Sources for the History of a New Mexico Community: Abiquiù

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“Writing about Abiquiu,” F. Stanley confesses, “is like picking at a tassel. Any strand you pick up ultimately proves a story.” And Stanley, author of dozens of privately printed village “stories,” should know.

It is easier to write about Elizabethtown, the nineteenth-century New Mexico boomtown, where one theme and one culture predominated, and where only a ghost survives. Abiquiu, a living community where manifold themes and at least three cultures have shared the stage, holds out the challenge and the savor of variety. An academic, secure in one field or in one period, may back off. Yet if we aspire, as we say we do, to grasp the interaction of cultures through time, what better “laboratory” than Abiquiu? Besides, the story is bound to entertain.

Set in a many-colored landscape of stunning natural beauty forty-five miles northwest of Santa Fe, Abiquiu has been from the beginning a string of settlements sharing that five- or six-mile stretch where the Chama River meanders from west to east. La Puente, Santa Rosa, Santo Tomás, and the others—their history is inseparable.

The sources abound. I have admitted some secondary works less for their texts than for their notes and bibliographies, and I have excluded others readily found therein. The categories, artificial at best, are intended only to dress the ranks. A list of abbreviations is appended.

*I have accented the word Abiquiu throughout for the benefit of the reader from Peoria (Abbey-cue, not A-bee-cue or A-bee-coo-you).
Since a good many of the sources cited suggest further sources, I make no claim to comprehensiveness. This is a working document not a final product, a beginning not an end.

I. General histories, local studies, bibliographies

A demonic plague of witches, Indian raids and treaties, the departure or return of an expedition, a sensational crime—only a community’s moments of high drama rate mention in the general histories. Still, by using such moments as clues, the way a tracker uses “sign,” following index entry to text to note and to primary source, a researcher can close on his subject very quickly.


Drawing the circle closer to Abiquiu, Frances Leon Swadesh, *Los Primeros Pobladores, Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier*

F. Stanley (Stanley Francis Louis Crocchiola), compiling whatever he could get his hands on, sketches The Abiquiu (New Mexico) Story (c. 1960) in a thirty-five-page booklet, from pre-Spanish pueblos to the mining of dinosaur bones at Ghost Ranch in the late 1940s. Another short publication, a good-humored blend of folk tradition and history by a native of the community, is Gilberto Benito Córdova’s Abiquíú and Don Cacahuate: A Folk History of a New Mexican Village (Los Cerrillos, N.M.: San Marcos Press, 1973).


Two bibliographies, less specialized than others listed below, deserve mention here. The first is Lyle Saunders, A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico (UNM) Press, 1944), and supplemented in the feature, “A Guide to the Literature of the Southwest,” New Mexico Quarterly 12-24 (1942-54). And the second is Part II of Marta Weigle, ed., Hispanic Villages of Northern
New Mexico (Santa Fe: Lightning Tree, 1975). These are particularly helpful as guides through the maze of post-1930, government and grant-supported studies by scholar-bureaucrats reveling in the applied social sciences. Among current multidisciplinary listings, none is more useful than the on-going bibliographical section of the SMRC-Newsletter published since 1967 by the Southwestern Mission Research Center, Tucson.

To enter the teeming world of dissertations and theses the most painless way is through the free bibliographies published by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Begin with those on Spanish-surnamed populations, minorities, and Latin America. UMI also offers Datrix II, a computer search and retrieval system for dissertations and theses. Approached with keywords—Abiquiu, Chama River, Rio Arriba County, etc.—and $15.00, Datrix II will spit out up to 150 pertinent titles (10¢ for each additional one).

The marriage of computers and standard reference tools, which has spawned data bases, handy terminals, “on-line” searches and “off-line” printouts, let no man put asunder, least of all at the American Bibliographical Center, Santa Barbara, California. ABC-Clio, publisher since 1965 of America: History and Life, an annual of classified abstracts of periodical literature, indices of book reviews, and American history bibliography, is now computerized. The University of New Mexico General Library’s Online Search Service already is plugged into more than seventy data bases. The trick for the historian is to learn “search strategy.”

