conducted by persons devoted to their calling, and filled with the spirit of self-sacrifice. To this end the Bishop has already opened a school for boys in our house, and he has knocked at many doors in the United States to secure sisters for the girls. I do not know whether his Lordship will succeed in this while he is away . . .

At one time Bishop Lamy had served as pastor of a church in Covington, Kentucky. He remembered that at that time he had heard of the self-denial of a community of religious in Kentucky under the direction of the Reverend Charles Nerinckx. He knew that they had given a sympathetic ear to the pleadings of Reverend John Schoenmakers, S. J., in 1847 and had sent a colony of sisters to labor among the Osage Indians.[3] Inspired with hope that they would turn a favorable ear to his petition he called on the Bishop of Bardstown on his return from the Provincial Council of Baltimore. The plea of Bishop Lamy was repeated to the assembled community, and as justice demanded that the prospective volunteers should know the actual condition of things prevailing in his poor vicariate, the bishop told them of the arduous work and the many hardships that awaited them. Those who know, or who have read of the scrupulous sincerity of Bishop Lamy and the condition of the country to which he was inviting the sisters realize that the picture he drew for them could not have been a very attractive one for those not filled with the spirit of self-abnegation. But the Lorettines were not appalled, and the response for volunteers was characteristic of the spirit of their founder, the Reverend Charles Nerinckx. Faithful to the injunction of Father Nerinckx and true to the meaning

3. For a complete account of the work of the Sisters of Loretto among the Osage Indians at Osage Mission, Kansas, see *The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West* by Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L., Ch. VI "Work Done by the Lorettines in Southeastern Kansas," *apud* St. Louis University Library, St. Louis, Missouri.

of the title—*Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross*—they listened to Bishop Lamy's pleadings. Out of the number who volunteered six were designated by the General Council at the Mother House for the founding of the school at Santa Fé: Mother Matilda Mills, Sisters Magdalen Hayden, Catherine Mahoney, Rosanna Dant, Monica Bailey and Roberta Brown.[4] These six valiant women bade *adieu* to their companions and to the Mother House on June 26, 1852, after they had assisted at Holy Mass. They were filled with a natural grief at this separation but were strengthened and sustained by the thought of the Master in whose cause they were enlisted. They set forth not knowing that death was very close at hand.

Bishop Lamy had planned to go to New Orleans to visit his niece [5] who was at that time attending school at the Ursuline Convent, before returning to Santa Fé. He arranged that the sisters were to make the journey by the *Traders' Trail* and meet him in St. Louis. In St. Louis the sisters were kindly received by Bishop Kenrick. They visited the convent of St. Ferdinand at Florissant, and spent a few days with the sisters. As soon as Bishop Lamy returned to St. Louis they joined him and on July 10 boarded the steamer *Kansas* which was to take them up the Missouri river as far as Independence.

The spirit of self-sacrifice had prompted the sisters to accept the new mission, yet they little dreamed how soon their virtue was to be put to a test. There had already been some cases of cholera on board when, on Friday the sixteenth at two o'clock in the morning, Mother Matilda Mills was attacked. Her suffering lasted until about two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day when she died, after having received the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction at the hands of Bishop Lamy, who was deeply affected by the circumstances. Two hours later the steamer landed

4. *Council Record, apud* Archives, Loretto Mother House, Nerinx P.O., Ky. Hereinafter this archive will be cited as A. L. M.

5. Later Mother Francisca Lamy, S. L., who labored for many years at Our Lady of Light Academy in Santa Fé.

at Todd's Warehouse, six miles from Independence. In the meantime Sister Monica Bailey also contracted the disease and the landing was a truly sad one. One sister was in a dying condition and one was dead. The inhabitants stood in such dread of the disease that the sisters were not allowed to enter their houses, and were therefore obliged to remain in the warehouse.

The next morning, July 17, three sisters, with Bishop Lamy and a few other persons, accompanied the carriage which conveyed the body of Mother Matilda Mills to its last resting place in the graveyard of Independence, but on the way they met the sheriff who had been appointed by the authorities to forbid entrance into the town for fear of contagion. The funeral cortége continued on its way to the graveyard, however, for the bishop's firm attitude and, perhaps, too, compassion for the sad spectacle caused the official to relent.[6]

Mother Magdalen tells us in her annals [7] that the bishop now took the three sisters, Sister Catherine Mahoney, Rosanna Dant, Roberta Brown to the town which was six miles distant, while Sister Magdalen Hayden remained in the warehouse to care for the apparently dying Sister Monica. On the night of the following Monday, July 19, Sister Magdalen, herself, was attacked with the cholera, and made what she believed to be her last confession. Now Bishop Lamy found himself with two dying religious to be cared for. The place was ill suited for these religious sick unto death and Bishop Lamy, unable to make better arrangements, had the two sisters removed to tents about two miles from the town. Here the sisters suffered many inconveniences but they were better off than in the warehouse. After a few days Sister Magdalen began to improve. On Sunday, July 25, the three sisters came from Independence, and heard Mass said by Bishop Lamy in a tent erected for that purpose. Sister Monica Bailey was unable to proceed fur-

6. *Annales de Nuestra Señora de la Luz* (hereinafter cited as An. de N. S. de la L.) by Hermana Maria Magdalena Hayden, S. L., *apud* A. L. M.

7. *Apud* A.L.M.

ther and as her recovery was doubtful it was decided that she was to return to Independence until her health would be sufficiently restored for her to return to Florissant, Missouri. Sister Monica Bailey gave an account of her experience in a letter written at Liberty, Missouri on September 20, 1852 and directed to Mother Berlindes Downs.[8]

After the death of Mother Matilda Mills, Sister Magdalen Hayden was chosen to fill the office of superior, and this choice was promptly approved and confirmed at the Mother House in Kentucky. Thus was Mother Magdalen Hayden chosen in the designs of God to guide the colony of Sisters of Loretto into Santa Fé; to protect them against the storms and difficulties they would encounter; to build the material and spiritual edifice of the Society of the Sisters of Loretto in the Southwest and particularly in the city of the "Holy Faith." In a letter written to one of her schoolmates on July 12, 1854 she gives an account of this interesting journey.[9]

On the evening of August 1 they reached Willow Springs, a fine watering place a few miles from Westport, and there found the party ready to start.[10] They lost no time, and started at once, but they had proceeded only a few miles when one of the wagons broke down, and they were obliged to encamp in order to repair the wagon. That was a terrible night for the travellers. A fearful storm arose; the wind blew with violence, the rain fell in torrents; the tents could not be pitched and all the sisters and the ladies in the party had to remain in the wagons to protect themselves as well as they could against the beating storm. It lasted the whole night through. Mother Magdalen says that the sisters were much terrified at the fury of the storm which at times seemed ready to shatter to pieces their frail tenement, and they sought protection in prayer.[11]

---

8. See Owens, *op. cit.*, Chapter IX "Missionary Work in New Mexico, California and Arizona." Document *apud* A. L. M.

9. Owens, *op. cit.*, Documentary Appendix for Chapter IX.

10. With them travelled a family and some other persons belonging to the bishop's suite. See Defouri, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic hurch in New Mexico*, p. 87.

11. *A. de N. S. de la L., apud* A. L. M.

Sometime was spent the next day in repairing the damage of the storm. On Sunday, August 8, the bishop said mass near an Indian hut on the banks of the Hundred and Ten Creek. On the evening of the Assumption they reached Council Grove.[12] The next day they resumed their march, and the following Sunday mass was said at Pawnee Fork, on the spot where now stands Larned, Kansas, at the junction of the Pawnee and the Arkansas. For the first time buffalo were killed by the party and fresh meat was enjoyed. They arrived at Fort Atkinson on September seventh and were encamped some miles beyond, but still in Kansas, when a party of Indian warriors, four hundred strong, surrounded them. All were terrified, particularly the women. This was the Indians' camping ground, and whenever they could do so with impunity they would attack the caravans. On this occasion they seemed peaceable; still as their intentions were not known, and the Indian is often treacherous, the bishop thought it prudent not to make any move, hoping they would retire; but as they seemed disposed to remain, he ordered his company to march in the evening, and the caravan travelled all night. September 12, Sunday, found them at Cimarrón, having crossed the Arkansas and two days later they were rejoiced by the appearance of the Very Reverend Vicar-General Machebeuf, who with a party of men and horses met the oncomers at Red River. Near Fort Union they were supplied with fresh meat and fresh bread, a most welcome food after the hard tack of their journey, which was frequently rationed. On September seventeenth they reached Fort Bartley, where for the first time in nearly two months they slept under a roof. Las Vegas, their first New Mexican town, was reached on September eighteenth. The next morning the bishop said mass in a private dwelling not far from the town. There he stopped to rest, and sent Father Machebeuf with the sisters to what was then called the "Bishop's Rancho" or farm, a little over fifteen miles from Santa Fé.[13]

12. The fifteenth of August.

13. This *rancho* was subsequently sold to the Hon. F. A. Manzanares, delegate to congress in 1882-84. The A. T. and S. F. R. R. has established here a station named Lamy after Bishop Lamy. See Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

On Wednesday, September twenty-second, the bishop set out from Las Vegas and quietly entered the episcopal city on Thursday, September twenty-third, to prepare the way for the caravan. On September twenty-sixth the party left the ranch and arrived at Santa Fé at four p. m. The people, led by Father Juan Felipe Ortiz [14] and other Mexican priests, went several miles to meet them. As they approached the city, the crowd increased so much that the carriages could scarcely pass through the streets of the famous old city. Triumphal arches had been erected and the bells of the different churches were pealing forth a welcome as the sisters made their first entrance into Santa Fé. They were received at the door of the cathedral, presented with holy water, and led to the foot of the altar. The *Te Deum* was sung, accompanied by Mexican music, and the ceremony terminated with the episcopal blessing. From here the sisters were conducted by the bishop, vicar-general and the clergy to the house prepared for them. How happy this little band of pioneer religious must have felt to know that they were welcome in the City of Holy Faith, where they had come to labor for the good of souls. In the convent annals Mother Magdalen Hayden has recorded the kindness and generosity of the people of Santa Fé.[15]

The school was not opened immediately as the sisters needed some time to apply themselves to the study of the language of the country. In November they received their first boarders, two children who had lost their mother. When these were admitted Bishop Lamy remarked to Mother Hayden "It is well to begin with an act of charity."

The school opened under the title of *Our Lady of Light* [16] Academy in January 1853, with ten boarders and

14. Father Ortiz had been vicar-general for New Mexico under Bishop Zubiría of Durango and was then residing at the cathedral.

15. A. L. M.

16. The title *Nuestra Señora de la Luz* was very much loved by the Mexicans. This no doubt was the reason why Bishop Lamy called Loretto's first foundation in Santa Fé, "Our Lady of Light Academy," See also A. Von Wuthenau, "The Spanish Military Chapels in Santa Fé and the Reredos of Our Lady of Light," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW (July 1935), Vol. X., No. 3, pp. 175-194.

three day scholars, and by the following August the number had increased to twenty boarders and twenty day scholars.[17] The house which the sisters occupied had been ceded to them by Bishop Lamy. As their enrollment grew the house became too small and in October 1853 the bishop donated the complete *plazita* to the sisters for the use of the school. In 1855 it became necessary to secure even larger grounds, and the sisters obtained at a very reasonable price a piece of property in a secluded part of the city.[18] From the very first, success attended the efforts of the Sisters of Loretto in Santa Fé. While not without hardships and privations they easily adapted themselves to the new country, and the spirit of the society was happily in accord with the free and undaunted spirit of the West. Today when one reflects upon the educational progress of the Southwest, secular or religious, he thinks of the Lorettines, their schools and their academies.

The spring of Santa Fé's activity had constantly to be supplied by the Loretto Mother House in Kentucky. Many bands have made the journey across the vast country to the City of Holy Faith, but the memory of one little group that set forth to join the sisters of New Mexico is forever sacred in the annals of Loretto, and for one nameless grave Loretto's heart forever yearns. In 1867 three Sisters of Loretto and two Sisters of Charity[19] from Cincinnati started for Santa Fé with Bishop Lamy who had just returned from Europe. In the bishop's suite were fifteen missionaries and five sisters. His lordship had longed ardently to secure the

17. *A. de N. S. de la L.*, apud A. L. M.

18. In 1855 another group of sisters left Louisville on May 12 in the company of Reverend Joseph Machebeuf and reached Santa Fé on July 24. An account of this trip was written for the Reverend William J. Howlett by Mother Ann Joseph Mattingly, a member of the caravan from the Loretto Convent, Florissant, Missouri. This Ms. is on file in the Archives of the Denver Diocese. There are copies of it *apud* A. L. M. and in the Historical Files at the St. Mary's Academy, Denver, Colorado.

19. The Sisters of Charity from Cincinnati were Sisters Augustine and Louise. These names are on record *apud* A. L. M. Sister Mary Buchner, S. C. L. in *The History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth*, p. 102, gives the names as Louise and Seraphine. The sisters of Loretto were Sisters Isabella Treller, Mary Kotska and Alphonsa Thompson. The last was not yet twenty years of age.

invaluable services of the fathers of the Society of Jesus in his diocese, and now he was accompanied by three sons of St. Ignatius, Fathers L. Vigilante, superior, Rafael Bianchi and Donato M. Gasparri, and two Jesuit brothers, Prisco Caso and Rafael Xezza.[20] There were also some secular priests in the party, two brothers of the Christian Schools, Paul Beaubien, a young Mexican from St. Louis University, enroute for New Mexico, Jules Masset, the bishop's business agent, some relatives of the secular clergy and two Mexican servants, Antonio and Antonito, the whole party consisting of twenty-six members.

On June 10, 1867, they left St. Louis and went west to Leavenworth, Kansas.[21] Twenty-one of the party were entertained during the week of their stay in Leavenworth at the residence of Bishop Miége. The sisters were lodged at St. John's Hospital, but they were also considered the guests of the Academy of the Sisters of Charity. The little group left Leavenworth on June 14 and travelled eight miles that evening. They had pitched their tent and retired for the night when a terrible rain accompanied by the blustering winds of Kansas, drenched them through the tent. In spite of the trying time the sisters were all very cheerful except the young Sister Alphonsa. She seemed preoccupied and worried. The caravans could not continue as rapidly as they wished because of the rumors that travellers on the plains were being murdered and scalped by the Indians. These stories left a great impression on the mind of the young religious.

Bishop Lamy and his party reached St. Mary of the Pottowatomie on the eighteenth of June. The Jesuit fathers of the mission, with all the boys came to meet the party several miles from the school. They greeted the bishop and preceded him with banners and music to the gates of the

20. Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 108. There is a letter written by Sister Mary Kotska, S. L., *apud* A. L. M., in which she gives the date as June 10. Father Defouri gives it as June 6. Sister Kotska was a member of the caravan and her account is no doubt the accurate one.

hospitable old mission. Sunday was spent at St. Mary's. On June twenty-fourth, with renewed courage the bishop and his party left St. Mary's on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul and encamped a few miles from Junction City. Towards noon four peaceable Indians, perhaps spies, came to visit them, and remained awhile. When the missionary party had crossed the Smoky River they felt that they had bid *adieu* to civilization and were indeed on *The Plains.* Now began their severe apprenticeship in western mission life.

On the first of July they came to a Mexican caravan, eighty wagons strong, and the men who were well armed received the Bishop of Santa Fé with demonstrations of joy and veneration. Some days after meeting this caravan scouts were sent out by the captain of the caravan, Don Francisco Baca, to see how the land lay, for as they were going farther and farther away from civilization they thought it well to be cautious. The scouts hurried back with the report that there were a thousand Indians in the neighborhood ready for massacre and pillage.

So far the health of the bishop's party had been excellent, but cholera had broken out among the Mexicans, and for several days it was feared that few would be spared. On Sunday, July 14, the bishop celebrated mass and delivered a touching sermon which impressed upon them the necessity of bearing with fortitude the hardships they might encounter, and of strict obedience to orders. On July 16 they encamped about three miles below Fort Dodge. Several times they had sighted little bands of Indians, but the first attack was made on the caravan at dusk on July 17, while the men were unharnessing the tired animals from the wagons. They had attacked a train from New Mexico a few miles further west the day before. Everyone knows the tactics of the Indian in war. He never fought in regular battle, but rather tried to surprise the enemy. This was the plan of attack against the bishop's party. Fifty mounted Indians suddenly appeared upon a hill a short distance

away, and rushed madly upon the party, shouting and discharging their firearms. The Mexicans of the caravan turned upon them and chased them some distance without loss. On July 22 at ten o'clock in the morning, Jules Masset, the bishop's business agent was seized with cholera, and much to the bishop's dismay was dead that afternoon. While he was dying they camped nearer to the Arkansas River at a place called Cimarrón Crossing. About this time fifteen men who had been sent out to ascertain the whereabouts of the Indians returned at full gallop, pursued by more than four hundred Indians. They were frightful to behold in their war paint and feathers. A stockade was hastily made by the wagons bound together, with the animals in the center. The men stood inside and a furious fight ensued for three hours. The bishop and the caravan gave strict orders that no one should go outside the stockade. Bishop Lamy was everywhere encouraging the men to fight bravely and defend themselves if necessary. He held a gun in his hand, and gave orders with great coolness and deliberation, showing to all an example of courage and calmness. Everyone was at his post behind the wagons, and when the Indians passed before the caravan returned their fire, and observed that several of them fell dead or wounded, and were immediately surrounded by their companions, placed on their horses and taken away. Father Brun states in his journal:[22]

> We could hear the bullets whizzing over our heads, several imbedded in the wheels of the wagons, but fortunately none of us were wounded. Father Coudert distinguished himself among all by his coolness and valor. After more than three hours of such fight the Indians went off in small bands, separating from one another in order to avoid our bullets . . .
>
> We learned, sometime after, that three of the principal chiefs were killed and one severely wounded. As for us we were protected in a visible manner by Divine Providence . . .

22. Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 113, *et seq.*

The five sisters remained in the tent, tortured by fears more agonizing than their defenders could dream of, and fervently did they pray for death rather than that they should fall into the hands of the maddened savages. It was noticed that the youngest sister, Sister Alphonsa, was extremely pale and that during the whole terrible time she had remained silent, seemingly absorbed in deep thought. The saddest part of the journey was to follow on July twenty-fourth. The shock had been too great for the innocent soul of this young religious. Father Gasparri, S. J. leaves us an account of her death:[23]

> On the twenty-third we continued our journey, and toward evening, Sister Alphonsa Thompson, a native of Kentucky, fell sick. Night settling we camped, and she being very ill received the last Sacraments. The other sisters waited on her all night, and the next day we had to continue our journey. She was put into a wagon with four other sisters, and when we had halted, she died at ten o'clock, July 24, being not quite twenty years old. We all felt most sensibly the death of that sister, so much more as no remedies could be procured in those desert plains to relieve her. On the other hand the Indians would not let her die in peace. She was buried in the evening near the road, in a place well marked and known to the Mexicans. A coffin, the best that could be had under the circumstances, was made for her, and all accompanied the body in procession, a Jesuit father performing the ceremony, and the bishop assisting. Before leaving the place a cross was planted over the grave. The poor sister had expressed a desire not to have her body left there, but to have it taken on with us to New Mexico, fearing, perhaps, that the wild Indians, finding it, perhaps, would desecrate it. But this was not done, above all because it is said that Indians always respect dead bodies. God, moreover, would protect in a special manner that body, in which had dwelt a soul as pure and innocent as Sister Alphonsa's.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115. See Sister Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*, p. 101 *et seq.*

Bishop Lamy referring to the sad death of this young religious wrote: "The youngest Sister of Loretto died on July 24 from fright, as I consider it, caused by the attack of the savages. She was eighteen years of age, well educated and a model of virtue."[24]

After the interment[25] the caravan continued on its journey until Friday the twenty-sixth when the bishop thought it prudent to leave the caravan behind because it was so slow, and also to free themselves from cholera, which continued to rage among the Mexicans. It was a touching separation. The chiefs of the caravan came to the missionaries, and together they recited the Litany of the Saints in thanksgiving for their wonderful preservation. All knelt on the ground, and the bishop gave them Benediction which they received with great faith and devotion. At four o'clock in the evening, they left the caravan and travelled that whole night for fear of attracting the attention of the Indians. The travellers were looked upon by all who met them as ghosts from the other world as the news had spread abroad that they had all been massacred.

On August 15, from the hills they beheld Santa Fé. More than two hundred horsemen came out to meet the bishop's caravan as an escort. At the entrance of the city they were first met by the Christian Brothers with their band, and other bands of music followed; the bishop entered the cathedral, at the door of which the vicar-general welcomed him in the name of the clergy, after which the bishop solemnly gave Benediction to the people. His heart was full.

---

24. Father Defouri tells us that three years afterwards, while he was pastor at Topeka, Kansas, the bishop requested him to find the grave of Sister Alphonsa. Accompanied by two men employed by the railroad near Cimarrón Crossing, he forded the river and followed the old track, and saw, or at least thought he saw, the grave by the roadside. The spot was marked by a tuft of grass. The cross, however, was missing. The evening was advancing and he and his party could not delay because of the Indians. They had received strict orders to return as soon as possible.

25. Some lines in memory of the death of Sister Alphonsa were published by an unknown author in the *Ave Maria*. See Owens, op. cit., Documentary Appendix for Ch. IX. Miss Eleanor Donnelly also made her death the subject of a beautiful poem, which may be found in *Loretto: Annals of a Century* by Anna C. Minogue, and in Owens, *op. cit.*, Documentary Appendix Ch. IX.

He had brought with him a new and powerful element of education for the people whom he loved so much. He had enriched his diocese with a religious Order of women and now he was bringing with him those who had done so much for education—the Jesuits. From his heart must have re-echoed the feelings of St. Paul "How beautiful the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, of them that bring glad tidings of good things."[26]

The unique chapel of Our Lady of Light Academy is a charming edifice built entirely by the efforts of Mother Magdalen Hayden and the sisters under her charge, who not infrequently stinted themselves in order that they might be able to erect a fit dwelling place for the Blessed Sacrament. From Mother Magdalen's letters we obtain the following information:[27]

> We were in great need of a chapel, as the one we had was of adobe and very small. It was a one story room, besides it was old and not considered very safe. We had almost abandoned the idea of building one, but happily we placed its erection under the protection of St. Joseph, in whose honor we communicated every Wednesday that he might assist us. Of his powerful help we have been witnesses on several occasions. Our new chapel we commenced on July 26, 1873, and finished in 1878.

This chapel has become one of the architectural ornaments of the quaint old city.[28] A beautiful statue of the Mother of Christ adorns the pinnacle, and when the crescent of electric lights at her feet and those of her crown are lighted, it can be seen from all parts of the city. The structure is built of stone and is of the purest Gothic style.

Few who remain can recall the first primitive adobe buildings with flat roofs, for each year that has passed since 1852 has seen improvements at Our Lady of Light Academy. The academy was incorporated in 1874 and in 1881 a build-

26. Rom. X:15.
27. Originals *apud* A. L. M.
28. See Sister Blandina Segale, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 132, 133.

ing equipped with modern conveniences was erected. During the eighty-some years of its existence Our Lady of Light has had but ten superiors.[29] One fashioned the premises, and beautified the grounds; another perfected the domestic equipment; a third built a new addition to the academy; a fourth enlarged the library, until nothing has been left undone to make the academy a healthy, happy and a holy place for the religious and the student.

Successful from the beginning in the work of education, the school continued to grow until in 1920, during the superiorship of Mother Albertina Riordan, a new building was erected in response to urgent demands for more classrooms. This building relieved the congestion for nearly eight years, but with the steady growth of the population and the ever-increasing demand for high school education, the accommodations again became inadequate. The sisters did not know how to meet this demand, but again Providence came to their assistance. The Diamond Jubilee celebration was to be held in May 1927. Michael Chávez, prominent real estate owner in Santa Fé, realized the urgent necessity of enlarging the building. He had received a part of his education in Santa Fé and now in appreciation he donated $75,000 to Our Lady of Light Academy in order that the new building, so much needed, might be possible. Mr. Chávez in making this gift explained that he wished to aid the work of Catholic education in Santa Fé and to encourage the pioneer religious who had braved the terrors of the plains, Indians, and wild animals back in the early fifties to light the torch of learning in the Southwest. The news of the donation soon spread over the city and the state, and caused great rejoicing among the hundreds of alumnae of Our Lady of Light Academy. The Diamond Jubilee celebration extended over four days. The exercises were formally opened in the cathedral with vespers sung by the Christian Brothers. A sermon followed, preached by the

29. For a complete list of the superiors who have presided over Our Lady of Light Academy, see Owens, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-87. Record *apud* A. L. M.

archbishop, Most Reverend Albert T. Daeger, O. F. M., his theme being "The Pioneer Days of the Order." In the course of the celebration Reverend Roger Aull paid a glowing tribute to the spiritual life of the Sisters of Loretto. Many visiting priests and religious women came from various parts of the Southwest to show their esteem and appreciation of an Order which, from 1852 to 1927, had done so much for the cultural improvement of the Southwest.

THE FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY IN NEW MEXICO 1858-1880, III

By FRANK D. REEVE

CHAPTER VI

THE WIMINUCHE AND CAPOTE

THE TREATY of 1863 with the Tabaguache pointed the way for the ultimate disposal of the other southern Ute bands. The next five years were marked by frequent changes in the office of special-agent, now located at Tierra Amarilla, and insufficient funds to provide adequate food and clothing for the Wiminuche and Capote, who were becoming more and more dependent on the government with the decrease in the game supply. Superintendent Steck and later Agent Arny recommended that the special-agency be abolished as an unnecessary expense, but it was retained despite the fact that the superintendency as a whole was inadequately supported.

The matter of furnishing the Indians with food and clothing was a particularly difficult task. When no annuities were issued for two years, 1864 and 1865, they became more restless than usual and indulged in some petty thieving. Special Agent Graves partially relieved the situation with his funds and held a council with the Ute chiefs in January, 1866, when they promised to punish certain tribesmen guilty of a recent depredation. The following year the superintendent extended the credit of the government and distributed some food and ammunition at Tierra Amarilla. The gift of ammunition was accompanied with a request that they go off on a hunt, and he promised to supply them with goods in the fall, a promise that was carried out.

The petty depredations due to hunger were usually construed as indicating the possibility of war if the situation was not remedied,[1] and the intrusion of the miners into the

1. Norton to Cooley, 8/5/66, N77/66. R. B. Mitchell to Cooley, 7/17/66, M61/66.

San Juan country heightened that fear. As a precaution against an outbreak, General Nathaniel Pope established Fort Lowell at Tierra Amarilla late in 1866. But the chronic cry that the Ute "*must be fed,*"[2] which was the crux of the situation, never produced a satisfactory or tangible result from the commissioner at Washington, although he meant well:

> For the want of sufficient means, this office has not always had the power to carry into effect its purposes and plans for the benefit of Indians not provided for by treaty stipulations; especially has it been so with regard to those in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah.[3]

His complaint went unheeded, for despite the fact that "Humanity and economy both demand that every effort should be made to protect the neighboring settlements from the depredations that would inevitably result from leaving these Indians with no other alternative for their support . . ." the usual appropriation of $50,000 for the support of the superintendency of New Mexico was reduced from $50,000 to $40,000 for the year 1868.[4]

In the midst "of their squalid poverty" the Ute retained a surprising degree of self-control. While "The head chief 'So-ba-tah' and his family presented a picture of most abject poverty, pitiful to behold," there was a flock of 3,000 sheep within eight miles of their camp![5] In view of this condition, the idea of providing them with a reservation like their brethren the Tabaguache gained ground. Superintendent Norton, following the advice of Dodd and Carson, recommended that they be located on the San Juan river or its branch, the Rio de las Animas, in southwestern Colorado.[6] A similar movement for locating the northern Ute bands on a reservation was developing in Colorado. Governor A. C. Hunt was requested by Commissioner Taylor in Novem-

2. Norton to Taylor, 8/20/67, N126/67.
3. *Annual Report*, 1867, p. 6.
4. Mix to Otto, 9/25/68, RB 17, p. 450.
5. Hunt to Taylor, 10/2/68, Colo. C1056/68.
6. Norton to Cooley, 7/29/66, N68/66.

ber, 1867, to bring two chiefs to Washington from each of the Tabaguache, Uintah, Grand River, and Yampas bands of Ute.[7] This move resulted in a treaty that had strong repercussions in the superintendency of New Mexico and led ultimately to the location of the southern Ute on the Colorado reservation.

Governor Hunt and Carson acted promptly and took a party to Washington, including representatives of the southern Ute. The Indians were first shown the sights in order "that the magnitude of the American Capitol may be more fully understood by them, and related by them to their various bands upon their return to the mountains."[8] Then, in due time, the treaty was negotiated and signed on March 2, 1868, in their hotel room with the proceedings probably expedited by a round of "fire-water."[9] The provisions as finally approved by the senate were as follows: the treaty signed with the Tabaguache in 1863 was made applicable to all the Ute; a reservation was provided in southwestern Colorado bounded by a line running north from the territorial boundary along the 107th parallel of longitude to fifteen miles north of the 40th parallel of latitude, thence west to the Utah-Colorado boundary; two agencies were provided, one for the Tabaguache, Moache, Wiminuche, and Capote to be located on the Rio de los Pinos; $11,500 was provided for buildings and $8,000 for a saw mill; agents were to reside at the agencies; the Indians promised to deliver up wrong-doers for punishment; upon request, each head of a family should receive a farm of 160 acres and $250 for four years; a single man should receive an eighty acre farm; the Ute "pledge themselves to induce" children from seven to eighteen years of age to attend school; annuity goods were promised for thirty years to a maximum of $30,000 per annum; a similar amount annually for subsistence until self-supporting; $45,000 for "one gentle Ameri-

7. Taylor to Hunt, 11/12/67, LB 84, p. 556.
8. Hunt to Mix, 2/4/68, Colo. C575/68.
9. Hanson to Clinton, 12/9/69, C761/69.
An expense of $9,286.77 was incurred in securing the treaty. U. S. S. L., XV, 315.

can cow" and five sheep per family; the government was granted a right of way for railroads and highway; teachers and instruction in mechanics were promised; land sessions could be made only by vote of three-fourths of the adults; and land in severalty could be ceded only by the consent of the individual.[10]

This treaty differed from the earlier one in a few details. A different location for the reservation was provided, more attention was paid to promoting agriculture, two agencies were provided, education was thought of, and the grant of annuities was more generous. Governor Hunt immediately pressed the Washington authorities to make available the $45,000 for sheep and cattle so that the Indians could be induced to move to the reservation as rapidly as possible. Now, however, a technical issue arose over interpretation of the treaty. Under the terms of the first agreement of 1863, the government obligations were to be observed when the Ute had settled on the reservation. This the Indians had never done; consequently, despite the fact that congress had appropriated the necessary funds to fulfill the terms of the first treaty, they had never received any benefits. The Tabaguache, on the other hand, had not retired to the reservation because they had not received the cattle stipulated in the treaty![11]

A solution to this dilemma was sought by forwarding to Washington a formal declaration from the Tabaguache and the Moache signifying their intention to move to the reservation if the cattle and sheep were provided and their agent accompanied them. After a bit more difficulty, Secretary Browning assented in May to the expenditure of funds under the terms of the treaty of 1863; but this applied only to the Tabaguache because the second treaty had not yet been ratified by the senate.[12] When the senate finally took

10. Kappler, II, 990-993.

11. Hunt to Taylor, 2/15/68, Colo. C634/68; 2/19/68, Colo. I760/68; 3/2/68, Colo. C643/68; and 4/4/68, Colo. C705/68. Browning to Taylor, 3/24/68, Colo. I760/68.

12. Hunt to Taylor, 4/4/68, Colo. C704/68. Browning to Taylor, 4/9/68, Colo. I793/68. Browning to Mix, 5/20/68, Colo. I858/68, and 5/26/68, Colo. I868/68.

favorable action, July 25, 1868, the treaty was amended by striking out the following provision:

> Also one good bull for every twenty-five cows, and such further sums annually, in the discretion of Congress, as may be necessary, not to exceed forty-five thousand dollars per annum, and not for a longer period than four years, shall be expended as aforesaid to every lodge or head of a family that shows a disposition to preserve said stock for increase."[13]

The task of securing the consent of the Indians to the amendments was entrusted to Governor Hunt. He met with the Tabaguache and some of the Moache leaders in a secret council September 13 and 14, and met with an embarrassing reception, if he could be embarrassed by charges of chicanery: "the indians told him plainly in said conference that they made *no* treaty while at Washington last winter."[14] They also took him severely to task for the past delinquencies of the government in not fulfilling its treaty obligations; the government was a cheat, they claimed. And there was substance to their charge. The governor had told them a year before that a contract had been made to supply them with Texas cattle. He now tried to save his face by explaining that there had been a change in the office of Indian affairs. It took two days for him to beat down their resistance and secure the necessary signatures to the amendments.[15] He also secured the consent of Capote and Wiminuche representatives to the amendments, but the charge of

13,. U. S. S. L., XV, 623.

14. John Lawrence to Commissioner of Interior, 10/26/68, Colo. L6/69.

Lawrence had lived for eight years at Saguache, Colorado, and was on friendly terms with the Ute under Chief Ouray, the leader of the northern Colorado bands. Hunt, of course, considered him an evil influence. Hunt to Taylor, 11/11/68, Colo. C1079/68.

15. Hunt to Taylor, 10/14/68, Colo. C1045/68.

Juan Martine Martinez made a sworn statement to John L. Watts, chief justice of New Mexico, at Santa Fé, 12/23/68, that the Ute did not consent to a single agency (the location and number of agencies was to be a point of dispute) and that his signature as interpreter was forged. This is just one charge to show that the whole treaty business was tainted with fraud. G3/68. Kappler, II, 994.

fraud in connection with the treaty was a troublesome obstacle to its fulfillment for several years.

The majority of the Capote and Moache bands refused to recognize the action of their supposed representatives in making the treaty. Cornea (or Cawnish), a renegade Capote and leader of a small band, had signed the treaty under the name of Pa-bu-sat. Kaniache, a troublesome leader among the Moache, and Ankatosh had represented that band; and the first named probably did not understand what he was signing.[16]

The New Mexico officials were much perturbed by the action of the Colorado authorities in negotiating the treaty of 1865. "We have this one word to whisper to Colorado—Let our Indians alone . . . New Mexico is their home; here they will stay in peace." The March treaty "must be abrogated or trouble will ensue. This is plain talk, but it is true talk."[17] In keeping with this feeling Superintendent Gallegos assembled the chiefs of the Capote and Wiminuche at Santa Fé in December, 1868. A protest was duly drawn up to the effect that Pa-bu-sat was a thief, not a chief, and was not authorized to make any treaty with Hunt and Carson; furthermore, they did not want to go on a reservation in Colorado. This document was endorsed by the territorial officials, civil and military, and other prominent citizens, and forwarded to Washington with the additional information that an attempt to enforce the treaty would mean war, an oft-repeated warning in these years.[18]

The opposition of officialdom in New Mexico to a reservation in Colorado can be reasonably supposed to have been due to the possible loss of patronage in the appointment of agents and the loss of profits from trading with the Indians. The settlers, in most instances, would have approved the removal of their troublesome neighbors; some,

16. Council held with Capote and Wiminuche at Santa Fe, 12/23/68, G3/68. N. H. Davis, *Report*, December 1868, W26/69. Keyes to Clinton, 12/7/69, C752/69.

17. *The Daily New Mexican*, 12/15/68, 12/16/68.

18. See G3/68. Also Gallegos to Taylor, 12/12/68, G1/68.

L. E. Webb resigned as superintendent in October, 1868, and was succeeded by José Manuel Gallegos.

of course, could benefit from selling supplies to the agencies. Governor Hunt ignored this opposition on his swing through New Mexico to secure the signatures to the amended treaty, not even deigning to consult with Gallegos.[19] There was some justification for his action and for his belief that the New Mexicans were surreptitiously trying to block his policy, because they were represented in the field principally by a dubious character in the person of Mr. Arny.

The career of Arny in New Mexico was marked by suspicious actions from the time of his participation in the Collins fight to the action of the Navaho in driving him away from their agency. Upon the loss of his job at Abiquiú in the summer of 1868, he managed to wangle an appointment as special agent. In this capacity he was an unwelcome person to the regular Indian officials, and no wonder; he made a frontal attack on the sources of profit by proposing to the government that he take charge of the Ute and subsist them at a price of $600 per month. This offer was rejected by Commissioner Parker, likewise his proposal to transfer Ayers, who had succeeded French at Abiquiú, to the southern Apache agency.[20] Ayers, apparently, would have been an obstacle to exploiting the Indians for profit.[21]

The opposition of Arny to the program of Hunt lay in a counter plan, one designed to keep the Capote and Wiminuche dependent on an agency that would be supplied from a distributing point in New Mexico, namely, Santa Fé. He held a council with them at Pagosa Springs, August 19, 1868, and secured the terms of a treaty they were willing

19. French to Webb, 10/13/68, W1116/68.
James C. French succeeded Arny as agent at Abiquiú by appointment in July, 1868.

20. Arny to Taylor, 4/13/69, New Mexico File, 1869. Ayers to Gallegos, 3/3/69, G99/69. Parker to Arny, 5//19/69, LB 90, p. 151.

21. Up to the present time agents are for the most part "A set of political hucksters who, in most cases, came from the east, where they never had any means of gaining a knowledge of the Indian character, and whose boon companions were pot-house loafers. I am speaking plainly, for no reform can be accomplished unless the unvarnished truth is told. Men sent to keep Indians contented, whose only policy was self, and who evinced a greater skill in stealing than the Indians themselves, but not in such a manly way." Ayers to Parker, 8/16/69, C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1869, p. 241.

to sign, which provided for a separate reservation and other favors similar to those granted to the Tabaguache. Strangely enough, they declined a trip to Washington and delegated Arny to represent them and have commissioners sent out to make the definitive agreement. Arny recommended to his Washington chief that the reservation be located in the New Mexico portion of the San Juan country, with the agency at the mouth of the Rio de las Animas, near the present town of Farmington. The problem of removal did not appear formidable to him officially and by judicious management, he thought, the nomads could be placed within definite boundaries in the near future.[22]

Meanwhile, Governor Hunt was not so optimistic of success in removing the Indians and found an unfavorable reception to the idea on his trip southward from Colorado:

> I find in conversation with Agent Arny that he is no more sanguine of success, in obtaining this consent (that of Tabaguache and Muaches) than I have been & wonder very much, why he should encourage a mission so hopeless. I find also in talking with him, that I was not mistaken in my impression concerning his, Maxwell & Agent Dennisson's opposition to the success of our treaty. He also tells me that Senator Ross and Mr. Chaves of New Mexico have been at work against it. I cannot find words to express my astonishment at such a procedure. This treaty to the mind of every fair man, who is at the same time a friend of the Govmt, to the Indians and humanity, must commend itself as one of the best ever made and there can be but one reason, the loss of patronage to New Mexico. So far as I am concerned, I am quite willing N. M. should have all of the Indians, if she will only take care of them . . ." [23]

With opposing forces in the field, the path of the solution to the Ute problem would certainly not be made smoother. The commissioner of Indian affairs apparently

22. Arny, *Report*, 8/31/68, 40 Cong. 3 sess. Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, II, 626ff (1366) Arny to Taylor, 9/12/68, A607/68. Arny to Mix, 10/3/68, A610/68.

23. Hunt to Taylor, 11/14/68, Colo. C1091/68.

sensed this and instructed Arny in November, 1868, to cooperate with Governor Hunt, the one to visit the Colorado Ute, the other to work with their New Mexico brethren. Coöperation, of course, though ostensibly in the interest of the Indian, could be turned to the whites' advantage if they were of one mind. Certainly Arny knew it was better to work with his rival than against him, when possible. Late in the summer he had written to Hunt to the effect that he would be glad to see him before starting to Washington: "I believe it to be important that we should understand each other fully so as to get the Utes of both Territories properly disposed of."[24] This proposal received an unfavorable reception from the governor. He adjudged the letter as further evidence of tampering with the Indians to block the fulfillment of the treaty and forwarded it to Washington as evidence to that effect, asserting at the same time that the New Mexicans were informing the Indians that they would be shut up in the Rocky Mountains with a guard of soldiers like the Navaho had been at the Bosque Redondo.[25]

The efforts of the New Mexico officials to invalidate the treaty negotiated by the Colorado men failed. Perhaps the Indians had not been fairly represented, and their chiefs hoodwinked, but a reservation was the logical solution to the general problem, and the terms of the treaty looked to the interest of the Ute bands. Furthermore, although some of the white men involved in the making of the agreement were not above suspicion,[26] there was no definite evidence of fraud. The government, therefore, stood on the policy of a *fait accompli:*

> This office must be governed by the treaty. It purports to be signed by the authorized representatives of all the bands, and except the reported statements of the Indians there is no evidence to the contrary. The articles or stock provided to be

24. Arny to Hunt, 9/4/68, Colo. C1045/68.

25. Taylor to Arny, 11/5/68, LB 88, p. 233. Arny to Hunt, 9/4/68, and Hunt to Taylor, 10/14/68, Colo. C1045/68.

26. Lafayette Head, a witness to the treaty, was subsequently exposed for fraud and dishonesty as agent at the Conejos. Colo. S475/69.

> given to the Indians can not properly be delivered at any place except at the agencies on the reserve, and the Indians must go there to receive them. It would be neither practicable or proper to deliver such articles or stock elsewhere."[27]

With this decision rendered, the question of the location of the agency arose, and here geography presented one of the obstacles to easy solution. The continental divide runs roughly in a southwestward direction from near Salida, Colorado, to the headwaters of the Rio Grande, thence southeastward in the direction of Taos, New Mexico, forming a wedge shape. The Rio Grande and its tributaries drain the eastern slopes, the San Juan river system drains the southwestern slope. The treaty provided for the location of the agency for the southern Ute on the Rio de los Pinos, a tributary of the San Juan, hundreds of miles away from Denver with the backbone of the Rockies and allied ranges intervening. The character of the country and the distance would make it impracticable to supply the agency from the Colorado capital. If the agency was located east of the San Juan Mountains, which constituted the Taos extension of the above wedge, it would be a laborious trip for the Indians to cross the divide to secure their goods; furthermore, it would take the Capote and Wiminuche outside of their customary haunts.

In a conference with the Tabaguache, whose agency had been at Conejos, Colorado, since 1861, Governor Hunt agreed, in July, 1868, to deliver the annuity goods "at a point as near the reserve, as I could approach with wagon, without a greater outlay than would be allowed by your Department [office of Indian affairs], in constructing a wagon road . . . " This location was "at a point about fifty miles North East of the reservation, just in the mouth of the Cochetope pass, which is as near as I can approach the reserve with wagons without a considerable outlay, unless you instruct me to go forward, in compliance with the re-

27. Parker to Cox, 4/8/70, RB 19, p. 297.

quest of the Chiefs, given before, in which case I shall take a different route and construct a temporary wagon road to some eligible point on the reserve where good winter quarters may be found, and where the stock may be kept in safety."[28]

Treaty obligations, apparently, rested lightly on Governor Hunt's shoulders. Governor McCook, successor to Hunt, tried to locate the agency farther west and on the reservation, but the Indians were now an obstacle. The erection of a sawmill (provided for in the treaty of 1868), they thought, would frighten away the game, and they were suspicious of this new move on the part of the white man whom they claimed had defrauded them in the past. Consequently, the agency was finally located on the west side of the Cochetopa Pass in the Continental Divide at an altitude of over 9,000 feet. The place was farther west than the location of Hunt, but not as far as McCook had planned. When the true boundary of the reservation was established, the agency was found to be twelve miles to the east. The place was snow bound for six months of the year, there was no farming land within twenty miles to experiment with in teaching the nomads to cultivate the soil, even the Indian stock could not be herded nearer than thirty miles most of the time;[29] on the whole, "the location is as bad almost as could have been chosen."[30]

The location of the agency naturally displeased the New Mexico officials and they proceeded to cry "fraud," pointing out that the real Los Pinos was south of the San Juan Mountains.[31] They were correct in their geography and forces were soon at work to force a change. The New Mexico legislature petitioned the president in March, 1870, that the agency be located on the Los Pinos proper, because the Indians refused to cross the mountains to the Coche-

28. Hunt to Taylor, 7/27/68, Colo. C916/68. Hunt to Taylor, 11/18/68, Colo. C1090/68.

29. McCook to Parker, 8/25/69, Colo. C448/69, Brunot to Delano in C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 85. B. I. C., *Report*, 1872, p. 16.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

31. Hanson to Clinton, 12/9/69, C761/69. *The Daily New Mexican*, 10/22/69.

topa; furthermore, their removal northward might irritate them to the point of war, and a useful frontier protection against the Navaho, still looked upon as potential trouble-makers, would be removed. The commissioner of Indian affairs hinted a few months later that the agency would be relocated,[32] and the proposed change was given an additional boost by the board of Indian commissioners in 1872, when they suggested that the Indians should be located nearer farm lands; incidentally, the mountain mineral region would be open for exploitation. They pointed out that

> This proposition may be expected to meet with the opposition both of the settlements in Colorado, upon which the agency is now, and must continue to be, dependent for its supplies while it remains; of the parties in New Mexico, who for similar reasons desire to retain the Indians in New Mexico, and who know that they cannot live in the mountains; and of a corporation which looks forward to acquiring the lands proposed to be thus occupied.[33]

The reference to opposition in New Mexico was based on the supposition, of course, that an agency at Abiquiú was preferable to the location in southern Colorado even though south of the San Juan Mountains.

The mention of a mineral region calls to mind the prediction made by Superintendent Collins some years earlier, that if the mineral country were not ceded by the Indians it would be taken away from them. That possibility was now being pressed to a climax. The miners argued that the Indians disavowed the treaty of 1868 and that they had never gone onto the reservation, stubbornly maintaining contact with their respective agencies long located at Abiquiú, Cimarrón, and Conejos; therefore, the country was open for prospecting. But the conclusion was unsound; if the treaty was valid, they would be legally unable to enter the mineral country because, unfortunately for them, the treaty

32. Legislative Memorial, 3/12/70, P357/70: Parker to Arny, 6/24/70, LB 96, p. 317.

33. B. I. C., *Annual Report*, 1872, p. 17.

of 1868 did not contain the clause incorporated in the treaty of 1863 which permitted mining on the reservation. In either case the Indians must be taken into account because they lay across the routes into the mineral region.[34]

The discovery of gold on the upper Chama River led the miners to seek the precious metal on the reservation. Two well-armed parties passed through Tierra Amarilla in June, 1869, determined, if there was any gold, "it will be got at this time."[35] Within a year over 200 had ventured into the debatable land. No doubt they were motivated by hope of personal gain, but there were dreamers on the frontier.

> These Indians being placed on a reservation under the control of a good agent and this country opened for development a vast amount of mineral wealth will follow from the mountains and a large population will be sustained, and our Territory may then be termed the Silver State of the Union and be a credit to the name of Lincoln by which it is proposed to honor it.[36]

The Indians permitted reluctantly the intrusion of the unwelcome visitors. The Wiminuche, farther to the northwest, were more unfriendly than the Capote; sometimes they refused to let parties pass. The miners, as temporary sojourners, were less objectionable than permanent settlers, but even they were considered a danger to the supply of game.[37] However, despite all obstacles, mining operations were carried on and the proposal was advanced to secure relinquishment of the Indian title to the mineral area on the reservation.

Congress acted on the matter and authorized the opening of negotiations in the spring of 1872, for a cession of

34. Arny to Delano, 5/27/73, A180/73. *The Daily New Mexican*, 5/26/73. Arny to Parker, 7/16/69, A285/69.

35. Veritas to Editors, 6/15/69, *The Daily New Mexican*, 6/22/69.

36. *The Daily New Mexican*, 7/30/70. Arny to Parker, *Report*, 7/19/70, A1235/70.

37. Arny to Pfeiffer, 7/9/69, A285/69. Hanson to Clinton, 7/12/70, C1487/70. *The Daily New Mexican*, 5/26/70, 8/4/69.

the desired country. The perennial Arny[38] with Colonel Granger and Major W. R. Price held a meeting with the Ute at the Cochetopa agency on August 28, 1872. After a four day session, the meeting broke up without any agreement. Arny attributed the failure to the opposition of Colorado influence based on the view that the *status quo* was best for their interest. He was optimistic, however, of ultimate success and reported that the Indians manifested

38. Arny's special commission had expired in May, 1869. An appointment as a regular agent was blocked by the temporary employment of the military officers, but he was determined to return to the government payroll. He first requested an appointment as special agent for the Jicarillas (who roamed west of the Rio Grande), in order to establish an industrial school for their benefit, with "incidental expenses" of $300 per month, instructions to buy necessary clothing for the Apache, etc., and to use his influence to keep the Ute quiet till agency controversy was settled, I "ask a *special appointment*, for a *special purpose*, to prepare the way for a *special object*, . . . because I desire to be placed in a position where I can establish a model industrial school for Indians," to make them self-sustaining.

His first attempt failing, he wrote to Sidney Clarke, chairman of the house committee on Indian affairs, for an appointment as superintendent of Navaho schools. Such a position was in advance of the times, but Clarke wrote to Parker: "I earnestly hope you will take such action as will secure his services to the government in some important capacity." Consequently, he was recommended for a job locating the Apache on a reservation, removing the Ute to Colorado, and establishing schools wherever practicable on reservations. Being a staunch Republican, he received an appointment in March, 1870.

Arny to Cox, 1/15/70, and Arny to Sidney Clarke, 2/28/70, I1104/70. Parker to Cox, 3/7/70, RB 19, p. 231.

As usual he fell under suspicion. The agent in Cimarrón figured the agency expenses for the year at $30,000 exclusive of clothing; Arny reported $3,000 per month.

"My (the agent) opinion *confidentially expressed* to you is that he is making arrangements for an *immense* "job" for himself and friends as soon as officers are relieved from this duty. He made a big report of his 'talk' with the Indians at this agency, whereas the truth is he couldn't get any of the Indians to go near him until he bought a third of a box of Tobacco (which he asked me to pay for, an honor I respectfully declined) and then was only able to coax about eight of the Apaches into his room, where he and his son carried on 'the talk.' He was exceedingly anxious that no one should be present, but I rather insisted on intruding. Not one of the Utes would go near him, as they said he had been their Agent once & robbed them. In fact both tribes thoroughly despise and dislike him. When I asked them to go and talk with him, they said 'they were good friends to the officers & soldiers, but that they wanted nothing to do with Arny; that he was a *Pinip*, and talked *two* ways.' I am curious to see if he published the same report he showed me. I only tell you these things that you may be on your guard with him. I have known him, and of him for three or four years & *have not the utmost confidence* in either his *honesty* or *veracity*. Every one who speaks of him in this country seems to have about the same opinions. I cannot understand how he succeeds in humbugging the Authorities at Washington so completely as he does." Wilson to Clinton, 9/3/70, C1699/70.