II. Prehistory and Indians of the Abiquiu region

Doubtless the first of his pueblo to visit Washington, D.C., an entire skeleton, tenderly removed in 1874 from a prehistoric ruin close-by Abiquiu, arrived at the Army Medical Museum in a crate. Acting Assistant Surgeon H. C. Yarrow told of his pioneering archaeology, complete with a ground plan of the ruin, in the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1875, 44th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document (HED) 1, Part 2 (Serial 1676), pp. 1059-68. Thereafter the doctor got good mileage from his report, publishing excerpts in several places, including “Notice of a Ruined Pueblo and an Ancient Burial-Place in the Valley of the

Evidently the Chama Valley served the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians as an avenue of migration between Mesa Verde and the Rio Grande Valley. Adolph F. Bandelier, who stood outside the Abiquiú church because of the feast-day crowd on August 30, 1885, noted that the modern town was built almost on top of an early Pueblo ruin. In his *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885*, 2 parts (Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America, 1890-92), II: 54-58, Bandelier distinguished between this ruin, on the south side of Abiquiú proper, and Dr. Yarrow’s ruin, three miles east on the bluff above La Puente. Two installments of Bandelier’s journals, recently published with copious annotations, mention Abiquiú: *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1883-1884*, ed. Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1970), and *1885-1888*, ed. Lange, Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1975).

Aiming in 1910 to sort out the place names, particularly the Tewa Pueblo Indian names, in a much wider area, the irrepressible John Peabody Harrington dedicated to Abiquiú and vicinity a map and a dozen pages in “The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians,” *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), 1907-08 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1916). Although he came up with some interesting names, for example, “owl excrement pile arroyo,” Harrington failed to locate or label positively the ruin on the bluff at La Puente. In 1919, however, a Smithsonian archaeological expedition did both. J. A. Jeancon, “Excavations in the Chama Valley, New Mexico,” BAE, *Bulletin 81* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1923), reported a remarkable variety of Indian pottery and not a thing Spanish. This seemed to confirm the Tewa tradition that “great trade fairs” were held here before European colonization.

Perhaps the Pueblo people who moved out before Juan de Oñate moved in downriver in 1598 were the shadowy Asa, perhaps of Tewa ancestry. Such a people, according to Jesse Walter Fewkes,
"Tusayan Migration Traditions," *Nineteenth Annual Report, BAE, 1897-98* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900): 573-633, departed the Abiquiu area and migrated from pueblo to pueblo all the way to Hopi country, where some of them may have been recruited in the mid-eighteenth century by Spanish Franciscans and resettled as *genízaros* in the Abiquiu area. Scattered references to the Asa and to Abiquiu occur in other publications of the BAE, among them Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bulletin 30* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1907-10). W. David Laird’s impressive *Hopi Bibliography, Comprehensive and Annotated* (Tucson: University of Arizona (UA) Press, 1977) may suggest more. It is likely, too, that the Spanish documents contain further evidence of this intriguing Hopi connection.


As for “historic” Indians, the nearby Tewa pueblos of Santa Clara and San Juan have produced two anthropologists of note, Edward P. Dozier and Alfonso Ortiz, who in turn have each written a book, *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970) by Dozier and *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969) by Ortiz, that together serve to introduce both the people and “the literature.”
Ortiz also is editing the volume on the Southwest in the revised *Handbook of American Indians*, forthcoming from the Smithsonian Institution.


III. Spanish colonial

Even though don Juan de Oñate settled first in the vicinity of San Juan pueblo, less than twenty miles southeast of Abiquiu, in 1598, Spanish occupation of the middle Chama Valley waited for the eighteenth century. The place name Abiquiu appears in the documents at least as early as the 1730s.

Surely Spaniards passed that way in the 1600s. France V. Scholes’s solidly documented studies of seventeenth-century New Mexico, most of which ran serially in the *New Mexico Historical Review* (NMHR), should be mined for leads. A seemingly unsupported allegation by Twitchell (*Leading Facts*, III: 521 n. 322)—“Diego de Vargas campaigned in all this section in 1694 and especially mentions Abiquiu”—warrants archival investigation. Fact is, Vargas’s “journals,” scattered about in all the pertinent major archives, and J. Manuel Espinosa’s *Crusaders of the Río Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico* (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History,
1942) present a well-defined path into archival waters. All this, of course, presumes the ability to swim—to read and understand Spanish paleography.