Captain W. P. Wilson was ordered April 5, 1870, to the Cimarrón agency in place of A. S. B. Keyes.

the strongest evidence of friendship.[39] But Kaniache said,

> Here is Governor Arny, who is present. All the time he is going to Washington and Santa Fé, and all the time he is working against us.[40]

In addition to remaining confident of success, Arny pointed out certain ways in which the desired goal could be reached. The Wiminuche were accused of having murdered Miller, the Navaho agent, and had fled to Utah Territory to escape punishment. Arny held that this action amounted to forfeiting title to the land which consequently reverted to the United States! Or, pressure could be brought to bear on Ouray, chief of the northern Utes; under the terms of the treaty of 1868 he could be held responsible for the capture and delivery of the murderers of Miller. Again, if all rights to hunt and roam outside the boundaries of the reservation were denied to them, they would be forced to live on the reservation, but rather than live at Cochetopa they would agree to anything! He thought that the Capotes and Moache, if negotiated with separately, could be handled all right. The cession of the desired land would separate the northern and southern Utes, which, in his opinion, would correct their jealousies, prevent war, civilize them, and permit the development of the mineral resources. He rightfully pointed out that some solution to the problem was necessary because the influx of miners would eventually destroy the Indians.[41]

The matter hung fire until the following year, but constant pressure was placed on the government to try again. Chief Ouray was reported in April as favoring a treaty if his son, held captive by the Arapahoes, was restored to him.[42] A second commission was finally created June 2, with Felix Bruno as chairman, and concluded an agreement

39. Arny to Pope, 8/31/72, *The Daily New Mexican*, 9/9/72, Arny to Manderfield & Tucker, 9/4/72, *Ibid.*, 9/12/72.

40. B. I. C., *Annual Report*, 1872, p. 96.

41. Arny to Delano, 9/30/72, A219/72.

42. Dudley to Clum, 1/21/73, D251/73. Clum to Dudley, 2/21/73, LB 110, p. 439. Adams to Smith, 4/28/73, Colo. A111/73.

September 13 with the Tabaguache, Moache, Capote, and Wiminuche; it was ratified by congress on April 29, 1874.

The Bruno agreement contained the following provisions: an area of land was ceded bounded by a line drawn from a point on the eastern boundary of the reservation according to the treaty of 1868, fifteen miles north of the New Mexico-Colorado boundary westward parallel to the territorial boundary to a point twenty miles due east of the western boundary of Colorado, thence north to a point ten miles north of the thirty-eighth parallel, from there due east to the eastern boundary and south to the beginning point; the Indians were granted permission to hunt in the ceded territory until the game was exhausted and so long as they remained at peace; the United States agreed to create a permanent trust fund sufficient to produce an annual income of $25,000; and to establish an agency on the southern part of the reservation for the Wiminuche, Capote, and Moache; the treaty of 1868 was reaffirmed except as altered by the new agreement; and Ouray was to receive a salary of $1,000 for ten years or while remaining head chief and remaining at peace.[43]

The area ceded embraced the western tip of the continental Divide wedge and adjacent mountain ranges. It was supposed to include the possible mineral area, but it also extended far enough south to cover part of the farming land of the San Juan drainage. It is very doubtful that the Ute would knowingly have ceded land suitable for agriculture, because they certainly did not welcome a permanent population. Again the charge of fraud was made:

> The Indians are very severe upon Ouray and the Commissioners making the treaty of 1873. That these Southern Utes were badly deceived, I have no doubt, but not by Commissioner Brunot. He did not, as I understand, obtain their signatures, perhaps did not even see them. Other parties were sent from Los Pinos (Cochetopa) to this place (Tierra Amarilla?) for that purpose

43. Kappler, I, 151.

> and it was these parties, as a witness to their signature informs me, who deceived them.[44]

But the making of a treaty and its execution continued to be two quite different matters. Both the legalism of the government and the personal desires of the Indians militated against success. The Capote and Wiminuche continued to deny the validity of the agreement of 1868 and refused to go to the Cochetopa agency for their annuity goods. They continued to visit the agency at Abiquiú, particularly the Capote. The Wiminuche, living farther afield where the game was more abundant, were inclined to be more independent of government aid.

Since contact with the settlements was inevitable so long as the Ute came to Abiquiú, conditions continued to be detrimental to the Indians and annoying to the whites. Trouble was bound to occur sooner or later. When game was scarce and government rations were insufficient, the nomad appropriated stock. "Lo, the poor Indian," had been stealing, was a common complaint. Perhaps worse might happen if it was true that "the Indians were accostumed to abuse the citizens in every possible manner, frequently shooting down stock in the corrals and offering indignities to defenceless women . . ."[45]

On the whole the Capote and Wiminuche were peacefully inclined, merely displaying an exasperating stubbornness in refusing to move onto the reservation. So peaceful, in fact, that the army authorities ordered the abandonment of Fort Lowell in June, 1869. A few citizens in Rio Arriba protested; but it was a sound move,[46] troops only being recalled twice to preserve order.

The need for food led some of the younger Capote to steal stock, in the spring of 1872, on a larger scale than usual. Company K of the 8th cavalry, stationed at Fort

---

44. Russell to Commissioner, 6/21/76. R198/76. See also Hatch to A. A. G., 9/30/76, W1148/76.

45. *The Daily New Mexican*, 3/29/72, 7/3/69.

46. Hanson to Clinton, 8/16/69. C419/69. But see Arny to Parker, 7/7/69, A279/69.

Wingate, was ordered to Tierra Amarilla in April. A meeting with Chief Sabato and thirty followers ended in a brisk skirmish. The authorities had demanded the cessation of depredations, the return of the stolen stock, and the surrender of the thieves. Rather than precipitate a fight at once, the officers resorted to strategy. The lieutenant in command asked for eight warriors to accompany him to Santa Fé to have a talk. "I did this at the suggestion of Major Armstrong, their Agent," he said, "as we conceived that it would be a good plan to obtain Sabato and some of his warriors as hostages for the delivery of thieves and stolen stock." Upon the refusal of the Indians to accede to the proposal, the military attempted to arrest the band. They broke through the cordon of soldiers, secured more help, and invited the officers to have a fight. The invitation was accepted; as a result, one Indian was killed and one white man wounded.[47]

General Granger arrived on May 17 and definitive terms were laid down by the military calling for the surrender of the thieves and the return of the stolen stock. The insistence on these demands and the general desire of the Indians to remain at peace brought results during the summer months: at least one thief was given up and some horses and cattle were brought in. The whole incident was more of a tempest in a teapot than a serious threat of an Indian outbreak.[48]

But such a "tempest" was not a welcome matter. In order to prevent a recurrence in the future the Indians must receive rations from the government to supplement their game supply. This placed Washington in a dilemma

47. I. D. Stevenson to A. A. A. G., 5/6/72, I1475/72. Armstrong to Pope, 5/6/72, P830/72. *The Daily New Mexican*, 4/4/72.

J. S. Armstrong served as agent at Abiquiú from the summer of 1871 to the spring of 1873. He was nominated for the position by the Presbyterian board for foreign missions and resigned under pressure from the superintendent. LB 102, p. 436, 549, A279/73, D129/73.

48. *The Daily New Mexican*, 5/27/72, 7/5/72. John W. Pullman to A. A. A. G., 6/2/72, W6/72. O. O. Howard to Pope, 6/13/72, P26/72. Pope to Armstrong, 7/1/72, P26/72. Pope to Walker, 7/7/72, P26/72.

because the agents had been instructed that "treaty" Indians would be supplied only on the reservation, and they must be induced to go there "notwithstanding the efforts of outside and interested parties to induce them not to do so."[49] But the Indians refused to go; so when Agent Hanson signed a contract to feed the Ute at Abiquiú in the winter of 1869-1870, it was disallowed by Commissioner Parker. He, however, was subsequently forced to permit small purchases in open market, provided funds were available, until another attempt could be made to make the Ute change their minds; "if the Indians still refuse to go to their new reservation, the matter will be further considered by the Department."[50] By the end of the year he was about ready to surrender:

> The Department having exhausted its persuasive power to incline them to a cheerful compliance with their treaty stipulation in this respect, without avail, I respectfully recommend that appropriate legislation be asked of Congress to relieve the Department and the Indians from the unpleasant dilemma in which both are involved, and that authority be given to aggregate the bands in question in some district in New Mexico which will be satisfactory to them."[51]

The Brunot agreement, by providing for an agency south of the San Juan mountains, was the next step in solving the problem. The special commissioner had recognized that to move the Ute to the Cochetopa agency "would be unjust, and a needless cruelty";[52] therefore, in the summer of 1876 the agency was moved to the head of the Uncompaghre Valley, southwest from Cochetopa, nearer to the San Juan country, but still north of the main mountain mass. A year later a location was selected south of the

49. Parker to Clinton, 11/23/69, LB 93, p. 151.
50. Parker to Clinton, 1/8/70, and 1/31/70, LB 93, p. 318, 397.
51. C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1870, p. 5.
52. C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 85.

San Juan mountains, on the Rio de los Pinos,[53] and the agency was now known as the Southern Ute agency.

Meanwhile, the evil influence of the whites became so pronounced that an early idea of removing the old agency from Abiquiú to Tierra Amarilla was revived in order to eliminate the necessity of the Indians passing through the settled area around Abiquiú. Agent Hanson also urged the change on the grounds that the buildings at old Fort Lowell would rent for $50 less per year, and were more suitable; the agent would have some tillable land, fine grazing, and fuel, and supplies could be purchased more reasonably. Armstrong renewed the recommendation and approval was finally given in the summer of 1872.[54]

With the long delay in executing the terms of the treaty, the conditions of the Wiminuche and Capote became increasingly worse. The women and children cried around the agency for food, which was dealt out sparingly, being purchased from the small regular appropriation made for the New Mexico agencies.[55]

> Their case [Ute and Jicarillas] is a deplorable one. If this board could do anything to secure their being placed on a reservation of their own it would be doing a great work for them. They are now living in the open territory where anybody else may live, and the New Mexicans and Spanish-Americans are living among them; many of these are making their fortunes by selling liquor, as we find; and our agent reports that it is extremely difficult to secure from the Government a proper regulation as to these matters. We have one of the

53. C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1875, p. 98-99. F. H. Weaver, *Report*, 8/27/77, 45 Cong. 2 sess. Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, VIII, 441 (1800). See also 44 Cong. 2 sess. Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, IV, 422 (1749).

54. Hanson, *Report*, 9/3/70, 41 Cong. 3 sess. Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, I, 619-622 (1449). Hanson to Parker, 2/10/71, H200/71. Armstrong to Pope, 4/30/72, P863/72. Delano to Walker, 6/18/72, I1521/72.

The agency continued to be designated as the Abiquiú agency after the removal to Tierra Amarilla.

55. Hanson to Clinton, 3/29/70, C/1173/70 and 10/4/70, C1773/70. Clinton to Parker, 10/10/70, C1577/70.

> very best of men there as an agent [Russell], and he finds his position very embarrassing.[56]

But events were moving to a climax. The increasing population due to the attractions of the mining region and farming country were hastening matters. The Brunot agreement had reserved a strip of country along the New Mexico-Colorado boundary line for the Indians. In order to reach the mines it was necessary to cross this territory, and the Indian grazing lands were made use of by the travelers who, in some cases, were not above settling on the more fertile portions. Again in the summer of 1876, hostilities were imminent and the settlers petitioned for troops, whom the agent was empowered to call for when assistance was deemed necessary. In this case Russell left the final decision up to General Hatch, who dispatched to the scene of trouble a few soldiers, but the incident passed without serious trouble. Money would have been more useful than troops, of course. As the agent complained, when he had expected in the spring instructions that would quiet the Ute, he had been informed instead, "No more money can be furnished you."[57]

---

56. Dr. Lowrie in B. I. C., *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 123.
Russell's predecessors had had the same problems of course.

UTE INDIAN AGENCY
Abiquiu, New Mexico
March 18th, 1872

I. Any person found having in their possession articles of Indian goods, ammunition, clothing, grain, etc., etc., obtained from the Capote and Weminutche Utes, the same shall be returned to the agency at Abiquiu and the parties will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

II. Any liquor dealers or others who are known to sell liquor to these Indians, will be prosecuted and made to suffer the full penalty of the law.

J. S. ARMSTRONG,
U. S. Indian Agent.

The Daily New Mexican, 8/23/72. S. A. Russell was appointed to the Abiquiú agency in August, 1874.

57. Russell to Commissioner, 3/13/76, R91/76. Russell to E. Hatch, 9/28/76, R363/76. Russell to Commissioner, 10/16/76, R363/76.

The agents now corresponded directly with the commissioner at Washington because the superintendency of New Mexico had been abolished 6/30/74. Smith to Delano, 7/15/74, RB 24, p. 490. The last superintendent, L. E. Dudley, had succeeded Nathaniel Pope, November, 1872, assuming charge in December.

However, the pressing needs of the Ute did finally bring some relief. For the year 1876 only, the sum of $10,000 was allotted from the treaty funds, despite the fact that the Indians were not yet officially on the reservation. But that event was not far off; the agency was soon to be moved, and the fear of former years of an Indian war had now practically passed away, since the Ute were considered as being too weak for real resistance, it being calculated that they could not bring into the field three hundred armed men. In the face of this decline in strength, force could be used to move them without precipitating a conflict. On the whole, a policy of conciliation and observance of the treaty provisions rather than compulsion pervaded the ranks of the New Mexico officials toward these northern Indians in the middle of the 1870s. Superintendent Dudley was even advocating the adoption of the Golden Rule.[58]

But golden rule or otherwise, the final roundup of the Ute and their ally, the Jicarillas, was drawing near.

58. Dudley to Smith, 10/27/74, in C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 304; see also *ibid.*, 1875, p. 4. Hatch to A. A. G., 9/30/76, W1148/76.

CHAPTER VII

THE MOACHE UTE AND JICARILLA APACHE

CIMARRÓN, in northeastern New Mexico, became the rendezvous for the Moache Ute and Jicarilla Apache after the removal of the agency from Taos in 1862 by Arny. According to the terms of the Tabaguache treaty of 1863, the Moache might locate on the reservation set aside in the San Luís valley, Colorado. They declined to leave their old haunts, however, and continued to be the cronies of the Jicarillas, sharing the rations that were intermittently issued by the government. As with the other tribes, conditions were unsatisfactory, both to the Indian and the white man, and the usual complaints were heard: "While *nominally* at peace they [the Indians] commit crimes and outrages of every kind with entire impunity, because there is *no law* which can reach them *promptly*, and *efficiently*."[1]

The arrival of Superintendent Norton in New Mexico in June, 1866, two years after the above complaint was registered, was an interesting event for several reasons: he illustrated the weakness of the system of inexperienced political appointees, made clear in sharp terms the destitute condition of the Indians, and brought to light the inadequate financial support given to the work of the Indian service in New Mexico. Faced with savages almost naked because no goods had been issued for nearly a year, and verging on starvation for the lack of game and opposition of the Plains Indians to their chasing the buffalo, "What am I to do?" he asked. "What is the cheapest food to give them?" "Write me immediately . . . & tell me what to do," he demanded, "I'm lost."[2] And to add to his harassment there was no agent at Cimarrón at the time. In desperation he ordered L. B. Maxwell, a rancher, to feed the Indians to the maxi-

1. Watrous to Steck, 3/10/64, I524/64.
The commissioner at this time answered the complaint of Watrous by stating that the Indians were subject to the same laws and process of punishment as the white man. Watrous had said that the Intercourse Law of 1834 was a dead letter. Usher to Dole, *ibid.*

2. Norton to Cooley, 6/24/66, N48/66.

mum cost of $500 per month until further instructions arrived from Washington.

The plight of Norton was an old story to the commissioner and he took the officially correct and necessary step of disapproving the expenditure:

> It is commendable to feed the hungry and relieve the destitute; but this Department has no power to do so except so far as Congress may place funds at its disposal for that object. The annual appropriation for the Indian Service in New Mexico (aside from that for the Navajos [)] is $50,000. When over $20,000 of this is expended for goods, and the cost of transporting the goods is paid out of it. the residue, as you will perceive, will not be sufficient to justify any such expenditure as you have instituted as Maxwells.
>
> Experience has demonstrated that so long as Indians are fed at public expense they will make little or no efforts to sustain themselves. Besides, it has not been, and cannot be the policy of the Department to subsist Indians whose habits are nomadic and whose hunting grounds are unlimited.

Moreover, the indebtedness that the superintendency had fallen into in the past must not occur again, he wrote. The whole matter in a nutshell was "not a question of humanity, but of law."[3]

But the matter was also something else; it might be a matter of war, that chronic cry along the Indian frontier in New Mexico. And if war occurred, "*I wash my hands* of all blame in the matter," Norton said. The superintendent, of course, was in a more uncomfortable position than the commissioner. He saw at first-hand the actual state of affairs and was the immediate buffer for the complaints of the Indians demanding food and the cry of the settlers demanding protection for their flocks. "I regret," he wrote "that I am to be cursed, and overrun by a daily unceasing throng of filthy, lousy, nacked and starving Indians, crying aloud for food . . . [and] without the authority or ability to

3. Cooley to Norton, 7/19/66, LB 81, p. 8.

alleviate their sufferings;" all, he thought, on account of a lack of confidence in his integrity and judgment by Commissioner Cooley.[4] In criticizing his immediate superior, he was hasty; conditions were bad and morally wrong, but the commissioner was far from being free to handle the problem according to dictates of wisdom and humanity.

Point was given to the superintendent's complaint by the killing of a Ute in August. The Indian had asked a rancher for a sheep; when refused, a quarrel had followed and the savage was killed. His kinsman went to Fort Union, where the killer was taken for protection, and demanded blood for blood. Instead of the Mosaic law, however, the regular judicial procedure was followed. The evidence presented to the grand jury at Mora appeared insufficient for indictment, so the dispute was transferred to Santa Fé, where a compromise was affected. The superintendent paid $400 to the brother of the dead man for distribution among the relatives. A rather high price, Norton thought, but it was preferable to war.[5]

This affair was used in an attempt to budge the commissioner from his position.

> I know not what may be the result of this trial, Norton wrote, but do know that it originated in the refusal of the Department to sanction my action in feeding them . . . I have had my doubts whether you read the communication [an unjust doubt] or fully contemplated the injustice, and the result of your decision, as indicated in your letter to me of the 19th ult. . . ."

He recommended at least $1,000 per month for each agency on the grounds that "These Indians—at both places [Abiquiú and Cimarrón?] *are absolutely starving,* and they must steal . . .,"[6] which, of course, would only result in retaliation with force.

4. Norton to Cooley, 8/15/66, N83/66.
5. Arny to Cooley, 8/23/66, and Arny to Norton, 9/4/66, A304/66. Peace Agreement with Utah, 9/30/66, N107/66.
6. Norton to Cooley, 8/30/66, N89/66.

The commissioner was not to be moved. The lack of funds was an unanswerable argument in his opinion. He closed the matter by criticising Norton for having acted precipitately; he also pointed out the impossibility of maintaining the payments of $500 per month, particularly if the same practice were adopted toward the other tribes in New Mexico, and admonished the superintendent for losing his temper.[7] The apparent *impasse* was solved by the military.

General Carleton was keenly aware of the necessity of feeding the Indians in order to keep them from depredating and possibly causing a general uprising. He was very reluctant to wage war and adopted the more salutary method of issuing rations. Instructions to this effect were forwarded to Lieutenant George I. Campbell on August 25; at the same time the Indians were informed that the slightest hostility would mean an end to the food supply. The ration issued amounted to one-half pound of beef and one-half pound of wheat meal per day to man, woman, or child, at a cost of about $3,000 a month. Norton immediately claimed that he could have kept the cost down to $1,000 a month;[8] and he probably could, the cost being partly a matter of the generosity of the giver.

Lieutenant Campbell with a detachment of troops had been stationed at Cimarrón in August at the request of Maxwell, because the Indians were unruly. Sometime after their arrival, a drunken Indian initiated a quarrel with two soldiers; nothing serious resulted. But the military did not feel that it was their real task to manage the Indians; hence the need of an agent was felt. This situation was remedied with the arrival of Erasmus B. Dennison in November.[9]

7. Cooley to Norton, 9/15/66 and 8/22/66, LB 81, p. 219, 375.

Cooley, of course, was not unsympathetic in the matter: "Humanity and economy both call for every effort to prevent a war; but to exceed the means at the disposal of the Dept. in doing so would be making promises which we have no means, nor prospects of means to fulfil. This must not be done." Cooley to Norton, 9/17/66, LB 81, p. 379.

8. Carleton to Campbell, 8/25/66, A304/66. Brevet Maj. Chas. McClure to De Forrest, 9/25/67, N167/67. Norton to Cooley, 9/12/66, N100/66.

9. Dennison to Norton, 7/1/67, 40 Cong. 2 sess. Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, II, 197-98 (1324).

Relations between the whites and Indians became more amicable for the time being and the officials turned their thoughts to the matter of a reservation for the Jicarillas and the disposal of the Moache.

Several proposals for the location of the reservation were advanced. Norton favored the purchase of the Maxwell Grant because "It is useless to talk of removing them elsewhere; they would resist to the last extremity, and four times the cost of Grant, $250,000, would be spent in less than one year in fighting to remove them."[10] The proposed site was forty miles wide and sixty miles long, with 3,000 acres under cultivation, a flour mill erected at a cost of $50,000, a saw mill, and other buildings.[11] Carleton also favored a reservation east of the Sangre de Cristo mountains since it was cheaper to feed the Indians there; furthermore, removing them from the settlements to escape the influence of the white man was a waste of time because settlements would follow them,[12] a view hardly consistent with his policy toward the Navaho.

The alternative to the Maxwell grant was the Ute reservation in Colorado or some other location. The Moache logically belonged with their brethren, but the Jicarillas were more of a problem. They had been at one time attached to the Abiquiú agency. Arny brought them east of the Rio Grande in 1861. One band, however, returned west, sometimes visiting the agency there and at other times coming to Cimarrón.[13] They did not get along any too well with the Ute, so the proposal to locate them in Colorado was eventually abandoned. In 1868 Governor Hunt advised the Washington office that the Jicarillas should be placed on a reser-

10. C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1867, p. 191.

11. Norton to Cooley, 10/10/66, N119/66.

The removal of the Indians from their usual haunts was generally regarded as involving considerable difficulty, even war. Davis to Taylor, 6/6/68, D1246/68. Getty to A. A. G., 10/23/67, A. G. O., LS, p. 345.

The Ute were regarded as brave fighters and stout enemies until their numbers decreased so much in the 1870's. Kit Carson considered them the best shots in the country.

12. Carleton to Maj. Gen. W. S. Hancock, 11/17/66, A. G. O., LS 43, p. 8.

13. Arny to Taylor, 1/29/68, A368/68. N. H. Davis, *Report*, 1868, W26/69.

vation in the Territory of Utah. This suggestion was passed on to Special Agent Arny with instructions to try to carry it out if the earlier proposal to send them to Colorado could not be realized.[14]

Arny failed to accomplish anything and brought himself under suspicion as usual. He endeavored in a secret council with the Jicarillas

> to make a treaty with them to go upon a reservation in the northern part of New Mexico, as he reported to me, but as, reported by Wemnedals, a principal chief, it was to move to Colorado. No treaty was made; these Indians wisely said it was necessary to have all the headmen of the tribe . . .[15]

The regular agents objected to his meeting with the separate bands in secret, a procedure which did not improve the prospects of success. He finally reported to Washington that the Jicarillas refused to go on a reservation in Colorado, but would accept a permanent location in New Mexico. The suggestion of placing them in Utah apparently was not considered.[16]

At the end of the year 1869 the military ceased to feed the Indians and the government tried to force the Moache to go on the Colorado reservation by stopping supplies at Cimarrón. When they returned from the hunt in January, 1869, and found out the new policy, they promptly resorted to the old tactics of killing cattle. It was generally agreed among the New Mexico officials that they could be moved only by force, and it was believed that supplies must be issued or war would result, an idea that was held by at least one citizen of the neighboring territory: Judge Hayden of Tabeguache Mills, Colorado, was convinced that "we are on the eve of one of the most gigantic indian wars of the age." *"Don't think I am humbuging you, these are facts."* An exclamation point might have made it more emphatic,

14. Hunt to Taylor, 11/11/68, Colo. C1079/68. Hunt to Taylor, 11/12/68. Colo. C1080/68. Taylor to Arny, 11/21/68, LB 88, p. 314. Arny to Taylor, 12/5/68, A681/68. Hunt to Taylor, 12/12/68. Colo. C1131/68.

15. Davis in C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1869, p. 256.

16. Arny to Taylor, 1/14/69, A33/69.

but its substance was slight because the agents at Cimarrón and Abiquiú reported that their Indians were quiet. Moreover, the superintendent had promptly resumed the feeding policy,[17] and General Getty as early as December had stationed 100 men at Cimarrón.

The general situation was further complicated by the sale of the Maxwell grant to an English colonizing company. It was doubtful that they would submit to the impositions of the Indians as patiently as Maxwell had done; he claimed that they had cost him thousands of dollars because bribery was preferable to force in maintaining friendly relations. Furthermore, the sale of the land meant that intensive colonizing would result in a further influx of whites in addition to those attracted by the mines around Elizabethtown. The company soon learned that trouble could arise. A Jicarilla was killed by an employe and the resulting claim for redress was settled for the sum of $30 in cash, $70 worth of goods, and two ponies. The agent then warned the Indians to stay out of the town of Cimarrón after dark and threatened to lock them up in the jail that was shortly to be constructed.[18] The law of the whites was steadily encroaching on their freedom of movement.

After less than a year's service, Agent Roedel[19] summarized the situation at Cimarrón in a very informative letter:

---

17. Daniel J. Hayden to Wm. Craig, 3/16/70, A873/70. Clinton to Parker, 11/2/69, C658/69; 12/4/69, C730/69; 5/14/70, C1326/70. Maxwell to Grier, 12/7/69, C798/69.

18. Wilson to Clinton, 9/11/70, C1699/70. Arny to Parker, 9/12/70, A1370/70. Roedel to Pope, 3/27/71, P195/71.

If the possibility of war was exaggerated in those days, individual experiences could develop a feeling that the Indian was an undesirable neighbor: "A Jicarilla Indian was recently killed on the trail between El Embudo and Taos, under the following circumstances: The Indian had stolen a mare from one Antonio Griego, but the theft having been almost immediately discovered, he was hotly pursued and soon came up with, when he threw down his bow and arrows in sign of surrender, and walked to meet his pursuers with a large knife concealed in the folds of his blanket; on drawing near to them he attempted to pull out his knife, when he was shot through the head and instantly killed." *The Daily New Mexican*, 3/28/70.

19. Erasmus B. Dennison, superseded as agent when the policy of appointing army officers was adopted, was reappointed in September, 1870. He was shortly removed on the charge of habitual drunkenness and was succeeded by Charles F. Roedel, in December, on the recommendation of the Presbyterian Board. John Collinson to Sherman, 10/1/70, A1403/70. Parker to Delano, 11/1/70, RB 20, p. 41.

My task of keeping them quiet thus far has not been a small one. Last fall they were assured by unscrupulous men that their annuity goods were on the way here in order to pacify them about the sale of the Maxwell Grant. When I took charge of the Agency in last December without a blanket, or a shirt, or a pound of tobacco & without a single dollar that could be expended for such, they gradually settled in the belief that I had appropriated their goods to my private use, certainly not a very pleasant state of things for a new Agent. I have patiently born it all & labored for their good amidst many discouragments hoping that the Government would see the absolute necessity of supplying them liberally this fall.

I exceedingly regret to learn that no portion of the appropriation of $30,000 for clothing & blankets for the seven bands of Ute Indians is to be expended for the benefit of the Mouache Utes of this Agency. It may be that there are legal objections to a division of said appropriation on account of the treaty of March 2, 1868. If such objections exist & are insurmountable & their is no other way to appropriate $2,500 or $3,000 for blankets, clothing etc for the Mouache Ute & Jicarilla Apache Indians of this Agency, then it will be well for the Government to make the necessary arrangements for a war next spring if not sooner, not merely with the Indians of this Agency but with all the Ute tribes for there is a perfect understanding among them in regard to this matter. Leaving the most important point, that of the fearfull loss of life in such an event, entirely out of sight, this matter becomes a mathematical question whether it is cheaper for the Government to pay out hundreds of thousands of dollars to fight Indians or to appropriate about $3,000 to half naked Indians, who have been friendly for many years & as far as I know have not even been accused of murdering a citizen during that time.

The two Indians of the Mouache Utes, who's names are signed to the treaty of March 2, 1868 were induced to go to Washington without even the knowledge of the tribe & claim that they never

> signed said treaty & in this statement they are supported by Urah the main chief of all the Utes, who spend several weeks here this summer & named to me a prominent man who made the signatures. The above mentioned two Utes are not living with the tribe to this day, a fact showing clearly the bitter feeling of the tribe in regard to this fraud perpetrated upon them. They have during the winter season actually suffered & waited patiently nearly three years for the Government to relieve their pressing wants. They cannot obtain the means to buy clothing with around here, as there is hardly a deer or an antelope within 25 miles of this Agency. The Country is being rapidly settled & the settlers feeling the strength of numbers deem small provocation sufficient cause to shoot down an Indian.
>
> The Indians are here & must live; they will no sooner freeze or starve than a white man as long as they can obtain the means of living either by stealth or force. I have previously done all that official duty requires of me, but christian duty to my fellow men requires that for the sake of the life & property of the settlers & the success of the Indian Policy of the Government I should make every effort to prevent an outbreak & for this reason I make this communication & beg your favorable endorsement of this most important matter, that relief may be granted speedily, for without such relief we have nothing but inevitable war before us.[20]

Soon after penning these lines, Roedel resigned from his position because the salary of $1,500 was inadequate; it was not enough to meet his expenses. He was not a seeker after the position in the usual sense, but had responded to an appeal of the Presbyterian Board, broadcast in their paper, that men were needed to staff the Indian agencies. Doubtless he was attracted by the "higher motive" that Dr. Lowrie considered an agent should be governed by.[21] His

20. Roedel to Pope, 7/26/71, P382/71.

21. Conference with Missionary Societies, Arlington House, Washington, 1/11/72, in B. I. C., *Report*, 1871, p. 171. Lowrie to Walker, 2/26/72, I1210/72.

resignation was accepted in the spring of 1872, and Superintendent Pope in the fall appointed R. H. Longwill, a resident of Cimarrón and a director of the English company, in temporary charge.[22]

Almost immediately upon his appointment, Pope had advanced the suggestion that the Jicarillas be removed to the southern Apache reservation and that the Moache attach themselves to the Abiquiú agency. The board of Indian commissioners approved the proposal and the superintendent was instructed in November, 1871, to effect the removals. Agent Pfeiffer made contact with the Moache who were visiting at the Cochetopa agency and reported their refusal to abandon the Cimarrón country. In March, Roedel conversed with the chiefs of the Jicarillas and received the same reply. If the attempt were made, however, he believed that a force of troops should be ordered to Cimarrón to protect the settlers, otherwise nothing more should be done about the matter.

Pope was not satisfied with the reports and dispatched Emil Fritz in April as a special investigator. He talked with Kaniache and received substantially the same answer as Pfeiffer had reported from Colorado. They were willing only to consider a reservation in the Cimarrón country. He was more optimistic in regard to the Jicarillas, but had difficulty in finding them because they had shunned the neighborhood of Cimarrón when told of smallpox by parties "no doubt interested."[23]

22. Pope to Walker, 11/8/72, P216/72. Dudley to Smith, 4/10/73, D17/73.

Nathaniel Pope was appointed superintendent in October, 1870. He served two years. His subsequent attempt to supersede Dudley was regarded unfavorably in some quarters: *"the consummation of such an iniquitous thing must be prevented at all hazards."* "For the sake of the church, the Indians, the Government, and the President's Indian Policy do not let Col. Pope be reinstated." D. S. McFarland to O. O. Howard, 3/17/73, H43/73.

23. Fritz to Pope, 1872, P7/72. Pope to Parker, 12/30/70, P66/70. Acting Secretary of Interior to Clum, 11/13/71, 1985/71. Roedel to Pope, 3/22/72, P789/72. Pfeiffer to Pope 9/6/72, P173/72. Clum to Pope 11/15/71, LB 103, p. 291.

"It is calculated that an agent can make a fortune during a term of four years: but how they can do it remains a mystery." *North American Review*. XC, 75. (Jan. 1860.)

Lieutenant A. J. Alexander wrote in 1866 from Santa Fé that it was a well known fact that not one-half of the presents reached the Indians. Alexander to F. A. Dick, 12/11/16, B107/67.

The "interested" parties must have been few in number. The prevailing sentiment in the country was in favor of removing the Indians. The Maxwell Land Company was fearful of losing settlers who were annoyed by the Indians. Furthermore, they made a nuisance of themselves lounging around Cimarrón and getting drunk, fortunate if they did not get into more serious difficulty. The tension was again heightened in the summer of 1872 when the possibility of the government once more suspending the rations was in the air. In this case, however, the superintendent was authorized to use his own judgment about the necessity of feeding his charges until the removal was effected. Finally, the Jicarillas did make a promise to go to Fort Stanton when they returned from the hunt in December. If they were sincere, it was high time, Pope thought: "The pernicious influences about Cimarrón render it impossible to control the Indians, and as it is growing worse I am making every effort to accomplish their removal."[24] But the Jicarilla did not go to Fort Stanton. The next superintendent, Dudley, favored the same policy, but was soon led to make further suggestions because the Indians were again becoming a serious worry in the spring of 1873. Wandering back and forth across the New Mexico-Colorado boundary, they annoyed the settlers in both territories, "and the settlers universally desire their removal." [25] To satisfy this desire, at least to the extent of persuading Kaniache's band to return to their proper headquarters at Cimarrón from the Arkansas river, J. L. Gould was sent to Colorado in April. The Moache complained to him that it was necessary to depredate in order to live, a statement that carried little weight with him. He recomemnded that a force of troops be dispatched to protect the settlers.

24. Pope to Walker, 10/16/72, P173/72. *The Cimarron News*, 9/14/72, in W375/72. Collinson to W. Belknap, 9/27/72 W375/72. Clum to Pope, 10/19/72, LB 110, p. 38.

The *News* thought that the settlers would be very pleased if the Indians went to a Terrestial paradise 500 miles away.

25. Dudley to Smith, 4/10/73, D17/73.

The Washington office was reluctant to apply force. Instead, the superintendent was advised to persuade them to go on the reservation by explaining the benefits. If still unsuccessful, he could then try to remove both the Jicarillas and Moache to a location on the Dry Cimarrón, in the northeastern corner of the Territory, where they would act as a barrier against the Comanche, according to Dudley. But a military post would be required there to keep them settled, and the government could not authorize such an expense.

Dudley was favorable to the policy of persuasion rather than force, but he came to the end of his patience in June. He visited southern Colorado to hold a council with the recalcitrant band and found the settlers in the Cuchara valley arming against the Indians. The superintendent issued some rations and ordered Kaniache to go to the Cochetopa agency and never return to that region again. He had no sooner returned to Santa Fé than reports arrived of their return, so he called upon the military for aid. The Indians were sent flying northward as they had been ordered previously to do and troops were stationed in the Spanish Peaks country for the rest of the summer. Washington had finally authorized force as a last resort, and the band of Kaniache, sadly reduced in numbers, thought discretion the better part of valor.[26]

Along with these difficulties several changes of agents took place at Cimarrón. Longwill was succeeded by Gould in March, 1873, because it was thought inadvisable to have a director of the Maxwell company that had the contract to feed the Indians superintend its performance. Gould in turn was superseded by Thomas A. Dolan in August. In addition to his regular appointment, Dolan was shortly commissioned as a special agent to negotiate a treaty for the removal of the Jicarilla. This move was made unknown to

26. Clum to Dudley, 4/28/73, LB 112, p. 180. Dudley to Smith, 6/27/73, D304/73; 6/28/73, D265/73; 7/9/73, D267/73; 5/8/73, L111/73. Gould to Dudley, 5/3/73. Dudley to Pope, 6/28/73, I453/73. Alexander to A. A. A. G., 7/8/73, D304/73. Dudley to Commissioner, 7/5/73, D251/73.

Dudley, who naturally was surprised and a bit irritated.[27]

Acting under detailed instructions from Washington, Dolan proceeded to Abiquiú to make contact with the western Jicarillas; then he returned and secured the signatures of the chiefs who hung around Cimarrón, José Largo and San Pablo. The boundary of the reservation extended along the San Juan river from where it crossed the Colorado line to the eastern boundary of the Navaho reservation, thence north to the territorial boundary and east to the beginning point. This area was set aside by Executive Order on March 25, 1874.[28]

The treaty further provided that other Indians friendly to the Jicarillas might locate there, but no unauthorized persons should ever intrude; the United States agreed to pay $5,000 annually for five years, and $30,000 annually for the next ten years for education; the Indians agreed to relinquish their claim to all other lands and promised to send their children to school; if the Ute agreed, the Jicarillas would be attached to the agency in southern Colorado; the government promised to punish according to law those whites who committed wrongs and to pay damages, and Indian wrongdoers were to be punished in a similar way; roads and railroads could be constructed across the reservation; and no payments were to be made unless the Indians were living at peace on the reservation. It was signed by forty-three members of the tribe.[29]

The signing of a treaty did not necessarily mean the immediate removal of the Jicarillas any more than in the case of the Ute. They were yet to roam their native haunts for several years with the usual difficulties. The territorial legislature passed a hypocritical resolution [30] to the effect

27. Dudley to Smith, 4/10/73, D17/73; 5/8/73, D94/73; 3/15/73, D372/73; 12/4/73, D893/73.

28. Kappler, I, 874.

29. Jicarilla Apache Treaty, December 12, 1873, Land Record Section of Land Division of Office of Indian Affairs, *Unratified Treaty Book*. Dolan to Smith, 12/21/73, D6/73.

This letter of Dec. 21 1873, Dolon to Smith, with draft of the treaty was published in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, III (Jan'y 1929), 59-71.

30. Transmitted 3/23/74 to the secretary of interior and C. I. A., R200/74.

that the people were generally friendly and sympathetic toward them, and recommended that a permanent agent be stationed at Cimarrón and an attempt made to civilize them and the Ute. The people, of course, no doubt were sympathetic, but as neighbors the Jicarillas were unwelcome; and the task of civilizing them in the Cimarrón environment, where whiskey flowed freely and the traders exploited them, was a doubtful experiment.

Another attempt was made in the summer of 1874 to break up the whiskey traffic. One day in June, six Ute went on a spree and three were killed before the affair ended. One Indian killed the other two and was in turn executed by order of a chief. Maurice Trauer was indicted and tried for selling the liquor, but was acquitted. Longwill recommended that the government employ a private detective in the person of Robert Grigsby to secure evidence against such lawbreakers. This was acted upon favorably in August.[31] Grigsby apparently did not solve the problem because a Mrs. Margaret Wilson was arrested in the spring of 1875 "for about the forty-eleventh time on this charge . . ."[32]

Perhaps the situation called for an agent who could measure up to the ideal of Commissioner Smith, who thought he should be "a man of nerve and hard sense, who has gone to his agency with the ruling purpose to do good, who believes that an Indian is a fellow-man . . .," and who would be guided by the principles that "The first requisite in the management of all the Indians in this class [the wilder tribes] is firmness. All outrages or depredations should be followed up promptly, and punished at all hazards and at any cost."[33] This description applied fairly well to

31. James A. Clifford to Commissioner, 7 3/74, C473/74. See also I914/74. Longwill to Smith, 7/25/74, L352/74.

32. *The Daily New Mexican*, 3/24/75.

Legal procedure was not necessarily futile, but it certainly did not end the traffic. Guadalupe Maro had been tried in 1867. The jury disagreed, but the defendant then plead guilty, was fined $1.00 and costs (about $500) and sentenced to imprisonment for one year. Norton to Taylor, 8/3/67, N115/67.

33. *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 5, 14.

Alexander G. Irvine, appointed special agent in August, 1875.

> A telegram received yesterday brings word that as Major Irvine, the Ute agent at Cimarrón, was making his weekly issue to his wards, one of the Indians affected dissatisfaction with the meat issued, and threw the piece given him into Irvine's face; Irvine threw the meat back to the Indian, when both drew revolvers and fired with effect. The Indian is not expected to live, while Irvine was wounded in the hand. We understand an application was made for troops by one or more citizens of Cimarron, but declined by Gen. Granger.[34]

But General Granger did send troops. Thirty cavalrymen arrived from Fort Union under Lieut. Geo. A. Cornish, and the military took over control of the agency for the winter. Meanwhile, due to the need of an able man at the Navaho agency, Irvine had been transferred. Before leaving he recommended that the Jicarillas be disarmed, dismounted, and removed to Fort Stanton while the soldiers were on the scene. This idea found favor with the secretary of the interior, but was not carried out due to lack of funds. General Pope was authorized to effect the removal whenever the office of Indian affairs made the necessary preparations and provided the funds,[35] but the civil officials were not prepared for any such task at the moment.

Perhaps there was justification for the action of the Indian. He may have been under the influence of liquor, the white man's brew. And the chances are good that the meat was below par. At least Sergeant James Hickman reported that the beef issued at Cimarrón was not fit for a dog and that the ration was only half of what it should be. The explanation for such a situation might be found in a later report concerning the procedure for supplying the

34. *Daily New Mexican*, 11/17/75; and 11/18/75, 11/29/75, 11/30/75.

35. Irvine to Smith, 11/24/75, I1557/75. Smith to Irvine, 11/24/75, LB 128, p. 87. Pope to Drum, 12/17/75, W13/76. Sheridan to Pope, 12/14/75, W10/76. See also C1579/75.

rations which indicated that undue profits were made by the contractor.

The beef contract in 1877 was let to Longwill at $3.75 per 100 pounds, which was less than meat could be purchased for. But "Of course Dr. Longwill had no intention of filling the contract in person . . ." He "knew that by giving San Pablo and Jose Largo the head chiefs a drink of whiskey each ration day their influence could be had to quiet the complaints of the whole tribe . . ." Furthermore, "Dr. L. sublet his contract to O. K. Chittenden former sheriff of this county (at a bonus of course). Chit knew the ropes as well as the Dr. and commenced filling his contract with old Bulls poor stags and shelly cows. Not more than fit for wolf bait . . ." The bid should have been rejected, the writer said, because it could not be filled at the price, "but the Dr belongs to the New Mexican Ring . . ." "Well this is a disgraceful but true picture of Indian treatment here—a disgrace to the Indian Bureau of your department . . ." And the result was that the poorly fed Indians depredated on the outside settlements [36] until they were finally rounded up and transferred to their respective reservations.

36. S. H. Irvin to secretary of interior, 5/21/77, I539/77. Hickman to commanding officer at Fort Union, 2/16/75, W334/76.

After writing the above Irvin reported that Longwill had taken another contract at $4.25 and sublet it at $3.75. The butcher told the writer no fit beef could be purchased under $5.00 per 100.

Agent Pyle stated that the report of Hickman was false in every respect. Pyle to Smith, 4/29/76, P171/76, and 5/1/76, P173/76.

Longwill had stated earlier that the Indians desired to remain at Cimarrón and many settlers considered them a protection against the Plains Indians, "so that I do not feel competent to advise in regard to their removal." Longwill to Smith, in C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 305.

CHAPTER VIII
THE NORTHERN ROUNDUP

THE BRUNO agreement with the Ute and the Dolan agreement with the Jicarillas definitely foreshadowed the end of the free-roaming bands of Indians in northern New Mexico. Moreover, the mounting tide of discontent among the settlers and the increasing depravity of the Indians were powerful stimuli for the early consummation of those agreements. Consequently, the old agencies at Cimarrón and Abiquiú were soon to become matters of history. A certain amount of fumbling was yet to occur, it is true, particularly in regard to the Jicarillas, but the final outcome was clear.

Military control at Cimarrón was not compatible with the formal duties of the army, and it was not satisfactory to some of the territorial citizens. Furthermore, on the advice of the war department, the Indians were not to be moved before spring. Therefore, the reinstatement of civilian control was soon brought about. John E. Pyle, another protege of the Presbyterian board, was appointed agent in November, 1875, despite the recommendation of the sheriff of Colfax county and others that a local resident be appointed. The new incumbent took charge the following January. In face of the uncertainty surrounding the future of the agency, he recommended in April that his charges be kept there and that an effort be made to educate them by employing a teacher at a salary of $500. This proposal, of course, was out of tune with the times. The Indians were to be removed; the exact time and place was merely a bit uncertain.[1]

Inspector McNulta made the specific recommendation in September, 1875, that the Cimarrón agency be abolished. This proposal found favor with the commissioner in Wash-

1. Smith to Secretary, 11/13/75, RB 27, p. 113, 490. Pyle to Smith, 8/4/76, in C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1876, p. 104-05. O. K. Chittenden to Smith, n. d., C1473/75. Wm. O. Cunningham to Smith, n. d., C1575/75. Pyle to Smith, 4/29/76, P170/76. Pyle to Lowrie, 6/16/76, L219/76.

ington, but since the aid of soldiers was considered necessary and they were not available during the fall, action was postponed. In the spring the project was again pressed. The commissioner then proposed to move the Cimarrón Ute to Colorado and the Jicarillas to Abiquiú temporarily until funds were sufficient to place them on the Dolan reservation.[2]

At the same time when McNulta suggested closing the Cimarrón agency, a proposal was advanced to move the Jicarillas southward to the Mescalero reservation. This idea met approval in some quarters and opposition in others. The Dolan reservation included land attractive to settlers and lay across the route to the mining region. The Indians had not been actually located there; which was presumed to indicate a lack of desire on their part to occupy the reservation. Therefore, why not restore the area to the public domain? At least so reasoned the territorial officials as they forwarded a memorial to the president to that effect.[3]

Russell, the agent at Abiquiú, maintained that the Jicarillas wanted to be located on their own reservation, and above all "they promptly and persistently objected to going" to Fort Stanton. If the government did not carry out the Dolan agreement whereby the Jicarillas promised to move to the San Juan country, what assurance did they have of just treatment by promising to move southward?

> "It appears to me," the agent wrote, "that a fair and candid presentation of this case, is this.—The Government professes to want these people to become self-supporting, and to adopt the habits of civilization. These Jicarilla Apaches express a desire to do so. Will the Government give them the opportunity?" [4]

Apparently the government would give them the opportunity, but not near Abiquiú; the agent lost his fight, at

2. McNulta to Smith, 9/9/75, M775/75. Smith to secretary of interior, 2/29/76, RB 27, p. 476. See also W1691/75.

3. Crothers to Smith, 9/14/75, C1214/75. Memorial to president, 3/6/76, E31/76. Russell to commissioner, 1/25/76, R50/76.

4. Russell to commissioner, 2/6/76, R60/76, and 5/24/76, R169/76.

least temporarily. The commissioner recommended that the reservation be restored to the public domain on the grounds that congress had not ratified the agreement, that the Indians were averse to removal there, and that the settlers desired the land. This was carried out by Executive Order, July 18, 1876.[5]

Next, the Cimarrón agency was formally abolished, September 30, 1876, due to the failure of congress to appropriate money for the salary of the agent. Responsibility for the Indians there was transferred to the Pueblo Indian agent, Ben M. Thomas,[6] who placed M. Pyle as farmer in direct charge until the Indians were transferred elsewhere.

Thomas had no faith in the use of the military to effect the removal. The soldiers could no more round them up, he thought, than they could round up a flock of wild turkey. He recommended, therefore, that the agency be closed, a force of soldiers stationed to protect the settlers, and the Indians told to select one of the other agencies for their headquarters or be treated as hostiles. This should be done in the summer of 1878 when the supplies on hand at Cimarrón were exhausted.[7] Inspector Vandever concurred in this view, and the commissioner passed it along to the secretary of the interior, recommending that no more rations be issued after March 1, and that the war department should be asked to coöperate.[8]

The military were willing to help, but not on the basis suggested by the Indian office. Commissioner Hayt wanted them to finance the removal and seek reimbursement from his office upon presentation of proper vouchers for expenses. General Sherman advised against this procedure because he feared that the war department would never be repaid. All he was willing to do was to provide a military escort enroute to the reservations. But this was a minor point and

5. Smith to secretary of interior, 7/15/76, RB 28, p. 272. Kappler, I, 874-75. C. I. A., *Annual Report*, 1876, p. 23.

6. Smith to Pyle, 8/22/76, LB 135, p. 13. Galpin to secretary of interior, 9/18/76, RB 28, p. 348.

7. Thomas to commissioner, 12/20/77, T1/78.

8. Hayt to secretary of interior, 1/14/78, RB 30, p. 28; see also p. 286.

plans were perfected for the final move. Instructions were sent to Thomas, Russell, and to Francis H. Weaver at the Southern Ute agency. April 10 was fixed as the last day for issuing rations at the old agencies. The Indians were to be taken care of for seven days by their old agent after arrival on the reservation, and contractors were to be notified not to fulfill their contracts for more than the amount needed for that limited period. With the stage all set, the removal was not affected. General Pope could not spare the necessary troops because of difficulties in Colorado with the Ute.[9]

Ignacio, a leader of the Capote and Wiminuche in southern Colorado, was becoming a source of trouble in the winter, so the settlers in the region called for protection. The 9th Cavalry was detailed for this duty in March and General Pope refused to bring additional troops from the Indian Territory for the removal project. When the Ignacio affair blew over in May, the war department was reluctant to aid in the removal because of lack of funds, and Sherman was objecting now to the use of force until he could consult with his subordinates.[10] However, something had been accomplished; the remainder of the Capote and Wiminuche Ute hanging around Abiquiú reluctantly departed to the reservation agency after they became convinced that no more rations would be issued at the old stand.[11]

It was another matter with the Ute at Cimarrón. They were still determined to cling to their old home. In this hour Thomas shared the reluctance of the military to use force, but he thought that with the aid of $1,000 he could break the Indian's resistance by persuasion. If this plan was not acceptable to the Washington office, he recommended either that they be let alone or that the agency be

9. Instructions to agents, LB 142, p. 16, 25, 55, 57. Hayt to secretary, 3/18/78, RB 30, p. 286. A. Bell to commissioner, 3/26/78, I454/78. Sherman to secretary of war, 3/27/78, W511/78. Leeds to Russell and Thomas, 3/28/78, LB 153, p. 6, 9. Hayt to Thomas, 4/4/78, LB 153, p. 79. Sherman to Sheridan, 4/8/78, W603/78; see also W657/78.

10. See W560/78, I395/78, T160/71, W765/78, T192/78, T225/78, W845/73, W5/79, W836/78.

11. Russell to commissioner, 5/14/78, R316/78; and 6/5/78, R397/78.

closed and the military allowed to do the best they could in removing them, a task which might necessitate a detailed man-hunt.[12] But the policy of persuasion was already in the mind of the commissioner, and it was finally followed.

Congress appropriated the sum of $5,000 for the cost of removing the Indians, with the proviso that no more rations should be issued at Cimarrón after thirty days. The deadline was July 20, 1878; on the 18th the removal started. A number of the Ute were selected as policemen and paid a small sum for their services; the group as a whole was promised $500 on arrival at the reservation agency. Part of them moved under the charge of Thomas by way of the Chama valley, the rest moved northward through the San Luís valley.