A. Archival sources

The joys of travel aside, he who rushes first to Mexico or Spain to find all there is on Abiquiu has about as much chance as Columbus had of finding the Earthly Paradise on the Orinoco. Before getting his shots and plunging into foreign archives, the researcher ought to digest Richard E. Greenleaf and Michael C. Meyer, eds., Research in Mexican History: Topics, Methodology, Sources, and A Practical Guide to Field Research (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973) for Mexico, and the Guía de fuentes para la historia de Ibero-América conservadas en España, 2 vols. (Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1966-69) for Spain.

For both Spain and the Americas, including the United States, Lino Gómez Canedo's Los archivos de la historia de América, período colonial español, 2 vols. (México: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1961), offers a guided tour of dozens of archives. One of three references in the index to the second volume under Abiquiu is to documents in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Evidently these are private papers that once belonged to José María Chávez, Pablo González, and other Abiquiu notables. They date from the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries and have much to do with local land ownership and manipulation. Today microfilm (3 rolls) of Newberry material resides at the State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe (SRC), only forty-five miles from Abiquiu.

Familiarity with archival guides and with the holdings of nearby institutions can save a researcher valuable time and, alas, on occasion, a trip to Spain. A large part of the known documentation for the history of colonial New Mexico has in fact been copied and brought together (in volumes of bound photostats, on microfilm, and in transcript) in one place—Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico (SC-UNM). The Library of Congress and the Bancroft also have copies of much of this material. This is not to say that further searching—in the Cathedral Archives at Durango, Mexico, or among the Casa
Amarilla materials now being catalogued by the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, or in a hundred other places—will not yield new finds, only to say, first things first.

Two complementary collections, the Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM) and the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe (AASF), one largely civil-military and the other ecclesiastical, head the list. Both focus on the post-1680 colony. Both have been microfilmed, and there are published guides.

Much more than a simple finding device, Ralph Emerson Twitchell’s *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1914; reprinted ed., New York: Arno Press, 1976), features summaries of some entries and translations of others. Volume Two inventories the documents spirited to Washington, D.C., in 1903 and returned to New Mexico in 1923, known today, with certain additions, as SANM, Series II. When the State Records Center microfilmed Series II (22 rolls)—containing, among other items of interest, mention of the bloody Ute attack on Santa Rosa de Abiquiu in 1747 (no. 497 which supplied the details was missing) and of the community’s effort to oust Father Teodoro Alcina in 1820—Myra Ellen Jenkins et al. prepared a helpful little *Guide to the Microfilm of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, 1621-1821* (Santa Fe: SRC, 1967) and a *Calendar of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, 1621-1821* (Santa Fe: SRC, 1968). The latter, which has no index, is cross-referenced to Twitchell, which has.

During Territorial days sundry documents from the SANM found their way into the hands of collectors. Some were lost, others retrieved, and still others preserved in out-of-state libraries. Fray Angelico Chavez, “Some Original New Mexico Documents in California Libraries,” NMHR 25 (1950): 244-53, lists what there is at the Huntington Library, San Marino, in the Ritch Collection, including a 1789 Abiquiú church inventory, and at the Bancroft Library among “New Mexico Originals” collected by A. L. Pinart (BL, NMO), including a detailed c. 1790 census of the Abiquiú district and much about Fray Juan José Toledo and the notorious Abiquiú witchcraft case of the 1760s.

To back up, Volume One of Twitchell’s *Spanish Archives* describes the loose, numbered land documents segregated in 1855 for use by the Surveyor General of New Mexico and known today
as SANM, Series I. These supplement the land grant files of the Surveyor General and the Court of Private Land Claims, files made up of Spanish grant papers and Anglo proceedings in such cases as the Town of Abiquiu, Juan José Lobato, La Polvadera, La Piedra Lumbre, Bartolomé Sánchez, and a dozen others close-by or overlapping. The lot, while in custody of the U.S. Bureau of Land Management in Santa Fe, was microfilmed by UNM and listed by Albert James Diaz in *A Guide to the Microfilm of Papers Relating to New Mexico Land Grants* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1960). Since then the originals have made their way back to the State Records Center. Only by close study of the land documents, which continue on through the Mexican period, can anyone hope to sort out the geography and plot the ebb and flow of settlement in the area about Abiquiu.