Spec. Agent James H. Roberts took charge of the Jicarillas at Cimarrón and started for Fort Stanton.[13]

The location of the Southern Ute agency south of the San Juan mountains in 1877 and the assumption that the Ute were officially located on their reservation had prompted the commissioner of Indian affairs to accept the view that "no further obstructions exist to the carrying out of the provisions of" the Brunot agreement.[14] Consequently, the first rations were issued at the new agency on March 1, 1878. However, it was not until summer that all the members of the three bands that roamed partly in New Mexico, the Capote, Wiminuche, and Moache, were actually on the reservation. But at least the long sought goal of a reservation had been reached; whether for better or worse only time could tell. Certainly the Ute had not reached Paradise:

> Beyond the excessive and violent demand for rations and the threat of taking the life of the agent for establishing the agency on the Rio Pinos in-

12. Thomas to commissioner, 6/24/78, T267/78.

13. Leeds to Thomas, 6/19/78, LB 142, p. 375. Leeds to Watkins, 6/25/78, LB 142, p. 416. E. C. Watkins to commissioner, 7/18/78, W89/79. Thomas to Hayt, 7/31/78, T364/78. A. A. G. to Pope, 7/17/78, W1265/78.

14. C. W. Holcomb to secretary of interior, 1/9/78, 45 Cong. 2 sess. Sen. Ex. Doc. 21, (1780).

> stead of the Rio Navajo, as they claim to have been promised it there, there is but very little in their conduct to be condemned. I blush to say aught about this when I reflect upon how they have been treated by the government and imposed upon by individuals. The almost incessant alarm of war since I have been here has but little if any foundation, as the investigation by Lieutenant Valois, in which I accompanied him, proved. But I am grateful, however, for the presence of the military in this vicinity, because it averted, I have reason to believe, a war. I would be loath to arraign an entire community or settlement upon the charge that it would bring about a war, but I do not hesitate to say that there are not a few communities on this Western frontier who have the honor of being graced with individuals possessed of these admirable qualities which are capable of imposing upon poor Indians to such an extent as to make a military post a necessity. No class of individuals are more liberal in circulating their hard-earned money than the rank and file of our Army. They are fond of butter and eggs and vegetables. Their horses also like the grain. It is preferable to be at war than to be without money.[15]

Roberts had not had the same luck with his charges as Thomas. Only a small band of 32 Jicarillas under San Pablo arrived at Fort Stanton, the rest straggled over to Abiquiú. The southern group had arrived at their proposed home at an inopportune time because the Lincoln County war was under way. Consequently, they did not move onto the reservation immediately but remained near the fort for protection. Despite this precaution they lost a string of horses. Furthermore, the unsympathetic reception accorded by Agent Godfroy, and the failure of the government to redeem its promises, filled them with discontent.[16] They

15. F. H. Weaver to commissioner, 8/18/78, 45 Cong. 3 sess. Hsc. Ex. Doc. 1, IX, 512 (1850).

16. Lieut. Col. N. A. M. Dudley to A. A. A. G., 1/23/79, W393/79. Godfroy to Hayt, 8/27/78, I1772/78; and 10/1/78, G456/78; 11/14/78, G520/78.

finally deserted from their new home in February, 1879, and returned northward to the Cimarrón country.[17]

The law forbade the issuance of further rations at Cimarrón, but Abiquiú was still an open port for government supplies. The final disposition of the Jicarillas lay in one of three ways: turn them over to the military at Fort Union for subsistence, feed them all at Abiquiú and ultimately locate them on a reservation in that region, or send them to the Indian Territory. Thomas favored the last named proposal, but the Jicarillas were more partial to their old haunts. The resort to the military for aid was the least attractive to the Indian office. The removal of the San Pablo band to Abiquiú was finally decided upon and after some uncertainty on the part of the Indians they finally departed in October to join their brethren.[18]

In order to make the final decision about the location of the Jicarillas, the commissioner instructed Thomas to bring five chiefs and an interpreter to Washington in the spring of 1879. As a result of this conference, the government decided to locate them in the Abiquiú country. Special Agent E. B. Townsend and Thomas were instructed to select a site, taking into consideration the adaptability of the land for allotment in severalty to the Indians, quality of soil, timber and water supply, and sufficient area to allot 320 acres per head of a family and 160 acres to each other person; private land grants, improved lands, or mineral lands were to be avoided.[19]

These instructions were promptly carried out. The area selected was a rectangle extending sixteen miles west from the western boundary of the Tierra Amarilla land grant as surveyed by Sawyer and McBroom in July, 1876, and thirty miles southward from the Colorado line. It em-

17. Godfroy to Dudley, 216/79, W603/79.

18. See W1614/78, T301/79, T488/78, T703/79, T710/79, T724/79, W2332/79. RB 35, p. 368. LB 144, p. 180, 422; LB 148, p. 282; LB 154, p. 28, 46.

19. E. J. Brooks to Townsend, 6/23/80, LB 158, p. 176. R. E. Trowbridge to secretary of interior, 4/10/80, RB 36, p. 462. Hayt to Thomas, 12/6/79, LB 151, p. 320. See also T873/79 and T407/80.

braced 480 square miles of land for a population of about 750 Indians; 1,500 acres of rich bottom land lay along the Navajo river; and there was plenty of water, good grazing, timber, hunting and fishing. There was also a number of "squatters" on the land.[20]

The final step was to remove the Indians and the agency to the new location. Thomas relieved Russell at the Abiquiú agency (located at Tierra Amarilla since 1872), on August 21, 1878, and the following December it was officially combined with the Pueblo agency.[21] The last rations were issued at Tierra Amarilla in December 1881, and the agency headquarters were moved onto the reservation, occupying some buildings at Amargo that had been abandoned by the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.[22]

There was some last minute opposition in the interest of the squatters and the railroad, but Thomas stoutly protested in behalf of his charges against any further change, so the Jicarillas had finally found a fixed home and were willing to turn their hands to the task of becoming a farming people under the guidance of Frank W. Reed, farmer in charge. If they became a bit restive at times, there were troops to shoo them back to the reservation when they ventured off it.[23]

(To be concluded)

---

20. Kappler, I, 875. Townsend to Trowbridge, 8/13/80, Office of Indian Affairs, Special Case 28. Donaldson, *Public Domain*, p. 246.

21. Leeds to Thomas, 12/27/78, LB 144, p. 497. Russell to commissioner, 8/21/78, R599/78; also T477/78.

This move was formally approved by the secretary of interior in December 1878, I2450/78.

Russell had been a good agent. Offering his resignation before the consolidation took place, he wrote: "I avail myself of this opportunity to say that while I have not at any time claimed to have sought or accepted an Indian agency from motives of philanthropy, I did wish and believe that I could be instrumental in doing them good." He had been disappointed because the agency location and environment did not fit in with his preconceptions. Russell to Commissioner, 8/7/78, 45 Cong. 3 sess. Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, IX, 602 (1850).

22. Price to Thomas, 10/13/81, LB 182, p. 76. Thomas, *Report*, 9/1/82, 47 Cong. 2 sess. Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, IX, 190-91 (2098).

23. Reed to Wm. H. H. Llewellyn, 8/12/82, 47 Cong. 2 sess. Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, II, 186-87 (2100). W. G. Ritch to S. J. Kirkwood, 7/29/81, and Thomas to Price, 8/1/81, Office of Indian Affairs, Letter Number 18159/81 (the new filing system in the archive of the office of Indian affairs).

BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, XIII

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

CHAPTER XXIV

IN THE TIGUA COUNTRY

November 1st 1881. Tuesday. This morning was cold and bracing but bright and cheerful, compared with several of those which we have had lately. A strong, frigid breeze scattered ashes in our faces as we huddled around the fire, eating our morning meal. Our Mexican friends of last night returned with their lost cattle: they halted long enough to exchange the compliments of the day. I then passed on. Strout, with the aid of Hall & Mullen re-spliced the ambulance tongue. At Puerco station on the R. R., ¾ of a mile from our bivouac, we made inquiry about the direction and condition of the road to Isleta. The station-master told us we could make a saving in distance by crossing the Puerco at this point and lent us spades and shovels to cut down the banks. We worked like beavers, filling in the quick-sand and miry spots, with lava and sandstone boulders and brush from the R. R. bridge. Our team crossed in safety, greatly to our relief, as the crossing had a bad look. All our troubles ended with this treacherous crossing. The main part of the day's journey, over 25 miles, was an excellent road, with a trifle of heavy sand in spots. We ran out into the Rio Grande valley and against the Topeka and Santa Fé R. R. A little one-storied, one-roomed adobe house stood directly at R. of our road. Strout and myself made our way through the mud chicken-houses to the front of the hut and there were attacked by a vicious cur which made no delay in the order of its going, after the volley of clods and stones had done its work. A wrinkled, leather-faced, but polite old hag, came to the door and listened with attentive courtesy to our questions as to the road to Isleta. Her reply was all right, no doubt, but rather beyond our comprehension from the great liberality with which she seasoned it with such directions as "poco mas allá; a la izquierda; otro lado del cerro," &c. &c., as seems to be the custom of the people of this valley.

Isleta spoke for itself: its old church was plainly visible 5 or 6 miles up the valley, a distance we were not long in

covering with our four good mules. When we entered Isleta, which is so Mexicanized in the style of its construction that it might well be called a "plaza" instead of a pueblo, we directed our steps to the house of a Frenchwoman, of whose good housekeeping we had heard much praise from many sources. She regretted her inability for the reason that she had just moved into a new house, only large enough for her own family & was not yet ready to entertain strangers. She sent us to a Pueblo Indian, who kept a little store. Altho' badly paralyzed in his lower extremities, this Indian managed to do a considerable amount of work and take good care of the trade coming to him. He let us put our mules & ambulance in a shed which was open on two sides and scarcely covered at the top, being merely the angle between two walls, covered with cottonwood saplings. We bought thirty-six pounds of corn for the animals: a handfull of onions and a leg of mutton for ourselves; not to forget a dozen or more of apples and four or five bunches of the half-dried grapes *(pasas)* of the village. All that we bought was good, but the half-raisin, half-grape was delicious. "Professor" Hall said he "reckoned he'd "boosky" roun' for some aigs," but returned unsuccessful. To reconcile us to his failure, he lighted his fire and, amid a shower of golden sparks, stood the Genius of the American kitchen at whose shrine a dozen Pueblo children bowed in dumb wonder, not altogether unmixed with fear.

ISLETA

Houses nearly all one-storied—adobe: doors opening on ground. Ovens on ground. Chickens, pigs, wagons of old and new styles, burros, horses, cattle, sheep and goats. Entered a house of two rooms, each 8′x12′x7′ high. One door, lighted by one window 9″x5″; of glass: no selenite in this pueblo.[1] Floors of dirt: roofs as in other pueblos. This pueblo is very much like a Mexican town. In this house, six candles were burning on the floor, in honor of All Saints' Day. Bells were clanging from steeple of old church all P. M. There was a man sick in this house from a swollen knee, kicked by a horse.

1. Below, Bourke reports two such windows.

List of Isleta clans:

1. Chalchihuitl	Pa-chirne-tayne	Chalchihuitl
2. Aguila	Chirva-tayne	Eagle
3. Raton	Chicu-tayne	Mouse
4. Tierra	Montayne	Earth
5. Maiz	Itaini	Corn
6. Palo Blanco	Nartayni	White Stick
7. Huacamayo	Tarre-patchirne	Parrot

There was no Sol, Coyote, Nube, Agua, Sapo, Chamisa, Cíbola, Culebra, Oso, Lobo, or León.

No. 7, I was told, was a "pájaro azul de afuera" and I unhesitatingly put it down as the parrot. The above list of clans was given me by a man whose house I entered. He was very reluctant and I had no little trouble in cajoling him. He said the Iseletas were the same people with those of Taos, Picurís, Sandía and Isleta of El Paso, Texas. They call themselves Tu-i, a word pronounced as if shot out of the mouth. Those of Picurís and Taos called themselves—Tao-wirne or Tao-wilni. All the houses entered are like this one, neat but humble, rooms large and well-ventilated. Buffalo robes (old) on the floor; coarse Navajo blankets for bedding. Wine, home-made, was offered us. I drank a tumbler full and found it excellent. He said they raised, and I have eaten, peaches, apples, melons, cherries, plums, apricots, pears,—also wheat, maize, chile, alverjones, frijoles. Have cows, goats, sheep, burros, & horses, in some quantity, —enough for their own wants. Eggs and milk are plenty and in general use. The children are very clean and all clad decently. My host said that his wife and children were "Tierra"; he himself was Chalchihuitl. In Laguna, Zuni & Moqui, he said, women propose marriage to the men. They (the young men) ask friends to call upon the girl's parents in their behalf. In four days after first interview, they return again: if received with a collation, they talk over the business in hand and then adjourn until a third visit to be made four days after. All is now arranged and the priest marries the happy couple in two days after, or in ten days from first interview. Women own houses in Isleta: children belong to their mother's clan. Our conversation was interrupted by the entrance of the man's wife with refreshments of hot coffee, onion scrambled with eggs and excellent bread and peach "turn-overs."

I entered the old house: its interior was extremely clean and neat, the floor being of pine planks. Called upon Father Clemente, the resident French priest, and was received with cordiality by himself and a quartette of Mexican ladies and gentlemen who were taking supper with him. Wine was passed around: the wine of the country, a kind of claret, very much to my taste. We began talking, at least as well as my Spanish would permit, of the revolt of the Pueblos in 1680. Father Clemente said that the Indians of San Felipe told him that they had not revolted: that when the other Indians killed their Padres, those of San Felipe determined to protect those living among them and rather than surrender them to the savages, thirsting for their blood, they defended them *vi et armis* against the army of the insurgent Pueblos.

The enemy besieged San Felipe in due form; gained access to the water-supply and confidently awaited the surrender of the invested garrison. In this extremity, the people besought their Padre to aid them: "Have no fear," said the latter, "you shall not suffer for drink: let all the tinajas of the pueblo be placed in a line on the mesa." This was done. The Padre lifted his coat-sleeve and with a razor opened the veins of his left arm: the blood flowed in profusion, but behold! as it touched the vessels, it became pure, cold water! The devil appeared to the Pueblos in the form of a hugh giant: told them they had abandoned the customs of their fore-fathers and followed the teachings of the black-gowns.[2] For all this he was very angry, and unless by the full moon of August of that year (1680) they returned to their allegiance and killed the priests, he, the Devil, would take vengeance upon all the Indians. "This," said Father Clemente, "was the story they told at the time of the Re-Conquest."

The Pueblo, or Sedentary, Indians, are all small in stature. Most of the Isleta men bang their hair. The mode of dress is the same as in Laguna, except in the matter of silver quarters for fastening women's skirts, which are also used, but not often in Isleta. This lovely starlit night was made hideous by the barking of countless curs and the yells of squads of drunken Indians, singing songs resembling those of the Apaches.

2. This would seem to be an anachronism. No Jesuits entered New Mexico until after the Civil War.

November 2nd 1881. This cold but lovely morning, the bells of the church were clanging their not inharmonious melody long before dawn; in fact, I think that, during the night, they tolled constantly, unless it was some figment of my dreams.

Our cook astonished us with an excellent mutton stew for breakfast. Visited the one "estufa" of Isleta: this is mostly all over ground, circular, 14 paces in diameter, 8' 6" high, earth floor, walls neatly plastered and provided with antelope horns for hooks: ceiling of earth, resting on heavy pine beams, covered with willow saplings peeled.

Fire-place in the centre; a pent-house of adobe covers the hearth to shelter it from rain coming down the companion-way. Met my friend, Antonio Huya, of last evening; went with him about the pueblo: entered the house of his grand-mother (of the chalchihuitl gens.) A great pile of red and blue corn lay in front of door: the house, like all of Isleta, was built in Mexican style. Stoves and tables begin to appear in Isleta, but the low stools, common to all the pueblos, have not yet been displaced by comfortable chairs. Saints' pictures and rude wooden statues of San Antonio and others in tin cases on the walls.

A glass of native wine was presented to me by the little girl of the house. The women of Isleta dress as do the Zunis, except that all the former wear petticoats and an under-jacket or "slip" of calico: the front comes down as low as the knee and is there met by the buckskin leggings rolled tightly in bands from knee to ankle. Women wear silver bracelets, made by Mexicans. The people of Isleta are abundantly provided with corn and chile, the latter in great bunches hanging to the outer walls, exposed to the sun. Saw two windows of selenite: in front of the houses in Isleta, are earthen jars for the collection of urine: this is for their Mexican "vecinos" who use it to dye wool for blankets and leggings and stockings.

Pottery was not easily procurable in Isleta, all having been sold. Strout purchased a very pretty Navajo rug. Antonio came to our bivouac and had breakfast set before him. People began thronging to church: not only from the pueblo itself, but from the adjacent hamlets. Antonio's father was of Tierra gens: his grandmother (on the father's side), whom I saw this A. M., was also Tierra: I also saw his wife's mother who was likewise of the Tierra gens. Went to church; dozens of kneeling women in their finest

raiment in the "campo santo" in front, each with her offering for the "animas": burning candles, baskets of corn, cakes, fresh bread, "turn-overs," pies, apples, grapes and slices of water-melons, onions and canteloupes. The interior of the church was resplendent with the light of candles. Upon the steps of the altar and upon the wooden floor of the nave, there were two or 300 of these blazing at once which produced an imposing effect, contrasting quaintly with the four or five scores of Apache baskets, (whose numbers astonished me) filled with delicacies and substantials of all kinds. At the moment of our entrance, an organ in the choir was playing a soft prelude. (This was one of the very few church organs I had heard in New Mexico.) Shortly afterwards, a woman struck up, in a voice cracked and feeble, a chant, the purport of which I could not make out: the antiphone to this was rendered in a murmur of gentle music by the chorus of kneeling figures about her.

There is something peculiar about the church-music of the Rio Grande valley: the solos are stridulous and strained, but the choruses have in them something weird, soft and tender, not to be described. The hymn finished, the Rosary was recited, the hum of voices filling the church with the echoes of prayers which these old walls had given back for so many generations. The priest began the service of the Mass, his assistants, two male Indians in shirt-sleeves, leggings, mocassins, red Pueblo girdles and hair in queue at back. (Noticed in the congregation, one Moqui squaw's blanket: white cotton body: blue & red woolen border.)

After mass, bought a few pieces of pottery and a rawhide shield. Saw a young girl pulling a baby in a carriage, made of a candle-box, barrel-staves and two home-made little wheels.

Took the road for Albuquerque: day very cold & cloudy, pellets of snow flying about in air. Drove through three or four little Mexican plazas: most of the houses showed signs of prosperity; large orchards surrounded them; fat pigs squealed in the lanes and fat chickens scratched worms from the manure-piles. The houses themselves were well and neatly built & cared for. Whenever we asked our way—and as the country is cut up with roads running to all points of the compass we had to ask it very often—a chorus of voices, male and female, would answer in a high-pitched, sing-son, unpunctuated recitative: "vamos-por-otro-lado-del-acequia-y-agarre-el-camino-real-que-va-derecho - por - el-

rio-onde-hay-barco-no-se-puede-pasar-el-rio-a-pie-ahora-muy hondo-muy-recio-y-muy-fiero-"[3] and much more of same tenor, spoken in such a long-struck-out manner, that it required the most careful attention to hit upon their meaning.

On the banks of the Rio Grande, opposite "old Albuquerque," we were obliged to take the ferry-boat: a frail concern, scarcely large enough to hold our ambulance, our animals and ourselves. The current was very swift and fierce and lapped against the side of our boat, as if thirsty to swallow us up in the waves. Six oxen, yoked two and two, were swimming the river, as we reached it: the velocity of the stream, carried them off with the swiftness of a Rail Road train, but they headed against the current and slowly but surely gained the deceitful sand-banks on the farther side.

At Albuquerque (old town), we put up at Trimble's:[4] Strout and I devoted an hour to buying beef-steak, mutton-chop, sausage, eggs, butter, Irish and sweet potatoes, apples & bread. Old Albuquerque is one of the quaintest, oldest fashioned towns to be found in our whole country: it preserves its pristine individuality in a much more marked degree than Santa Fé and shows fewer traces of American invasion: the streets are the narrow, pavementless burro-trails of the old time; the houses all one-storied adobe structures, those of the more opulent residents having a broad verandah running along the whole front. The language of the streets is Spanish, and that of the "tiendas" almost entirely so. Advertisements, handbills and "dodgers" are still in the language used by Cortez and his comrades, and the by-paths echo to the tread of men in long black flapping petticoats and broad, black shovel-hats, priests of the same religion in which the dying Montezuma was baptized.[5] Yet one can go from old to new Albuquerque in street-cars or send messages from one to the other by telephone! After dark, Strout and myself walked to New Albuquerque to the

3. "Take the other side of the acequia and strike the highway which goes straight to the river where there is a boat; you can't cross the river now on foot—it's very deep, strong, and fierce."

4. "W. L. Trimble & Co. . . Livery Stables and Corral" is listed under "Old Albuquerque" in *A Complete Business Directory of New Mexico and Gazetteer of the Territory for 1882* (Santa Fé, 1882). L. S. Trimble also advertised as an attorney at law.

5. Again we have a touch of literary license. The Jesuits did not enter New Spain until 1572, half a century after the death of Montezuma.

R. R. depot to get the latest papers from the down-train; met Lt. Smith. 4th cavalry, and Lt. Cornish, 15th Infantry. Slept in the corral all night.

November 3d 1881. Thursday. The cathedral of Albuquerque is a modern building of good size, double towers in front and of neat and attractive, but not imposing appearance. The interior is kept as neat as a pin. It is the only Catholic Church in the Terr[y] provided with pews, —each of these is marked plainly with name of owner, or occupier— the principal people of the "old" town, Armijos, Montoyas, Apodacas, Candelarias, Chaves, &c. The card concerning the celebration in honor of Pio Nono, was on the door.[6]

Left Albuquerque at 8 in the morning, travelled N. up the Rio Grande valley, parallel to R. R. track, and only 300 yds. from it.[7] Fifteen miles of a drive over a pretty good road brought us to the pueblo of Sandía, a very small village inhabited by the same people as live in Isleta, Taos and Picurís. The houses are almost identical with those of the poorer classes of Mexicans, and altho' ladders can be seen, every house opens by a door and glass windows upon the ground-floor. The governor's house has a drum, exactly as those of Taos and Santo Domingo for which the old lady whom we saw declined to take any price whatever. All we could get out of her was "no vende, no vende."

The Sandías dress in the same manner as do those of Isleta. Their living rooms are 50′ long by 14′ to 20′ wide, and 12′ high—ceilings of squared pine rafters, covered with pine boards. Walls white-washed and adorned with cheap looking glasses and the tin framed holy pictures. Navajo blankets in plenty; also buffalo robes, the latter well worn and used with slips of Mexican "jerga" as covering for the earth floor.

Bedsteads & chairs, both of wood, in use in this pueblo, —or village, as I feel tempted to call it. People seemingly have an abundant provision of food against winter. Each house is gayly bedecked with strings of coral or scarlet chile—the interior rooms are piled high with blue and red corn, or fat pumpkins, squashes and onions. Baked squash

6. Pius IX was pope from June 6, 1846 to February 7, 1878, so that Leo XIII was now at the head of the Church. The celebration must, therefore, have been commemorative in some way.

7. In 1881 the main road north was still the old Chihuahua highway, which here skirted the foothills on the east side of the valley. Had Bourke only known it, he passed within a stone's throw of the site of old Puaráy pueblo where two of the early missionaries were martyred.

is in the hands or mouths of all the children and quantities of sun-dried beef or mutton hang from the rafters.

In the second house, was the carcase of a whole ox butchered for the use of the family during cold weather. Houses, of one story. Ovens, on roofs and in streets.

Saw Navajo bridles of silver. Bought a Moqui basket with deer ornamentations. Cradles rudely built in American style—also the Indian back-cradles. Children's wooden carriages after the fashion of those seen in Isleta. Only one two-story house in Sandia & that uninhabitable.

Have horses, burros, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, dogs, cats. Have American wooden pails. Raise corn, wheat, grapes, apples, beets, frijoles beans, &c, onions. Make black & white pottery.

A school has been established here by Dr. Thomas, Indian Agent,[8] under charge of an old Mexican, Agostin Cisneros. It has 16 scholars: the pueblo has between forty and fifty houses and a population in the vicinity of 175. They have a few wagons of old and new styles. The school-master said that these people are called Queres (?), which I cannot understand, as they claim also to be one stock with the inhabitants of Taos and Isleta.

The 1st Estufa is rectangular, 55′ long x 25′ wide, built above ground—of adobe—altar under the entrance in roof —Timbers of pine, very massive, 12 to 14″ squared with blunt tools. The interior has no wall decorations, but there were many indications of some approaching feast or dance. Blue and white paints in pots—cedar garlands, Spanish Bayonet & amole leaves—tortoise rattles and an oblong drum. When I was down there, a couple of rude Indians ran up at full speed, breathlessly descended the estufa and ordered me to leave. I told them I was a big *capitán* from Washington & would leave when I got ready and not before. After I had surveyed the interior, very carefully, I left.

The 2n estufa is in ruins and is not used. Our examination of the pueblo was interrupted by Hall's calling out that lunch was ready.—braced by our exercise, we ate heartily of the food which he had prepared.

8. Benjamin M. Thomas was Southern Apache agent, 1873 to 1874. In the latter year the office in New Mexico of "Superintendent of Indian Affairs" was abolished, and in the resulting adjustments Thomas was made Pueblo Indian agent at Santa Fé (1874) and from 1876 to 1882 (perhaps longer) he also served as special agent in New Mexico for the Indian Bureau. *The Legislative Blue Book of the Territory of New Mexico* (1st ed., Santa Fé, 1882), 122-124.

In another house, a big bundle of parrot feathers. In another house, there is one window of selenite. Pottery very scarce in Sandía.

Pueblo hardly worth visiting but as a point of interest I may say that there are people here who call themselves Moquinos and claim to have been driven from Moqui.

Bourke was right, of course, in recognizing the people of Sandía as belonging to the Tigua linguistic stock rather than to the Queres. The early Tigua country extended from south of Isleta to a little north of Sandía. During the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 the people scattered and their pueblo was burned. For two generations many of them lived in the Hopi country and doubtless there was some intermarriage with that people. From 1742 to 1748 many of their descendants were persuaded to return to their former home and old Sandía was rebuilt.

Of the various pueblos of the Queres people, Bourke had already visited and described Santo Domingo in August when he was on his way to see the Hopi Snake Dance,[9] and he had just come from Acoma and Laguna. He had still to visit San Felipe and Cochití (both north of Sandía), and Santa Ana and Cía (both up the Jémez river from Bernalillo); and he wanted also to include in his survey the single pueblo of the Jémez people (ten miles north of Cía). It seems best to reserve Bourke's notes on these Queres and Jémez pueblos for a separate chapter, and conclude his survey of the Tigua people with the data which he gathered in a quick trip to El Paso, Texas. He felt that his work would be incomplete without a visit to the descendants of those Tiguas whom, at the time of the Pueblo Rebellion, the Spaniards had transplanted to "Isleta del Sur."

With young Strout and the negro orderly, Hall, Lieutenant Bourke arrived in Santa Fé (Nov. 7, 1881) where he turned in the army ambulance—with which he had hoped to reach the Coconino Indians—and relieved himself of the

9. The notes which he gathered at Santo Domingo, Bourke himself published in *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), 1-53. They form a necessary part of his ethnological survey in the Southwest.

ethnological material which he had collected during the trip west. He was then free to take the train for El Paso, after telegraphing ahead to Fort Bliss of his coming.

If the following notes, or those of any other of the pueblos which he visited, seem to be heterogeneous and fragmentary, the reader is again referred to the outline which Bourke prepared before he began his survey.[10] It will be seen that he was working methodically, jotting down only the significant facts and especially any variations noted from the pueblos which he had previously visited. He intended the result to be a composite picture of the entire Pueblo Indian culture as it was in 1881.

November 8th 1881. Tuesday. Remained in Santa Fé. Met Col. G. O. Haller, Genl. Hatch and Col. G. V. Henry. Dined with Mrs. and Miss Lee and their guest, Mrs. Torrey.

November 9th 1881. Wednesday. A furious storm of snow and wind ushered in the morning. Made ready to start for El Paso, Texas. Started in the afternoon at 3, and got to Lamy Junction without incident, except that which might have been expected from such a furious tempest—a detention of the train from the East. In the same compartment with me below Lamy, was the Hon. Mr Ashburn, M. P., the gentleman who once raced yachts with James Gordon Bennett Jr. across the Atlantic Ocean. His keen remarks upon men and countries he had seen interested me greatly and kept me from thinking of going to bed until after midnight. He surprised me much by insisting that the British oyster was superior in flavor to our best American. I demurred saying that I had always understood the flavor of the British oyster was coppery. He refused to admit this and said that once, when a member of a parliamentary commission to examine the Fisheries Question, he had studied with great care all data obtainable with regard to the oysters of America, England, and Holland, arriving at the conclusion above given. When he spoke of England's naval supremacy and insisted that she had or soon would have armored vessels to cope with the iron-clad monsters owned by Italy & Russia, I took occasion to remark that it was a

10. See *New Mexico Historical Review*, X (1935), 281. As there stated, the outline, or "List of Questions," which he prepared for his own guidance may be consulted most readily in his book, *On the Border with Crook* (1891), 262-275.

shame that the lords of the Admiralty in place of commemorating the names, virtues & services of such eminent heroes as Chicheley, Shovel, Nelson, Collingwood, Drake and Howard of Effingham, gave to her ships of war such meaningless appellations as the Indomitable, Boxer, Resolute, Minotaur &c. &c. This he conceded to be a pungent and well-deserved censure.

November 10th 1881. Thursday. During the night, our train passed down the Rio Grande valley, past old Fort Craig, the scene of my first services as a commissioned officer. When we awakened this morning, we were at Rincon, a station 275 m. S. of Santa Fé, and the point of junction of the El Paso branch.[11]

A phenomenal snow-storm had occurred in the night, covering the ground to a depth of three inches, and making the telegraph wires look like great white ropes. It was still falling, falling in slender, white flakes, much to the awe of the Mexicans who said that no such storm had ever been known in the valley. I served at Fort Craig, only a few miles above this point, during the whole winter of '69 and '70, without seeing 1/10 so much snow.

The "branch" train came along in the course of a few moments. We sped boldly and safely down across the "Jornada del Muerto," once the dread of the traveller whose life was imperilled by lack of water and over-abundance of Apaches.[12]

Turning again to the valley of the Rio Grande, we found it here a beautiful stream, lined with a heavy growth of cottonwoods, whose branches were white and silvery in their unwonted festooning of virgin snow. Seventy-seven miles below Rincon and 350 south of Santa Fé, we ran alongside of the track of the Southern Pacific from San Francisco and, on the right bank of the river, saw the stone monuments marking the line of separation between the dominions of Gringo and Greaser. The track of the Texas Pacific also runs here:—a small section, built to secure charter but not yet used.

11. Only on March 19 of this year had the Santa Fé Railroad made connection at Deming, New Mexico, with the Southern Pacific Railroad which had built eastward from California. Evidently, at first, this through-service to the coast was regarded as the main line, and the line from Rincón south to El Paso was merely a branch line.

12. This is a rather surprising slip for Bourke to have made. The Jornada is north, not south, of Rincón, and the train had already crossed it when Bourke awoke at that station.

Three-quarters of a mile north of the town of El Paso, is Fort Bliss: where I was received by the Post Commander, Colonel Fletcher, 23d Infantry, and my old friends Heyl, Pollock, Clark of same regiment, as well as by Hay, 23d (who came in later,) and by Dimmick, 9th Cavalry, Davis, 15th Infantry and by Assistant Surgeon Taylor. Breakfasted with Heyl, Fletcher and Davis.

Lunched with Pollock and his charming family. Dined with Heyl.

In the evening, called upon Mrs. Dimmick, Mrs. Clark & Mrs. Hay, and then, with Colonel Fletcher, Heyl and Davis, drove to El Paso, Texas—a town, half American, half Mexican, destined soon to become a rail-road centre of the first magnitude.

November 11th 1881 Friday.

Finished breakfast and started in an ambulance for the town of Isleta, Texas, formerly an Indian pueblo exclusively, but now largely occupied by Mexicans & Americans.

We first passed through the town of El Paso, (the American or Texas town of that name,) and then parallel to the line of the Southern Pacific and the unrailed grade of the Texas Pacific and sometimes using the latter as a carriage-way, we moved, south of east, down the valley of the Rio Grande, in this vicinity a broad area of fertile, arable land traversed by a fine stream of crystal water. There is an excellent supply of cottonwood, willow and false mesquite, together with a jungle of "arrow weed" and good grass, all indication of the richness of the soil. With a little labor and intelligent application, this immense area could be made a small state by itself. At present, it is uncultivated and unbroken save at great intervals by small corn-fields, orchards or vine-yards of Mexican farmers.—the yield from which, in quantity and quality, serves yearly to demonstrate the truth of my comments. Ducks, geese, turtle-doves and quails are numerous along the banks of the river or in the shady coverts of the mesquite and willow thickets. We met on our road long trains of wagons, loaded with Mexican and American laborers and implements, returning to the town of El Paso from work upon the Rail Roads.

It is reported that a junction of the Texas Pacific and Southern Pacific R. R.'s is to be made two weeks from to day, as only three miles of a gap now remains to be laid with rails. This will give us another and most important trans-

continental connection and will open to the commerce of the world a grand region in S-W. Texas and Northern Mexico, in which the Lipan, Apache, Comanche & Kickapos have until lately held absolute sway. The climate of this valley is so famous for its genial, health-giving qualities, especially in winter, that I shall make no extended reference to it in these notes.

Reached Isleta in a couple of hours. It is 12 to 15 m. from Fort Bliss. Went to the store of Mr Schutz, who kindly invited me to lunch with him & presented me to his sister, the wife of Lieutenant Day, 9th Cavalry.

The pueblo of Isleta is now so thoroughly incorporated in the Mexican-American town of Isleta that it requires a very accurate acquaintance with the place to tell which are the houses of the Indian and which those of their more civilized neighbors. The houses are all of adobe, one story in height and opening both by windows & doors upon the ground floor, the use of ladders being entirely discarded.

In dress and manner, the natives of the pueblo have imitated their Mexican relatives. Many of them have Mexican wives and many Mexicans have married maidens from the pueblo. This infusion of foreign blood betrays itself in the lighter complexion, softer features, gentler expression and ruddier cheeks of the young people, several of those whom I met being quite good looking.

In the first house I entered, a pile of blue corn lay upon the floor drying as in the other pueblos—a chimney extended *across one* side of the room and a metate of odd shape was constructed close to the fire place. I saw a shield, bows and arrows, guns, a bundle of eagle feathers and a pair of *wooden* spurs hanging to rafters—but beyond these nothing whatever to lead me to suspect that I wasn't in the house of an humble and industrious family of Mexicans.

The head of the family was assisting his wife with the week's wash, wringing out the cotton clothing which was soaking in large earthen ollas of domestic make. I must have reached the pueblo upon a wash-day, as in each house, both men and women were hard at work getting through with the duties of the laundry. American ladies might learn a lesson from their humble sisters of Isleta and in place of driving their husbands away from home on Blue Monday, gently insist upon his remaining and lending his powers to the performance of any service he might be able for.

One of the younger men whom I met in the 3d house I entered said he'd be glad to take me to the house of the governor. On my way thither, he said that their pueblo had always furnished scouts and guides to the soldiers in their campaigns against the Apaches. The year before last, nineteen of them had gone down the river to intercept the Apaches, but the latter ambushed them & two of the Isleta Indians were killed, one of the killed being my guide's own brother. This young man was perfectly willing to converse with me concerning his people and to show me everything I wished to see—he said that the Pueblos raised everything to eat except potatoes. They have apples, pears (the pear trees are very old & very large), peaches, apricots and grapes—the last in great quantity. Plums were not raised.

Corn, wheat, barley, chile, onions, beans, sweet potatoes, eggs, peas,—everything except potatoes.

They had horses, oxen, cows, burros, mules,—chickens and pigs. I saw a couple of boys driving a large herd of sheep and goats, but I couldn't tell whether they were Indian, or Mexicans or Half-breeds.

To my questions concerning the *clans*, he returned a reply that they did not have any—that this pueblo was now entirely Mexican and had given up many of the old "costumbres." I told him quietly that he lied and that I knew as much about the pueblos as he did; that I had visited them all & had been told everything I wanted to know by the governors and head men of the other villages.

By this time, we had reached the house of Juan Severiano Gonzalez, the acting governor of the town, a very polite and courteous old man, who received me with urbanity, made me take a seat and when I had explained the object of my visit, said in a very kind tone that he would be glad to give me all the information in his power. He was not the real governor—only the lieutenant and acting in his place—the real governor lived with three or four families a little over a league out of town, near the plaza of Socorro.[13] However, as *he* was one of the oldest

13. Bourke speaks of Socorro as if it were a purely Mexican plaza. He makes no mention of the Piro Pueblo Indians and unfortunately seems not to have known that Socorro and Senecú (on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande) were both established by the Spaniards in 1681 with Piro Indians from New Mexico, as Isleta del Sur had been established with Tiguas.

In this connection it may be of interest to record that, in December 1923, there were, in a suburb of Juárez known as "el barrio del pueblo," fifty-five descendants of the early Piros who were maintaining their tribal organization and ceremonials.

men in the village and had once been governor, he was confident that he could tell me all that I was anxious to learn.

The people of Isleta, Texas, were Tiguez, speaking the same language with those at Isleta, New Mexico and Sandía, and one something different from that of Taos & Picurís.

Some of them, with the governor, lived outside of the pueblo, in and around the Mexican plaza of Socorro, as he had already stated; and another small party had crossed the river to the Chihuahua side and made their home near Zaragossa.

They have all adopted the customs and manners of the Mexicans and have intermarried with them; only three old men persist in wearing the queue. The women and girls wear Mexican clothing altogether.

While we were conversing, one of his young daughters, a pretty girl of 12 or 15, was trying on a calico frock just finished. He confirmed all that the young man had told me about their farms and vineyards—and about their furnishing scouts to the Army in time of war with hostile Indians. They have no eagles and no estufas. They formerly had them, but not of late years.

Now, when they want to arrange for a feast, they use some unoccupied house. They are very fond of dancing in the Mexican fashion.

Last night there was a "baile" in the house of _____, and tomorrow night there was to be another in _____'s house. Had I noticed the pretty room over in that house? (pointing.)

Yes. Well, that was all painted & fixed up for bailes exclusively.

I proceeded cautiously in my conversation, not caring to run too great a risk of failure. I let him see that I knew a great deal about Indians and told him that during the past summer, my travels had included all the pueblos—Moquis, Zunis, Teguez and Jemez.

I then explained what I knew about the clans and clan rules, and asked him if the same divisions existed among his people.

Also, since the early 1850's, there has lived in the Mesilla valley seven miles south of Las Cruces a tribe of Indians known as Tortugas. These people are partly Piro but mostly Tigua and originated from the El Paso-Juárez pueblos. They have been entirely overlooked by anthropologists.

He said yes—and told me that he was *Maiz* and his wife and children, Aguila. Their head governor, whom he styled cacique, was also Aguila. The young man who had come with me was Sol.

The complete list of their clans was:

Maiz	corn
Aguila	eagle
Sol	sun
Agua	water
Chalchihuitl	turquoise
Oso	bear
Tortolita	turtle dove
Conejos	rabbit
Sandia	watermelon
Ganso	goose

The pueblo was very small now and had but few clans and these had only a few in each one. Formerly, there were many clans and many families in each. They used to have the Coyote and Culebra, but these were now extinct. They had no Cíbola, Bunchi, Chamisa, Sapo, Tejón, Verenda, Lagartija or Calabaza.

I tried hard to know whether or not the Ganso, which he called "Gallina de la *Sierra*" was not the same with the Turkey, which is called Gallina de la Tierra, and altho' he persisted in using the Spanish word Ganso, I am certain that the word should be Turkey, as in the other pueblos of the same language. So with the one he called Sandía—I think that, perhaps, ought to be Calabaza. I am not positive whether he said they had no Huacamayo or that they had a small clan of that name. The explanation of this uncertainty is to be found in the fact that I was afraid to let him see me write down what he said and had to adopt the policy of letting him talk first and then I pulled out my memoranda, and rapidly outlined his conversation, losing one or two points in so doing. The old man seemed anxious to know where that book was going—I told him to the Great Father in Washington.

He said that their houses belonged to the women—an examination showed they had the same rules of property & descent as among the other pueblos. The pueblo now has 36 "cabezas de familia" and four widows.

The old man's house was well stocked with holy pictures in tin frames and one of the rooms was arranged at

one end as an oratory, the Saints' pictures being resplendent in a gorgeous setting of the green, yellow and red cut tissue paper, used by our German barbers and saloon-keepers for a decoration upon their ceilings during hot weather.

The old man complained that the Americans and Mexicans were crowding into their beautiful valley and taking up, without any recompense, land belonging to the people of the pueblo.

I bade the good-hearted old man Good Bye and then hurried over to make a rough sketch of the front of the church.

The afternoon was waning—15 miles of sandy and muddy road had to be passed over before I could get to Bliss,—my work was done—I bade Good Bye to Mr. Schutz and entered my ambulance. We discovered just in the nick of time that one of the springs was broken. This we spliced with a rope, a drunken Irishman looking on with nods of approval.

"Boss, oi'd loike to roide wid yez to town."

"Sorry. Can't do it. Spring busted."

"Well Boss; yer a foine, generous-looking, high-toned gintilmin. Boss, oi wurrucked on the Iron Mountain Road in '50, long afoor you were bor-run. Lind me a shillin' to kape a poor bi from the horrors."

"Can't do it. I send all my spare change to the benighted heathens."

"Phat's thot?"

"I send all my money to the poor heathens."

"Arrah, thin, bad luck to yore sowl, shure yiz hav a glitther in yer off eye wud shcare a poor stharvin' widdy into her grave."

"Bad luck to yiz &c. &c. &c. &c."—so long as we were within ear-shot.

Reached Fort Bliss by dusk. Dined with Captain and Mrs. Pollock . . .[14]

14. Bourke adds the notation: Isleta has *old* wooden carts.

CHAPTER XXV

THE QUERES AND JEMEZ PUEBLOS

WE NOW return to Sandía from which pueblo on November 3rd Bourke proceeded north in his army ambulance to visit San Felipe and Cochití. He then returned south to Bernalillo, crossed the Rio Grande by the old toll-bridge, and followed the old road up the Jémez river to visit Santa Ana, Cía, and Jémez.

From Sandía to San Felipe, the distance is 12 m. through the same kind of country as already noted (the valley of the Rio Grande). Villages dotted our path and one town of considerable size, Bernalillo, pleased us very much by its picturesque situation, and its look of solid homelike comfort.

The flat-roofed houses, embowered in the verdure of peach, apple and apricot trees and surrounded by broad vineyards had a thrifty look—plenty of chickens and herds of fat cattle, confirmed our first favorable impressions of the place.

The new houses in course of construction by the Perea and Otero families are extremely neat, three stories in height —ornamented with bay windows and verandahs after the American style.

Lightning-rod fiends, with glib lying tongues have penetrated to this seclusion as the copper-tipped rods attest.

Bought a bottle of native wine for half a dollar at the house of a well-to-do Mexican.

A mile or less below San Felipe, hired an Indian for a piece of tobacco to conduct us across the ford of the Rio Grande. Effected the passage without trouble under his guidance, altho' the current pushed with great power against our ambulance.

San Felipe is situated on R. bank of the Rio Grande, at foot of a frowning, barren mesa of black basalt. It encloses a square of 12 or 15 houses on a side and a few outside. Entering the plaza, we passed several old-fashioned wooden carts, noticed that nearly all the windows were of selenite, and ascended the ladder leading to the house of the Governor. We explained who we were and were kindly welcomed and invited to descend to the room where the women of the household had just set out the evening meal. Of this, we were asked to partake and fearing to appear discour-

teous, complied. We ate some bread, stewed peaches and mutton, roasted in pieces on an iron spit.

The Governor's house was small but scrupulously clean —he said that he had another house which was empty and at our service. We accepted his offer and, followed by a retinue of 25 or 30 bright-looking children & 5 or 6 women & men, went to take up our quarters there.

I engaged the Governor in conversation, learned from him that his people belonged to the Querez nation, that San Felipe was called Katis-cha and then when I thought everything was ripe, read to him the list of Laguna clans. He laughed heartily and said that here they had the same "janos," excepting the Huacamayo, now extinct, and [had also] the Tortolita or Io-o-ca-janos, to which his children belonged.[1]

The houses here belonged to the women. When one of their girls loved a young man & wanted to marry him, she could ask him.

The room in which we were placed served Hall as a kitchen and as a general reception room into which thronged not less than 20 or 25 of the people of the pueblo, mostly women & children.

An old man brought us a dozen and a half of fresh eggs, for which, much to his pleasure, he received a shining half-dollar. A young girl brought us enough fuel for our supper-fire and was paid a quarter.

A crazy man here entered—his head shaved close to his skull—The Governor said he was dumb and "loco"— He excited great hilarity among the young girls and a corresponding amount of irritation among the matrons. The Governor said that he belonged to the Io-oca (Tortolita) jano.

I made the governor tell me the clan of everybody in the room. There were representatives of the Chami or Eagle, Jo-o-ca or Tortola, Sapo and Bunchi. Half a dozen boys ran away when they heard me ask about their "gentes" or "janos." The Governor's name is Pedro José Quivera in Spanish & Ah-fit-che, in his own idiom.

Our room was 14′ sq., 6′ to the ceiling-rafters, which were of round peeled pine, 6″ thick, covered with small branches, hay and mud. A door 3′ high and 18″ wide—

1. In a footnote Bourke adds the Bunchi (tobacco) clan: and refers to later mention of the Chalchihuitl.

opened from the outside & in same wall was an unglazed aperture, a foot long horizontally and 5″ high. The E. side of room was given up to the chimney, which had 2 flues, one in each corner. A second door of same dimensions as the first led into a second chamber. Walls, all white-washed. Floor, of packed earth.

Squatted like toads around 2 sides of the room were seven children, each wrapped in a black & white banded coarse "Navajo" blanket.

Invited the chief to sup with us and handed to his wife, daughter and little brother who stood behind us—pieces of bread plastered with jam and egg omelet.

The Governor said that there were two live eagles in this pueblo—none in Sandía and none in Isleta.

He also gave us the following as the correct list of the clans of San Felipe:

Aguila	Oso. (Extinct.)
Sol (almost extinct.)	Huacamayo (Extinct.)
Agua	Frog
Culebra. (Extinct.)	Turkey
Encino. (Extinct.)	Coyote
Verenda. (Antelope.)	Tortolita.
Tejon. (extinct.) (Badger.)	Bunchi
Maiz	(No Cíbola or Chamisa.)

The Governor then showed us around the town which consists of two plazas instead of one as I at first wrote. In the clear light of the almost full moon, nothing was hidden from us. The little houses of adobe plastered on outside, opened on the different plazas were almost all two stories high—the lights from within streaming through the selenite slabs. Children were standing on the roofs of several of the houses; this, our guide said, was allowed after sunset, none could go away from home or leave the pueblo. 5 or 6 large boys were singing together in a corner of the plaza: he said, he didn't mind that, so long as they created no disturbance. The song was almost if not quite, the same as those sung by the Apaches. At first, he said there were two eagles in the pueblo: but we saw three and then he remembered that there were four and promised that tomorrow we should see them all, as well as the estufa & the church.

He also promised to have the pueblo warned at daybreak that we wanted to buy pottery, stone axes & such things.

He told me that their harvest this year had been exceptionally good and that they had raised quantities of peaches, apples, beans, plums, apricots, beets, chile, tomatoes corn & wheat.

We saw many turkeys and chickens and the usual contingent of dogs and burros. Horned cattle, sheep, goats, mules, burros, & horses,—they have a sufficiency of all these. He denied that his people ate dogs, altho he said they were eaten in Acoma, Zuni, Moqui & Laguna. He said they had men to make the "rounds" at night and showed us the man who was to be on guard tonight. This man we were asked to treat kindly if he should come to our house, but—all others we should drive home.

Before retiring, Strout & myself pledged each other in a glass of Rio Grande wine.

Distance to-day 26 to 30 m.

November 4th 1881. Friday. Dawn had scarcely broken when our quite too too friendly friends came to pay us a visit. We were all still in our blankets, a circumstance that made little difference to the gentle savages. The Governor and one or two of the highest in rank were asked to test Hall's cooking.

After breakfast, to the Estufas. 1st is circular, overground, entered by ladder [2] through roof, 15 paces in D., 10′ high. Built of adobe; interior, white-washed floor of packed earth—one little window one ft. sq. and the recess of "Omá-a" on one side.[3] Well-lighted from top, but roof leaks. Roof made of round peeled pine logs 1 ft. in D. covered with saplings and the latter with clay.

2. "Which had a *side*, was strongly built and was a regular 'companion way.' "—J. G. B.

3. According to Bourke's Hopi notes, "Omá-a" was the Cloud Chief or Rain God. "From him is received water to refresh the parched crops. In each estufa may be seen a small niche, sometimes in one of the walls, sometimes in the floor, in which offerings of corn, tobacco, pumpkin seeds, and sacrificial plumes are deposited for this deity upon occasions of ceremony."

At one of the two kivas in the pueblo of Hano, he noted: "In this estufa the niche or 'door of Omá-a' was not in the floor as is generally the case in the Moqui villages proper. The difference is hardly worthy of note, but it should not be forgotten that the Teguas are not of the same blood as the Moquis, but belong to the same tribe as the people of San Juan and San Ildefonso on the Rio Grande." See *Snake Dance of the Moquis*, pp. 120, 129, 130.

Here is an interesting point for the anthropologist to solve. Was this ceremonial feature of the kiva which Bourke calls variously "the niche or door of Omá-a" and "Omáha hole" identical with what has been called by other writers the "si-pa-pú"? At no point in all his voluminous notes does Bourke use the latter term; and the first use of his own terms appears when he was in the Hopi pueblos.

Th 2d Estufa, complete reproduction of the 1st but in better condition. No characters on walls in either.

Chimneys of houses, of "ollas." Ovens on roofs and on ground.

Saw the four caged eagles. A crier was calling through the pueblo that everybody must go out hunting for rabbits to feed the Eagles.

In one of the houses, we counted nineteen people, from the tottering coughing great-grandfather to the babe just born. The head of the family was painting arrow-shafts with bullock's blood.

Saw no Albinos. Entered a house: saw Navajo and Moqui blankets; three bow drills, feather boxes & abalone shells. Make black & white pottery. Don't use "boomerangs," use clubs for killing rabbits.

To reach the Pueblo of Santana, we had to make a detour going South along Rio Grande as far as Bernalillo (10 @ 12 m.) to reach the bridge and the direct road.

Our numbers were increased by the Governor who asked us to give him a lift in our conveyance. He was quite conversational and told me that he had forgotten one "jano" or gens—the Chalchihuitl which he said, was also to be found in Isleta and Santana.

The people throw corn-meal to the "Sun" early every morning, but that is one of our old "costumbres"—we never speak of such things to the Mejicanos. We have a "padre" —Rómulo, who has a mission here and comes down from Peña Blanca. He was here and said mass yesterday morning.

"We have the church and we have the Estufa too, our own 'oficio.' The people of Moqui have snakes in their Estufa—I've heard about it. I've also heard that they used to have them in Sandía, but I don't think they have them now. And at Cicuyé, the Peco pueblo—I've heard they used to have snakes and that they let the snakes eat their children. The people of that pueblo were Tú-e. (i.e. Taos.) but they all went to Jémez. Santana in our language is called Ta-may-ya."