A goodly part of the church record—everything from fragmentary Abiquiu baptismal, marriage, and burial registers, censuses, even trials and land transfers, to a note congratulating the guest preacher on the feast of Santa Rosa for limiting himself to fifteen minutes—has been catalogued by Fray Angelico Chavez in *Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1678-1900* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957). The astute historical tracker will follow the index beyond Abiquiu to nearby missions, notably Santa Clara, San Juan, and San Ildefonso, which from time to time served the Chama Valley settlements. Housed in the main office of the archdiocese in Albuquerque, these documents can also be consulted on microfilm in SC-UNM and at the SRC.

Another prime source, closely related to the AASF, is the so-called Archivo Franciscano at the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City (BNM). “Discovered” and hastily catalogued by France V. Scholes in 1927-28, the New Mexico materials in these bundles from the old Franciscan provincial archives contained, to single out one treasure among many, Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez’s meticulous and embarrassing description of New Mexico in 1776, which had been filed away with a sarcastic note and forgotten. Although the entire collection has been recatalogued and
microfilmed by the Mexican government, one can still use to ad­
vantage Scholes's brief "Manuscripts for the History of New Mex­
ico in the National Library in Mexico City," NMHR 3 (1928):
301-23, together with the bound photostats in SC-UNM.

Two more foreign archives rate special mention: the Archivo
General de la Nación, México (AGN), and the Archivo General de
Indias, Sevilla, Spain (AGI). Copies in one form or another of
thousands and thousands of document pages from each are avail­
able in SC-UNM. The Bancroft Library boasts the largest U.S.
holding of AGN and AGI microfilm, as well as numerous tran­
scripts in the Bolton Research Papers. Two dated guides still serve:
Herbert E. Bolton, Guide to Materials for the History of the United
States in the Principal Archives of Mexico (Washington, D.C.: Car­
genie Institution, 1913; reprinted ed., New York: Kraus,
1965), and Charles E. Chapman, Catalogue of Materials in the Ar­
chivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and
the American Southwest (Berkeley: University of California Press,
More detailed aids for some sections of these huge depositories
have been printed, among them those appearing in the Boletín of
the AGN and those tallied by José María de la Peña y Cámara in
his Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, guía del visitante

Finally, a salute to the most active copier of Spanish documents
before photocopying, Adolph F. Bandelier. Although much of the
Bandelier material can still be found in the above-mentioned ar­
chives, certain of the originals he transcribed in New Mexico for
the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition have evi­
dently since vanished. Fifteen volumes of transcripts endure in the
library of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. An idea of
how much they contain can be had from "The Bandelier Collection
of Copies of Documents Relative to the History of New Mex­
ico and Arizona" in Report of the United States Commission to the
Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892-93 (Washing­
ton, D.C.: GPO, 1895). Numbers 26-30 and 34 deal with the suc­
cessive repeopling of Abiquiú. There are also signed Bandelier

Going Bandelier one better, the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW), an ongoing project at the Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, aims not only at publication of a multi-volume, bilingual series of selected documents but also at harnessing the computer. During the process of selection, done in the old way, in the archives, document-by-document, categories of specific information—e.g., all ethnic groups, important persons, and place names mentioned—are noted and later fed into a master computer index. To explain the project and to aid those who would use its products, a preliminary *The Documentary Relations of the Southwest Project Manual, 1977*, compiled by Charles W. Polzer, Thomas C. Barnes, and Thomas H. Naylor (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1977), has already appeared. See also Polzer, “The Documentary Relations of the Southwest,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58 (1978): 460-65.

Although the DRSW has not come yet to New Mexico, the Southwest is understood to be the area of analogous cultures contained within the 94th and 122nd meridians and the 22nd and 38th parallels. The possibilities are just as broad. Imagine a computerized biographical dictionary of the Spanish Southwest. Bandelier would have loved it.