On our way to Bernalillo, passed by the corn-fields of Santana, most of which are on E. bank of Rio Grande. Crossed the river by a very good bridge, paying $1.00 for toll for our wagon. On W. bank, the road to Santana is sandy and hilly. It passes by an old pueblo not far from

the bridge.[4] A league beyond this are the vestiges of still another pueblo, like the 1st in the valley of the Santana or Jémez river, a stream wider than the Rio Grande, but not over six inches in depth flowing swiftly through sand-dunes of from 10 to 75 ft. in height. Our road was extremely sandy and our progress very slow.

We passed a long train of wagons and carts, not less than 20, drawn by four or 6 oxen each, driven by Santana Indians, going to carry home their crop of corn. Thus, necessity has made the Santaneros great owners of wagons and oxen and very fair drivers. Our friend the Governor, at the last moment, asked us to take him along as far as Cochití—and said he could be of great help to us.[5] We agreed to give him $1.00 per diem and to feed him and pay his expenses, the total being equal to $2.00 a day—very good pay for a Pueblo.

We were exposed to a sandstorm, blown by a biting North wind, chilling us to the marrow. Pedro José whiled away the weary drive by telling me of the great war with the Mexicans. (the Pueblo revolt of 1680)

(The priest of Cochití: the faithful sacristan—the conspiracy—the warning—the lighted candle left in priest's room, the sacristan carries him on his back across the Rio Grande. The priest sets out for the South; hides in a wood near San Felipe. Discovered drinking from river by the town-crier. (San Felipe then on the top of the lava mesa.) Hunting party find him—"No llores, padre." Conversation. Divest him of clothing. Dress him in buckskin shirt—paint his face—put a band around his head—Pursuing party from Cochití. Demand the surrender of Padre: refused. Return for reinforcements. Battle. San Felipe. deprived of water. Priest opens his veins &c. "Asi platiquen; asi dicen." Pedro also said that in "old days" Indians were all the time at war with each other.)

Reached Santana. Went into camp; while Hall was getting lunch, I wrote up my notes. Indian boy helped us

4. Evidently this was the old Tigua pueblo site known as Kuá-ua, lately excavated. In one of the kivas important fresco paintings were uncovered.

5. This arrangement indicates that Bourke did not intend to return by the same road to the Rio Grande, but to follow the old stage-road which ran from Santa Fé to Fort Wingate, and passed through the Mexican plaza of San Isidro. Bourke would hit it between Jémez and Cía pueblos, wind eastward through the foothills and drop down to the Rio Grande at Sile, and the ford to Peña Blanca. At this point the governor could trudge about five miles south to San Felipe; and Bourke would drive three miles north to Cochití pueblo.

with water and fuel. Governor & most of the men absent carrying home corn. One or two old men came up to see us.

The town is quite large—houses, 2 stories mostly, very few entered from ground; mostly all by ladders. Windows of selenite & glass, or both. Houses of adobe, plastered on outside.

Have old and new carts. Dogs, cats, chickens, cows, oxen, burros. Eagle. ovens on ground & on roofs both.

There are 2 Estufas 1st is 20 paces D. [diameter] partly over & partly underground, 10′ above & 4′ below—circular—built of stone, laid in mud, plastered on outside; whitewashed within; well lighted from ladder aperture and one open window, one ft square. Lintel of the window, of small pieces of wood. Beams, one foot in D,—black with smoke, supported by uprights, 5″ thick—Oma-a hole. Altar of mud. The 2nd Estufa is counterpart of the 1st in all respects, excepting that it has two Oma-a holes.[6] Each with a little olla. A cross was affixed to the white-washed wall.

In their houses, beef drying,—chile, corn, hides stretched out in front. Each house has a small verandah or portal. Wooden troughs,—mud chicken-coops and dog houses. Inside 1st house, a big drum, tortoise rattles, watermelons by the score hanging to rafters. Reception room, 35′ long, 18′ wide, 8 ft. high, banquette 8″ high, 3′ wide running around the room, roof, of round, peeled pine 6′ covered with saplings & earth. In one corner of room a sort of closed vault of adobe, 10′ long, 4′ wide, 4½ ft. high, in which was sealed up wheat. On other side, dried pumpkin, buffalo robes, Navajo blankets on horizontal poles. The Santanas make unusually large, fine ollas and basins. Have abalone shells.

Next the river, is a road 25′ wide, the side nearest the water built up of large blocks of basalt—The corners of houses also defended by buttresses of same rock.

---

6. In his notes made later this same day (see below) at the pueblo of Cía, we shall find that this matter of the "Omá-a niche" came up again in more close questioning of his informants. At this point we make another query for our friends, the anthropologist and the archaeologist: were these ceremonial niches which Bourke noted in the pueblos of Hopi, Zuni, Tigua, Queres, and Jémez, perhaps a transition form—possibly a blending of the "si-pa-pú" and the "ceremonial entrance"? Bourke noted that sometimes the "Omá-a hole" was in the floor, in other cases it was in the wall. It is significant that, in 1881, in not a single kiva which he examined did Bourke note what the late Dr. J. Walter Fewkes called the "ventilator shaft," and what Dr. Edgar L. Hewett prefers to call the "ceremonial entrance." (See Hewett, *Ancient Life in the American Southwest* (1930), 221-222.) If this feature had been present in any one of the many kivas which Bourke examined, a man of his keen observation would certainly have commented upon it.

The Santanas have a number of Eagles, 4 or 5—quantities of turkeys and chickens. The chimneys are of olla.

There are no dismantled and only 2 or 3 unoccupied houses; the pueblo has all the outward signs of prosperity.

We ate our lunch surrounded by the usual crowd of good-natured, gaping squaws and children. Some of the women cut hair across eye-brows. Bought 3 quite pretty pieces of pottery.

Ate lunch. Bo't 3 eggs for a dime. Santaneros have built a road for burros and horses up face of the lava mesa to the E. of them; a work involving much cutting.

Church of Santana Pueblo, N. M. sketched November 4th 1881. Dimensions 57′ broad. 35′ high to the foot of belfries. Interior, clean and walls whitewashed, but falling to ruin.

The altar pictures are of unusual merit and display through all their grime and faded looks the guidance of an artistic mind. They are four in number, and two others have rotted from their frames. In an old house, found one of the corn-meal niches of Laguna & Acoma, filled.

Inquiring about "Janos," I met with much difficulty, but drew from a number of those interviewed answers which Pedro was satisfied with. I learned of the following clans: Turkey, Chalchihuitl, Tortolita, Coyote, Huacamayo, Maiz —these from people seen in their houses.

Santaneros & San Felipes make stockings, girdles & garters of wool. Saw Apache baskets, Navajo bridles, corn-meal niches, drums.

Found a garrulous, old man, just the fellow I wanted —gave him and his wife and son small pieces of tobacco and when they were in good humor, pumped the following clans or "janos" out of them:

Aguila,	Tortolita
Culebra	Huacamayo
Tejón.	Turkey
Oso.	Coyote
Maiz	Chalchihuitl.

He then said there were no Cíbola, Chamisa, Sol, Agua, Encina, Verenda, or Sapo.

All the houses of Santana face to South: the pueblo is built in 3 streets, parts being left vacant to form plazas. It is to be observed that Zuni, Acoma, Oraybe and Santana are remarkable for the number and distance of their outlying farms.

The people of Santana have a better equipment of bows and arrows than I've seen since I was at Taos and Picurís, and that they are no mean hunters is proved by the numbers of freshly-killed antelope-skins & deer-skins in each house.

The following are Strout's rough notes of the pueblo:
Chimneys of pottery & adobe.
Most houses, 2 stories high.
Chile, corn & beans, melons and onions. They have many glass and selenite windows. Have large corrals. Bake-ovens, on top of houses & on ground. Houses entered from above & below: by ladders & doors.
Cows, oxen, mules, burros, horses, chickens, dogs, cats, turkeys, pigs, Eagles, sheep & goats.
Boy brought us wood & water for 10c. and a box of matches.
Governor went & talked with the inhabitants; when he returned, he said the Governor (of Santana) was not in town.
Two old men came to our fire to talk to us: they had on Navajo blankets.
Houses are plastered on the outside. Cottonwood troughs for mules & burros. Four eagles in cages. Had several of the important men of the pueblo, to eat with us. They use cottonwood and piñon for firewood. No houses seemed deserted. A child had a toy-cart, made of corn-husks and another had a rattle made of buckskin filled with shot.

Had abalone shells. Had crosses and wooden saints in every house. One of the streets was built up from the river with rocks & brush. Ten Indians gathered around us while we were eating; gave food to the two oldest and tobacco to all the rest.

All houses in Santana face to the South. These Indians mount like Americans on L. Side (N. B. The Navajoes mount on either side. J. G. B.)

Have many bows & arrows, with antelope-skin quivers; evidently hunt much as we saw many green antelope skins in their houses. There are four streets and two plazas formed by leaving out a few houses from two streets.

Seven miles of distance separates the pueblo of Santana from that of Zía; this journey, over good roads and in good weather should be made in one hour. The road we had to travel was very bad in the extreme and even by great stress, we found that 2 hrs. 40 min. were required to put us at Zía.

We had to cross the broad valley of the Jémez or Santana creek, which, in other words might be described as half a mile of quicksand.

Having passed that, we floundered through sand-dunes with not a spear of vegetation to mar the symmetry of their wind-rippled contours; or toiled up the steep slopes of hills of sand covered with a scraggy growth of cedar which in the pale rays of the rising moon, threw deep and fantastic shadows across our path. (Footnote: Met, in the moonlight, two Jémez Indians driving a wagon.) At last, the lights of Zía flashed out into the darkness, from the brow of a little mesa. Once more, we pushed across the river (whose course we had steadily followed) and reached the entrance of the pueblo, one of the smallest in the whole list.

I saw a young girl looking at us from the shadow of a house-corner and called out to her that I wanted to see the Governor. Met two Jémez Indians at this point. Presently, a young man came down the hill-side and our friend and guide "Pedro" explained who we were and what we wanted. His words must have been eloquent, for the young man: "I am not the Governor, I am the Governor's son. My father has gone to Santa Fé. I don't want you to sleep out there. It is too cold. Here is a good empty house." Nothing loth, we followed and were shown into a brand new room, 18 ft. square, 12′ high, earth floor, adobe walls neatly white-washed, ceilings of square-sawed pine rafters, and planking, a good fire-place in one corner and a glass window. This dainty little den was lighted by a coal-oil lamp (!), supplied with two pine tables & six pine chairs and a young squaw, the wife of the young man. Jesús was actively blowing upon some embers to start a fire, while a second one ran to get us some fresh eggs. Nor were our mules forgotten—one boy brought corn-husks another corn—and a third, fire-wood and water—

Supper! cried Hall—and my notes had to be discontinued temporarily. I swallowed my meal in haste, being anxious to improve the early hours of the evening in making a preliminary tour of the pueblo.

This, I found to my astonishment, to be almost entirely in ruins; there were lights in nine houses only and many were occupied as stables for burros & cattle. Allowing for other families absent or asleep & not having lights in their houses, there can't be over fifteen families in Zía to-day.

The deserted and ruined buildings would lead one to believe that it contained in its palmy days ten times as many.

When I returned to our house, the Governor's son had come in and been invited to eat. He was in rare good humor and responded without any surliness to my questions concerning the clans. He said that he himself was Yovva, or Maiz,—his wife & children, were Soolk or Coyote. In the pueblo, there were very few clans because they had so few people, but counting in the old men & women, the following clans were represented:
Tortolita, Bunchi, Oso, Maiz, Aguila, Coyote, and, a new one, the Huash-pa-jano—Chamisa or Sage Brush. This, he said, also existed at S^to^ Domingo along with Huacamayo & Chalchihuitl. Both Pedro and Jesús, under Pedro's tutelage, became quite communicative: Pedro told Jesús that I knew everything about Indians and had travelled among Moquis, Zunis and Navajoes.

Jesús said that the houses here belong to the women; that in these houses were little vases of corn-meal to throw to the Sun: "here he said, "I have some, and from his waist-belt, he lifted an old-style cartridge-box and, first drawing out a little bag of silver, put his fingers in again and drew out a tiny bag of corn-meal. "See! there is not much of it," he said, "it is nearly all gone, but here it is."
Then I asked him if they knew who Omáha was, and they looked surprised. Finally, Pedro said: "yes, we know." The next question was rather a searching one: "what was the object of those niches in the walls of the Santana Estufa?—in which we had today noticed ollas of corn-meal and gourd rattles?"

The answer came very promptly! They contained offerings to Omá-a and were for the same purpose as those seen in the Moqui & Zuni Estufas: "Omáha and the Sun are the same. He sends rain and harvests. We throw that corn-meal to the Sun that we may have good fortune."[7]

I now rose up and drew with my pencil upon the wall a figure: "Oh! yes, we understand that—we have that in our Estufas too.—That's for Omáha to send rain— Yes, that is rain— yes, those are clouds— yes, those snakes are lightning—we know that picture."

I was very much in fear of using up the patience of my Indians, never very great. Altho' they seemed willing

7. See notes 3 and 6, above.

to talk, I told them to go to bed and come back in the morning to take breakfast with me and after breakfast we could talk all we pleased.

Jesús said "We never talk of these things to Mexicans. We see that you are not a Mexican.—that you know much of our customs and will tell you all you want to know and show you all you want to see.—the Estufa, the old church and all our houses.

There'll be some more eggs here for you in the morning. Buenas Noches, Amigo."

Total distance to-day 25 m.,—40 m. on ordinary road.

November 5th 1881. Saturday. Day dawned clear, cold and beautiful, with the first flush in the Eastern sky. Hall tapped at our window and opened the door followed by a delegation, consisting of the son of the Governor and half a dozen others who ranged themselves quietly around the walls and watched with unflagging interest the preparation of our breakfast. Stimulated by such attentions, Hall surpassed himself placing before the gaze of the aborigines poached eggs, tea, hot cakes and beefsteak and onions.

Zía, altho' one of the smallest pueblos, is one of the most interesting to the student and traveller. The new houses, as I have intimated, are really Mexican cottages with many modern improvements not to be seen in many of the latter.

The ruined and decayed houses carry one back to very primitive times.

Here we find walls of round masses of basalt, of various sizes from 6″ to 12″ in D. but generally of the smaller, found in the immediate vicinity and built up with mud into walls of regular appearance.

The first floor is frequently raised a foot above the natural surface upon a platform of basalt blocks and mud and the outline of another such platform, no doubt the floor of a veranda such as is attached to the front of houses in Santana, is easily traced.

The roofs are of round, peeled pine saplings, 4″ to 6″ in D. broken or cut by some very blunt instrument, then a covering of riven and blackened branches, then one of grass and twigs and finally that of earth and mud. The fireplaces are of flat pieces of sand-stone, laid in mud, and of same types as those in use to-day. The rooms are very small—two in front—each 8′ front by 16′ in D—6½ high, and one in rear of dimensions on ground of one of the front ones. The foundations go into the ground some 6 or 8 inches. Cellars underneath for store-rooms.

The ruins are so blended & confused that it is difficult to decipher each house, but, judging from the manner of living in Zía to-day, the above is substantially correct. Some of the old and *all* of the new houses are of adobe. On the side towards the creek the road is built up, or rather revetted with basalt boulders to a height of ten feet.

The Zía people are what the Spaniards called Queres, —a name the Indians don't all seem to understand.[8] They, like the rest of their nation, are under-sized; the men 5′ 3″; the women 5′ or a trifle less, but all well proportioned. Their complexion is light, except when exposed to sun.

Their countenances are pleasing, but not especially intelligent. Teeth are very often defective and not to be compared in whiteness or strength to those of the Plains' Indians. Their dress, manner of cutting hair, &c. are identical with those of other pueblos, previously visited. The women, in nearly every case, wear under-garments and little children never go naked out of doors.

They have horses, cows, oxen, burros, goats, sheep, chickens and turkeys. There is one Eagle in this pueblo. There is a great plenty of native corn, chile, pumpkins (dried), water and musk-melons, dried. Eggs are raised in small quantity and inside a house this morning, I have seen a freshly-hatched brood of chicks. Dogs, it is not worth while to add, are numerous. Windows of selenite, in every house except one or two of the newest. Corn-meal vase in Governor's house.

Front of Ruined Church of the Virgin, Zía, 40 ft. broad, 25′ high to base of belfry. Cross in grave-yard in front, 15′ high. Interior going rapidly to decay. The face of the Blessed Virgin in the main panel of the altar-piece has defied the ravages of time and the elements and still preserves traces of gentle beauty. The side medallions are lambs, but somewhat better than the fearful atrocities to be occasionally found in Pueblo churches. The wooden figure of the Savior on the Cross, must have been intended to convey to the minds of the simple natives the idea that our Lord had been butchered by the Apaches. If so, the artist has done his work well.

The ceiling of this church is of riven pine slabs, and, according to Jesús, is "muy viejo." The nave, measured

8. The origin and meaning of the name Queres, or Keres, have never yet been decided. See J. P. Harrington, *Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians* (extract from 29th Annual Report, B. A. E., 1916), 574.

from the foot of the altar to the main door is 37 paces in length. Earthen ollas are in position as holy water founts.

Ovens are built on ground; some of them are made of basalt and mud. This pueblo has evidently been at one time very large. Jesús said that Navajoes killed and drove away a great many of the former inhabitants. The chimneys are made of ollas. Black, white and red pottery are made here.

Carts of both *old* and new patterns are in use; the women last night brought up one packed full of melons. The women of Zía are surly to strangers, in presence of their male relatives. One of the houses of Zía is two stories high. Saw a child's toy wagon made of corn-husks. In front of every house, quantities of beef were drying in the sun. The Zíans are advanced beyond the other Pueblos to the extent of having little home-made chairs of pine. Abalone shells hang upon the walls of their living rooms. Little children began to run naked about the streets.

Entered a house of the Coyote gens. My guide used the word Zorra or Fox, so often as a synonym for coyote and I have seen fox-skins so often in their feasts that I cannot help thinking that this should be called the Fox gens and not the Coyote. The old man, who came along with our party, told us that the houses in Zía belong to the women; when a woman dies, she leaves her house to her daughters. An *Indian meal niche* was discovered in this house.

Bought a small but pretty olla. Saw children with the backs of their heads shaved on account of lice. In another house (Maize gens) also found one of the sacred corn-meal niches:—many holy wooden pictures and a crucifix: the Indians dislike to sell these. The 3d house was of Coyote gens. Corn meal niche and saint's pictures on wood: also wooden "Santos." Abalone shells on walls of nearly every house, and pieces of them worn by children. In this house, I was presented with a frozen watermelon. I liked the taste very much. In another house (Coyote gens) was an image of the Blessed Virgin. In another house (also Coyote gens) they were making saddles. Abalone shell on wall: also saw an "arrow straightener" of perforated bone.

Saw an eagle, kept a prisoner in an abandoned house: saw two large, well-shaped mortars of basalt. The people of this pueblo make garters, sashes and leggings, but not blankets. Zía raises apples, peaches, plums, grapes, wheat and corn: eggs are also obtainable but milk is a luxury.

Entered another house (Maiz gens), there was an old woman making tortillas: alongside of her, a blind girl. Sacred drums hanging to rafters. Saints' pictures and images. Took an old Indian, Juan Pedro Medina, with me. Asked him where the corn-meal niche of this house was; "Portrás, no falta nunca; siempre hay." Entered another house (Coyote gens). Asked for the corn-meal niche: the woman of the house pretended not to understand me. Juan Pedro made them show it: it was in next room. In this pueblo, all the corn-meal receptacles are old china cups set in the walls.

They have a curious mode of preserving watermelons during winter; a net-work of fine grass or of willow twigs is made in the form of a very open basket; in which the melon is suspended from the rafters of one of the cool, dry rooms, not in general use.

In another house (Coyote gens), saw the corn-meal niche. In another, women & children, Bunchi gens; & man, Calabaza gens. Corn-meal in a little basket in a niche; the basket was of *Moqui* make.

Watermelons were offered us. Stood up in a row with our Indian hosts; there was a bull pup on one side of me and a naked little girl on the other. Strout and I soon learned to eat with an Indian "suck," which sounds very much like a dozen young pigs at a swill-tub. Everybody in this house—in fact in this pueblo—seemed to be eating watermelons on this particular morning.

In the "plaza" of Zía, is a wooden cross 15′ high.[9] Another house (Maiz gens) had a sick man in one corner of inner room. There were three very spirited drawings in black, on the white-washed wall, two of horses, one of a bull. There was also a corn-meal niche. Another house (Maiz gens) had a corn-meal niche. Here also were Indian drums, Navajo blankets and bridles. Much fresh mutton on horizontal poles: corn, beans, chile, and pumpkin seeds. The statue of the Blessed Virgin (from the Church) Moqui sashes, old buffalo robes from the Staked Plains seen in several of the rooms. In another house (Maiz gens), there was the usual corn-meal niche, Navajo blankets, and a great pile of corn-meal, ollas, ground chile, meat, corn in the ear, melon, dried meat and dried pumpkins.

9. The large cross at Cía goes back to the reconquest by Don Diego de Vargas in 1693, though the actual cross may have been renewed one or more times during the long centuries. It would be interesting to have a "tree-ring" reading from it.

There are two Estufas in Zía. The new one, built of basalt, laid in mud, plastered within and without and washed a faint yellow on the inside, is overground, square, 12½ paces on a side, 10 ft. high, and entered by a ladder to the roof and thence to the interior by another, of 9 or 10 rungs 12″ or 15″ apart. There is no "altar" (hearth), but a regular fire-place. There are two small holes, each one ft. square, for light and ventilation; a hole for Omaha.

The old man entered with me; he said: "when we smoke here, we smoke to the four winds, to the Earth and to the sky" "That is to "pedir la Suerte." The rafters are of round pine, 14″ in D. peeled. The roof of riven slabs, covered with clay: there are vertical supports in centre.

The "old" Estufa is precisely the same as the new, without having plaster on the walls and without there being a hole for Omaha. Leaving Zía, the road goes North up the east or left bank of the Jémez or Santana river to the peublo of Jémez; formation changing from the basaltic bluff upon which Zía stands to one of red sandstone: the road, the whole distance, is very heavy and movement of vehicles is much retarded. A mile or so out from Zía, passed through the corn fields of that pueblo and a herd of fine ponies; had east or left bank of the Jémez or Santana river to the pueblo Indians knew the North Star, "Lucero," the morning star, the stars that move around the North Star (i.e. the Great Bear), and the "Three stars in the East" (i.e. Orion's Belt). They had names for them all and smoked to them all, but especially to Lucero, the Sun and Moon. The time from a "luna fresca" to another "luna fresca," i.e. a lunation, was (30) "treinta dias." The days and nights were sometimes equal; sometimes the day was longer than the nights and sometimes the night longer than the day; sometimes, the sun was very high and sometimes very low. When he (The Sun) was very low, the weather was very cold and the nights very long; then, there was a dance in every pueblo. The North Star didn't move, or at least only a little. Formerly, when the Sun was very low (i.e. in time of Winter Solstice), in the time of Noche Buena (Christmas), the old men used to make the Sacred Fire in the Estufas; they used to make it by rubbing two sticks together; afterwards, they used flint and steel, but now they use matches. But, he thinks that this "costumbre" is dying out: at least, in the pueblos on the Rio Grande.

The old man, Juan Pedro Medina, told me this morning that there were many of the Chamisa and Chalchihuitl clans in Santo Domingo, but only a few clans in Zía.

Saw several flocks of ducks, and geese and an occasional jack-rabbit this morning. In the Mexican "plaza" of San Ysidro, bought some eggs and a small amount of bacon.

Reached Jémez about half past one in the afternoon: distance from Zía, 8 or 9 miles. Hunted up the "governor" of the town; found him working at a new door for his house. I have before observed that many of these Pueblo Indians evince a great aptitude for all sorts of handicrafts, —carpentry and joiner-work especially, but also for blacksmithing, silver-working, saddle and bridle making, weaving and knitting. Halted our ambulance outside the pueblo, near the old church and alongside a corral, with walls of adobe, rock and mud, and "cajón." The gates were of wood. There were other "corrals" of same pattern near by.

The Governor provided us with accomodations in the house of Juan Pedro Culaca; his wife was repairing the selenite windows as we drove up and a little boy, with abalone shell at neck, drawing a very archaic and ricketty specimen of a toy wagon, gazed upon us in childish wonderment.

The houses of this pueblo are of adobe, with verandahs or "ramadas" of wood over the doors, formed from projecting rafters. Chimneys are of ollas: ovens are built on the roofs. Windows are of selenite.

The governor told us, and the old man last night confirmed his statement, that in all the pueblos, a two-year's supply of corn was always kept on hand.

The "placeta" upon which our room opened was ablaze with "rastras" of "chile colorado." Two burros, eating out of a wooden trough, or "canova," and three mangy curs alongside of them. The old woman of the house soon raised a dust in sweeping out the floor; when that had subsided, I found occasion to examine our quarters. The house was formed of two rooms, each 17 or 18 paces long, by 5 paces broad and 10 ft. high. Built of adobe walls, whitewashed on the inside and a band of gray wash, 2½ ft. high, running around the floor, which was of earth, levelled off smooth and packed down firm. Ceiling of flat, long pieces of pine, running lengthwise of the room and resting upon two cross-beams of peeled pine, 8″ in Diameter. They are entered by a doorway, 3½ ft. high and 20″ wide, with

two steps descending into room; there was one window 18″ sq. at each side, selenite slips, 4″ square, for panes. In one corner, a little shelf and in another a fire place. A 3d room, or lumber closet, was 15′ sq. and had one small window and on the far side a raised platform, covered with corn in ear. In this apartment, saw Moqui girdles, green wooden tablets for head (same as at Moqui and Santo Domingo), rattles & buffalo-robes (much worn). The front door of our house was locked with a key, but the inner doors fastened with buck-skin strings. The house was only one story in height and there was no cellar.

The lady of the house told me that she was from Peco, that she was Tu-e, (i.e. her father was a Tu-e); she belonged to the Chalchihuitl gens; had had two husbands; the present one was Coyote, the first, of the Maiz clan.

I asked where the niche of Sacred Corn-meal was—the Corn meal which she threw to the Sun. She conducted me to the rear room and there in a niche in the wall and upon a little flat basket, of Moqui make, was a pile of corn-meal. I took a pinch of this and threw it to the Sun, much to her satisfaction.

Rambled around town—saw a woman building, on the ground, an oven of stone and mud. I entered a store kept by a Mr. Miller:[10] he told me that the pueblo (Jémez) had a population of 401. That they raised apples, grapes and peaches, wheat, corn, hay, and corn-fodder; vegetables—onions, chile, melons, chickens and eggs. They have a few turkeys: they have cows, horses, burros, dogs and Sacred Eagles.

There is no church; the church fell down about ten days ago—the great amount of rain this summer falling upon earth roof proved too much for the resisting power of the old beams which gave way, falling in a heap of ruins upon the altar, but leaving the facade intact with the steeple in which are hanging two bells of small size.

10. John W. Miller served for a number of years as government farmer. Jémez Indians still remember him with gratitude for showing them how to siphon their ditch under the stream-bed of Vallecito creek; previously every year it had been washed away in the spring freshets. In later years he retired to a property which he had acquired in Jémez Springs—including the ruins of the 17th century Spanish mission San José de los Jémez, and much of the old pueblo Guiúsewa. After his death about twenty years ago, his widow (one of the former teachers at the Presbyterian mission in Jémez pueblo, and still living) practically gave six acres enclosing these ruins to the Museum of New Mexico. It is now a state park.

Mr. Miller found the "old men" at Jémez very conservative when he tried to introduce such ideas as the rotating of crops and better breeding of their stock.

Our landlady furnished me with a list of the Jémez clans: they have Chalchihuitl, Pino real, Encina, Sol, Aguila, Coyote, Maiz, Tejón, Calabaza, Cuervo, (two only left of the last); Chamisa, Culebra, Cíbola, Agua, Sapo, Conejo, and Guacamayo, not represented. She said that there was "mucho coyote gente" in the pueblo: the people of Ci-Cuyé or Peco, spoke the same language with those of Jémez.

For dinner, Hall gave us sweet potatoes, boiled and fried, chocolate made with the milk bought this P. M.; biscuits, omelette and butter—a feast fit for any king and too good for most of them.

The women of Jémez are much better looking than those of most pueblos: their eyes are deep and full; lashes long, feet and hands small; manners, gentle and courteous.

The houses in Jémez are of one and two stories; Apache baskets are plenty,—they never seem to wear out.[11]

The "governor" told me that he had spent two years, working at Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino and Fort Yuma.

In company with Juan Pedro Culaca and Lorenzo Huaqui, descended the 1st Estufa; rectangular 33′ x 20′, overground, 10′ high: walls, brown-washed, covered with figures; of sun, moon, morning-star, evening star, buffalo, pumpkin, corn, deer, horse, thunder, clouds, lightning, snakes and sea-serpents.

Saw three eagles in cages on tops of houses. Jémez consists of two streets of houses, facing each other. The women bang hair.

The second Estufa had pictures in large size and, like those in first, extremely well done, of turkeys, two eagles fighting, hares, morning star, moon, dipper of seven stars. Bean plant, Watermelon vine, Deer, Lightning, Corn, Indians shooting turkeys (with bow and arrows)—the turkeys on a tree. Deer suckling fawn. Buffalo—Mountain Lion springing upon a Buffalo. An Eagle grasping a fawn in its talons; a star: another turkey: a man on horseback, a duck, & Eagle chasing ducks. These paintings in both Estufas were extremely well drawn and faithfully colored. Each Estufa had an altar or hearth to protect fire-place.

Bought of a young boy, a couple of pictures, cleverly done, representing the Zuni or Moqui Coyamasés dancing.

11. These were the well known "Jicarilla" baskets, obtained in barter from the Apaches of that tribal name, who had been moved in 1873 to a reservation west of the Rio Grande and north of the Jémez country.

The youngsters said that they were "Moquinos"— From the care with which there were preserved in the family, and influenced to a considerable degree by what I had noticed in the Estufas as well as by what had been told me in other pueblos, I became convinced that the Jémez people were one and same cult with the Zunis and Moquis.

There are regular stairs in all the two-story houses. In one of the houses there was an old man sick with chills and fever ("calenturas"); I saw the Sacred Corn-meal niche: also Apache baskets and an old Navajo water-jug: a dancing tablet of wood, painted green, like those in Santo Domingo and Moqui. Entered another house (Maiz gens): two stories high; whitewashed, clean and neat. Heavy timbers, 16″ in D., peeled pine, used in its construction.

A platter of sacred corn-meal in niche— The "living room" of this house was 35′ x 25′ x 8′ high. Entered another house, (Maiz gens); bought pottery. Had the pleasure of looking down upon a dog-fight in which (16) yellow dogs participated.

Entered another house, (Tejón gens); where I found a round, wooden idol (painted) exactly like those seen in Moqui. Entered a house of the Aguila gens

then	one	of	the	Calabaza	gens
″	″	″	″	Tejón	″
″	″	″	″	Encina	″
″	″	″	″	Coyote	″
″	″	″	″	Sol	″

In the house given as Coyote, I should have said Sol, that being the clan of the wife to whom the house belonged. The Sol people claimed to have come from the old abandoned pueblo of Pecos.

In Jémez, I came across people called "Moquinos," who were said to be Moquis and of same band as the Moquinos spoken of as met at Sandía. Entered the house of the Cacique of the Sun. He belongs to the Maiz gens—his wife to Coyote. There were many "holy pictures" of Saints in tin frames and right alongside of the crucifix, was a niche, with its little bowl of Sacred Corn-meal. My guide on this ramble, the Governor of Jémez, told me that the Cacique of the Sun had charge of all their dances and of the "business" in the Estufas; he knew when planting should begin and when harvesting; his office is hereditary, for said my guide, "when he dies, his son becomes Cacique." "The houses here

belong to women." "Women, my landlady said, can propose marriage to men." Our landlady was very indignant when I told her of the story I had heard of the snake at Cicuyé (Pecos.) eating up a baby every morning. She said: "mentiras! mentiras! mentiras."—and about the Snake at Sandía, "nunca; ha sido mentira; no lo creo." I made a call upon the Padre, but he was not in his house.

When I questioned the Jémez Indians about the ruined pueblo near Mishongnewy, they all said that a few years ago *those* Indians came to the Rio Grande on account of bad crops and hostile Navajoes—not very long ago, maybe 20 years. (I think about 40 or 45. J. G. B.)[12] They lived in Jémez, San Felipe and a few in Sandia, but after about (5) years when the Moquis had expectations of a big harvest, nearly all returned. "There is one of these Moquinos—a woman—here in Jémez now, and a man in San Felipe."

Strout's notes upon Jémez:

"Corn on top of houses and on ground. Selenite and glass windows, Cows, horses, mules, oxen, burros, goats, and sheep, dogs, cats and chickens and a few turkeys. Also a few eagles. Corn, wheat, hay, corn-fodder (in big stacks on roofs of sheds), chile, beans, peas, melons, squash, pumpkins, a few grapes, apples and peaches. Chimneys of adobe, with pottery tops; also chimneys all pottery. Abalone shells and Navajo blankets. Men wear citizen dress in part, coats and pants. Hair loose in front and on sides; done up in queue behind:—band around forehead. Have many bows and arrows and some rifles. There are many antelope skins and horns—also deer horns (in walls). Cottonwood troughs. Have locks on door knobs.

"Bought milk from a little girl and water from a man. Governor told us to carry into the house anything in our ambulance that might be stolen. Use piñon, pine & cottonwood for fuel. Much fuel on hand. They say that they have much snow in winter. Saw a boy making mocassins. Saw one American plow. Use regular flights of stairs to descend to lower stories of houses. Enter houses by ladders. Make saddles of wood, covering them with raw-hide. Have old and new styles of wagons. Houses are of one and two-stories. Have apple and peach orchards. Use car-

12. Apparently the ruin about which Bourke inquired was the old Mishóngnevi which had been abandoned about 1680. The answer which he received seems to have concerned a temporary migration from the modern town of that name.

penter tools. Women bang hair in front, club it behind, and leave it flowing in long locks by the ears. Houses are of adobe with stone (basalt) foundations and lower corners. Roofs covered with corn in the ear, drying for winter."

Had a dozen Indians in our house to-night. Bought a couple of Jémez pictures from a boy; little boys cut hair in front; men wear it loose, tied with a red band at fore-head. I asked one of our Indians why the "crier" was shouting through town this evening: he replied: "to tell the people to get wood for the Cacique of the Sun." He then continued: "the Cacique does no work; he stays at home, watching the sun." I showed him the picture of the marks on the wall of the house of the Cacique of the Sun in Zuni: he said: "our cacique has the same in his house."

The Indians of Zía, Jémez & San Felipe bury feathers in their corn-fields. I forgot to mention our visit to the house of Mariano Culaca. He said that his father was—"Encina," his mother "Coyote" and himself Coyote—and his *wife* also Coyote. "How is that?" "I am Coyote del Sol and *she* is Coyote del Chamisa. (from Pecos). He went on to explain that the Coyotes del Sol were the original Jémez Coyote gens, and the Coyote del Chamisa, a clan of the same name from Cicuyé, which had the suffix "Chamisa" given it as a distinction; so the two clans were entirely distinct, altho' having the one title. I made inquiry as to any traditions existing among them about the Pueblos who had escaped to the Navajoes in the time of the war with the Spaniards but they knew nothing; they said the Navajoes called them "May-dish-kish-di," but they had never heard their old men say any Jémez people were living among the Navajoes.

November 6th 1881. Sunday. I had no rest last night, my sleep being constantly broken by the movements in and out of the house of men, women and children answering the calls of nature, there being no household accomodations for such purposes in Jémez. After the midnight cock had crowed, our ears were torn by the yelping and barking of half a hundred curs, assailing the sentinel of the pueblo as he made his nightly rounds.

Hall's slumbers too were fitful and not having any watch to guide his actions he arose a trifle too early and had breakfast, smoking hot and ready, at a *quarter to four*. We had to get up and eat, much as we grumbled at the absurd

mistake which would have involved more unpleasant consequences had we been obliged to take our meal out in the raw, cold morning air.

Our sleeplessness was due, I imagine to two causes: one, that we, like everybody in the pueblo, retired at a very early hour in the evening, a quarter before eight, and the other, that our good-natured land-lady had made us and the Indians visiting us, eat a frozen watermelon after supper—the second proof of her good will of which we had been the recipients. I shall often think of this open-hearted, cheery, hospitable, loquacious, old woman; her intelligent enumeration of the Clans of her pueblo and the mole on her nose. Added to the two causes above given, might be nervous prostration: yesterday, we tried to do too much and overtaxed ourselves. We called on the "governor" of the pueblo, visited the old church, and made a sketch of its façade, entered the (2) Estufas, and copied all the pictographs we could, rambled all over the pueblo, taking notes upon every topic, and entered no less than 25 or 30 houses; and, besides all this, purchased grain and hay for our mules, wood, water, milk and eggs for ourselves, hired the room in which by the flicker of the tallow "dip," I was now jotting down these hasty memoranda.

The Presbyterians have a teacher and a school at Jémez and we intended calling to see both, had not lack of time prevented.[13] We asked our guide what the "crier" was shouting and as we asked the question, the land-lady entered; both responded that he was calling out for the pueblo to awaken; morning had come and all should arise and prepare for the feast of San Diego, which was to be celebrated one week from that day.[14] The women should grind corn and the men bring fuel that all the visitors coming to the pueblo to attend the Feast might be gladdened and refreshed. The "crier" in each pueblo, our guide told us was elected yearly the same as the "governor."

The landlady didn't know the North Star, but she did know the "Carrito" (Great Bear) which she called

13. According to the plan initiated in the time of President U. S. Grant, the educational work among the various Indian peoples was arranged for with the various church bodies. The Pueblo Indians having been assigned to the Presbyterian Church, work had been begun in 1876-78 at Zuñi, Laguna, and Jémez. The missionary in charge in Jémez at this time was the Rev. John M. Shields, M. D.

14. The patron saint of Jémez was, and is, Saint James (San Diego), so that their annual feast day was November 12.

Tsim-un-go. The belt of Orion—"Tres Marias," and the Pleiades, which she called "La Cabrilla" (The she goat.)

She said that in Jémez, were raised apples, peaches, apricots, plums, grapes, wheat, corn, frijoles, peas, and a great amount of chile. She also said that she and another woman, and their families, were the only ones of the Chalchihuitl gens in this pueblo. She had no idols of either wood or stone, but she did have some dearly-cherished monstrosities on paper which, after much persuasion, were produced and shown me: I coaxed her into selling them both for a quarter. Her reluctance was swept away in great part by our allowance of very liberal prices for the entertainment of ourselves and animals. The idols were duplicates of those secured last night from the house where, cheek by jowl, they vied in hideousness with the tin-framed, painted and begrimed daubs of San Antonio, San Juan and San Diego.

Had a wretched road out from Jémez towards Cochití: rolling sand-hills, full of basalt boulders and covered with a thin growth of cedar. Our guide told me that the people of Isleta were now almost Mexicans. They used wheat flour for bread which they made excellently well and cakes and pies like those of the Mexicans. They scarcely used "metates" any more, and didn't eat "wyavi." They also made good wine. (all this I had already had in my notes upon Isleta.) Yesterday, we saw "Wyavi" bread in Jémez, and to-day, our guide described to us a "wyavi" gruel, made of red cornmeal and milk which he pronounces delicious and says it is held in great consideration by the people of all the pueblos. He says that there are a number of words in the Jémez language almost the same as in his language, but this was not so of the language of Isleta.[15]

Our road wound over and around a range of high steep hills of sand and basalt blocks: very hard pulling.[16] From our guide's account of the Cacique of the Sun, I inferred that, in the pueblos near the Rio Grande at least, he must be of the Sun clan or closely connected with it: the position goes to his eldest son, or in default of heirs male, then to son of eldest daughter: she, being without issue, the clan

15. Bourke's guide, the governor of San Felipe, was of the Queres language, while the language of Isleta was Tigua.

16. See note 5, above. With the building of the railroad from the Rio Grande valley westward, this former stage-road had now been in disuse possibly for two years—long enough for it to get in bad shape. But it is still a short cut from Jémez to Cochití and saves about half the distance of going around by Bernalillo.

would elect an officer to hold the position—to be vacated upon birth of heirs male. Women *can* propose to men. "Such is our old custom," he said—this statement coincides with that made by our land-lady this A. M.

Got over the sandy part of the road after four hours' hard pulling and then had three hours more of good driving until we got to Cochití. 35 miles. Went to the house of the Governor.

Entered through roof by ladder—room 30′ long x 15′ broad, 7′ high, lighted by two selenite windows. In room, three young women & several children—Women wore hair banged in front, loose at side and clubbed or loose at back. Wooden images of Saints, abalone shells, ristras of chile—corn in ear or shelled—Batons of Office—young girl grinding wheat or corn-meal in metates. The Governor received us kindly, took us to a room for ourselves and showed us a corral for our mules—sent after corn and husks, fuel, milk and eggs. The milk came in less than no time—nearly two gallons of very pure rich stuff—the old woman asked 45c, a very reasonable price.

Our room was already occupied by a lot of women & children employed in various domestic vocations—grinding corn, making bread, &c. When we entered sat down & began writing, a crowd gathered reinforced each moment by the idle youngsters about town and by 3 or 5 worthless Mexicans, making an aggregate of over 30.

Our room was 50′ l. 20′ w. 8′ high—Walls, adobe white-washed brown floor band 18″ in height—Floor, packed clay. Ceiling, round peeled pine rafters, 6″ thick, one ft. apart, covered with successive layers of twigs, hay and clay. Three selenite windows on one side 2′ square set on outside of wall, the 12 in. in thickness of which made a niche. Two fire-places.—One door to enter 4′ h. x 20″ w. of pine plank *nailed* together. No Lock. Door held to by buckskin string.

In room, plenty of corn in ear, piled on floor, chile and pumpkins, crosses and Saint's pictures in tin frames, Onions, Gourd & Tortoise rattles. None of the children naked, but none of the smaller ones wearing much more than a slip, reaching barely to the knee. Both sexes, when young bang hair & wear it loose. When they grow older, may or may not tie up in a queue with red worsted behind—Men wear brow-bands.

Women in our room were making what they said was "wyavi de leche"—apparently, of corn boiled soft and then

rubbed upon a metate—with fresh milk to form a suitable dough.

Felt somewhat like Louis XIV while I was making my toilette with so many eyes upon me.

Church of [San Buenaventura] Cochití very old and dilapidated; the interior is 40 paces long to foot of altar by 12 broad. It is built of adobe and whitewashed on the inside—Altar pieces showing signs of age—swallows making their nests in rafters. Ceiling of riven slabs, nearly all badly rotten and those which had been nearest the altar have been replaced by pine planks, covered over with Indian pictographs in colors—red, yellow, blue, & black. Buffalo, Deer, Horses, Indians, Indian in front of Lodges, X [cross] and other symbols. Olla used for holy-water-fount. The cross had fallen off from front of the Church and its whole appearance is strongly suggestive of decrepitude and ruin.

Walked through town with Governor. It has four divisions—in two of them being small plazas. Houses mostly one & 2 stories high. Windows mostly of selenite.

Two Estufas. 1st 12 paces in D. Circular, overground 8′ deep, approached by a staircase of ten steps of undressed wood. Lower courses are stone—upper of adobe; plastered within & without; whitewashed within. Roof supported by a horizontal pine beam, squared, 2′ thick, under which are vertical struts of pine.—No hole in wall, no windows & no air Except down through ladder-hole. Green corn painted on walls. Ground very damp. Second Estufa—identical with first. Cross on wall.

People here have old & new carts, horses, in abundance, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens, burros & dogs. A number of worthless Mexicans living near by. One of them came up to where I was writing: nose eaten off by syphilis (or Lupus) —the most lothsome ulcer I ever saw on a man's face.

The Governor declined to have any talk about "Janos." The Lieutenant-Governor after much persuasion, told me that he was Huacamayo (Si-Shawati-jano.) and his wife, Melon. (Ish-hanni-jano.) Eagle, Sol, Agua, Encina, Verenda, Tejón, Maiz, Oso, Turkey, Coyote, (No Snake. No Frog.)

Houses, of basalt, in round blocks, in lower courses—adobe above. The conduct of the Governor at this point was very strange—his talk was smooth as silk, but his actions, unfriendly & suspicious. Wherever we went with them, a

half-dozen villainous Mexicans followed close behind, the fellow with the ulcer in his face where his nose & upper lip had been being the best looking coon in the lot.

Hall complained that he was interfered with in his duties by others of the same gang and both he and Mullen feared that our mules, or our blankets and arms would excite the cupidity of the lemon-colored scoundrels during the night. Several of them approached Strout and asked if he had change for a $5 Bill—a question too plain in its import to deceive anybody. They merely wanted to learn whether we had much money with us or not. They got no satisfaction. We merely told them that we hadn't any money or provisions with us, having been absent on a long journey. A fight was imminent during the night if we staid. The Mexicans outnumbered us ten to one and our arms were only one half what we required. Discretion here, was truly the better part of valor. I gave the order to hitch up, crossed the Rio Grande by the ford, drove to the little town of Peña Blanca and found accomodations for self & animals at the house of D. Feliciano Montoya.

Here, we had corn, hay and stabling, for the mules—a corral for the ambulance, a room for Mullen & Hall—a good, deep well of cold water—a large room with a brisk fire for Strout & self and a place in which Pedro José could cuddle up and snore by the fire. We had a great hubbub in getting drinking water from our landlady—then we must have a pint of the Vino del Paiz and at last it occurred to Pedro that for him there was no happiness without a dime's worth of Bunchi,—or Native Tobacco. For this, we sent and then made ready to turn in.

Strout's Notes on Cochití:

Houses one & 2 stories high. Entered by ladders from the top & from doors on ground floor.

Have horses, mules, burros, oxen, cows, dogs, cats, pigs, chickens, turkeys—but no sheep or goats. No eagles. Glass and selenite windows, the latter in excess.

Grind meal upon metates. Chile, corn, corn-husks, wheat, beans, onions, squashes, pumpkins, peaches, apples, plums, and apricots. Their farms are on the E. side of the Rio Grande.

Men do their hair up in queue behind and wear it loose at sides & in front.

Women bang in front, queue, behind, loose at sides. Some of the man bang and all wear brow-bands.

(Pedro here interposed a remark that *all* Pueblos banged their hair—that was the *rule,* from which, of late, many deviations had occurred. The Pueblos long, long ago were all one people and they are so to this day. He had heard of the Cohoninos—said that they were Pueblos too—lived far away.)

Men frequently wear citizen's dress. Women wear costume of the Pueblos.

Ovens of stone & mud on roofs & on ground. Chimneys of adobe & of pottery. Many troughs of hollowed cottonwood logs, raised on sticks. 3′ ft. above ground. Houses are built in lower courses of basalt blocks laid in mud, upper of adobes; plastered within and without.

Have many abalone-shells and Navajo blankets. Many bows and arrows; some pistols and rifles, old style. Many corrals, of small size, covered with a thatching of cornhusks.

Old & new style carts. Saw a Rocky Mt^{n} Sheep horns —shot in Mt'ns near the pueblo. Cross 12′ ft high in one of the plazas. This pueblo of Cochití is built in a hollow in a rambling, scattering kind of a way, divided into four distinct villages, each with its own plaza. I should say that it numbered not over 250 souls but the Governor assured me that he had 190 men, capable of working with a shovel.

This would include boys from 10 years old, up— Some of the houses are falling down and the pueblo has but little to say in its favor.

Driving to Peña Blanca, Pedro commented upon the man with the hideous, ulcer-eaten face and said that the old men often said that, in old times, those "ulcers" (llagas) were very common among the Pueblos and that they came from filth in the relations between the sexes.

Bought some nice pottery and a couple of handfuls of fresh eggs.

Distance to-day. 38 m.

November 7th 1881 Monday. Breakfast was announced at half past 4 and was consumed by 5. Pedro, our guide, had a fire blazing in our bed room when we returned. Drew up vouchers for the value of the hay & grain obtained here and paid Pedro for 6 day's work, being all the time he had remained with us and some extra pay to take him back to his own pueblo. (Last night, I purchased four old Arrow & spear heads of obsidian for a quarter.) This morning very

dark and cloudy but much warmer than any yet had on the trip. Started for Santa Fé. Reached there by 11 A. M. Received mail. Reported at H^{d}Qrs. Took dinner with Captain Woodruff and family. Day very blustery and chilly. Snow blowing down from mountains.

Distance 28 miles

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEW

Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Viscaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773. Collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier. English translations, edited with introduction and annotations by Charles Wilson Hackett, Ph.D., professor of Latin American history in the University of Texas, Volume III. (Published by Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937. Index. 530 pp.)

"A collection of fundamentally important sources for the history of the Spanish frontier in New Mexico and adjacent provinces," to quote from the preface of Volume III of the "Bandelier Papers," is made available to students and writers who will find in this publication a mine of information regarding government, church and ways of life in Spanish colonial outposts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Those who have been privileged lately to scan the published and unpublished collections and writings of the late Adolph F. A. Bandelier brought together by, and at, the School of American Research have been impressed with the prodigious amount of research and work accomplished by him in Spanish archives on both American continents and in Europe. That this is deemed worth while is manifest from the fact that Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett, himself among the leading scholars in the field, twenty years ago began the editing, annotating and filling in the gaps in the Bandelier manuscripts, bringing the publication of the three monumental tomes to a successful conclusion in 1937.

Bandelier and his wife made their studies in this particular line under a grant from the Carnegie Institution between the years 1912 and 1915 and it was the late Dr. Franklin Jameson of the Instituiton who called upon Dr. Hackett to make the result of their research available to historians and students. Tribute is paid by Dr. Hackett to Professors G. P. Hammond, A. B. Thomas and Lansing B.

Bloom, France V. Scholes and the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW for "invaluable aid in the preparation of this (the third) volume." A scholarly introduction of forty pages is followed by a well-indexed English translation of documents relating primarily to New Mexico in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The strange part is that these archives and expedientes are not dry-as-dust historical chronicles but pulse with life, and include reports of thrilling and romantic episodes, controversies, incidents, occurring or radiating from Santa Fe in greater part, and making vivid the colorful annals of two centuries of heroic struggle on the part of the Spanish invaders and the Catholic church to maintain themselves against odds that even in this day and age would seem insurmountable.

Space does not permit even a cursory review of the riches of this volume. However, its scope can be gathered, at least in part, from the three chronological divisions set up by Dr. Hackett in his introduction: 1. Church-State Relations in New Mexico, 1609-1659; 2. The Last Three Decades of the Seventeenth Century; 3. New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century; and the sub-divisions as follows: Questions in dispute regarding ecclesiastical jurisdictions and ecclesiastical privilege and immunity; New Mexico on the eve of the Pueblo Rebellion, 1670-1680; the rebellion and re-conquest of the Pueblos, 1680-1696; the Mendoza-López expedition from El Paso to the Jumano country, 1683-1684; constructive work of Governor Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdes, 1705-1706; status of the New Mexico missions 1696 to 1754; missionary efforts among the heathen tribes; efforts to reconvert the Moquis 1699-1760; and finally, "miscellaneous facts relating to New Mexico in the eighteenth century." It was a hard and strenuous life, often sanguinary and turbulent, which was led by colonists, ecclesiastics and Indians during those two centuries in the Spanish Southwest and the evidence of it is written lucidly in this volume.—P.A.F.W.