After this section was all set down came Henry Putney Beers, *Spanish and Mexican Records of the American Southwest: A Bibliographical Guide to Archive and Manuscript Sources* (Tucson: UA Press, 1979), to put flesh on the bones. Not only does Beers’s remarkable new compendium describe where the sources are, but also how and when they got there and who was responsible. It is essential.
B. Settlement, exploration and trade beyond, mission and missionaries, and a witch hunt: selected secondary sources

Relatively rich bottomlands along a perennial stream and feed for stock on a thousand hills and mesas drew Hispano settlers up the Chama Valley early in the eighteenth century. By the 1730s they were living close-by Abiquiú under the patronage of Santa Rosa de Lima. J. Richard Salazar, who documented the site for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, demonstrates with “Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiú,” New Mexico Architecture 18 (Sept.-Oct. 1976): 13-19, the kind of study necessary to piece together the local settlement puzzle. Some of his findings are at odds with those of Swadesh, Los Primeros Pobladores, cited above but not by Salazar. Who these first families were—the Trujillo, Martín Serrano, Montoya, et al.—Fray Angelico Chavez suggests in Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period (Santa Fe: Historical Society of N.M., 1954; reprinted ed., Albuquerque: University of Albuquerque, 1973) and later installments in El Palacio. Marc Simmons, “Settlement Patterns and Village Plans in Colonial New Mexico,” Journal of the West 8 (1969): 7-21, sets them in a broader context.

As for numbers, beginning with Fray Juan Miguel Menchero’s 1744 estimate of twenty families at Santa Rosa (BNM, New Mexico Documents, legajo 8, no. 17), a fairly complete list of colonial censuses appears in Appendix I of John L. Kessell, Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840, National Park Service (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1979). Alicia V. Tjarks, “Demographic, Ethnic and Occupational Structure of New Mexico, 1790,” The Americas 35 (1978): 45-88, discusses some of the earlier censuses and squeezes all she can out of the one for 1790, but she misses the local reports from the Abiquiú district (BL, NMO).

How war and peace with Navajos, Utes, and Comanches affected the peopling and repeopling of the Chama Valley is a theme worth pursuing. Frank D. Reeve’s articles in NMHR on Navajo-Spanish relations and two of Alfred Barnaby Thomas’s works, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778 (Albuquerque: UNM
Press, 1940) and Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787 (Norman: OU Press, 1932, 1969), point the way to the documents. Other studies of the Provincias Internas, by scholars like Elizabeth A. H. John, Max L. Moorhead, and Luis Navarro García, are cited in the bibliography of Kessell, Kiva, Cross, and Crown.


Several smallish exploring and trading parties—hardly pageants in the wilderness—jumped off from Abiquiu. The unpublished journals of Juan Maria Rivera, who led at least two of them in the year 1765, repose in the Biblioteca Central Militar of the Servicio Histórico Militar in Madrid. Donald C. Cutter hints at their contents in “Prelude to a Pageant in the Wilderness,” Western Historical Quarterly (WHQ) 8 (1977): 5-14. The better-known Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776, which outward bound laid over a day at the mission of Abiquiu, two hundred years later gave the state of Utah something to celebrate. Out of the Bicentennial came The Domínguez-Escalante Journal, Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776, trsl. Fray Angelico Chavez, ed. Ted J. Warner (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), bilingual successor to earlier English
translators by Herbert S. Auerbach and Herbert E. Bolton. Anglo-American interloper Zebulon Montgomery Pike, according to *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, ed. Donald Jackson, 2 vols. (Norman: OU Press, 1966), in 1807 descended the Agua Caliente to the Chama, thereby just missing Abiquiú, which nevertheless, misspelled and mislocated, found a place on his map.

Back in 1754 the brash and capable Gov. Tomás Vélez Cachupín knew exactly what a *genizaro* was when he authorized the mission of Santo Tomás for Indians of that designation, some of them Tewa-Hopis already living in the Abiquiú area. Two hundred and two years later, Fray Angelico Chavez was at considerable pains to define the term in “Comments Concerning ‘Tomé and Father J. B. R.’,” NMHR 31 (1956):68-74. It takes some doing, lest one end up with the usual “detribalized, Hispanicized, mainly non-Pueblo, erstwhile captive,” which sounds rather like an eighteenth-century test-tube baby. This matter of racial makeup is not purely academic. If the descendants of *genizaros* are mostly Indian, why, some people ask, should they not receive free schooling and health care?

Mission Santo Tomás de Abiquiú, the only *genizaro* mission, came into being at a tense time in New Mexico. With the “barbarians” at the gates, missionaries damned governors and governors damned missionaries. Missionaries also damned bishops. The scene is well set in Henry W. Kelly, *Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1941), and Eleanor B. Adams, *Bishop Tamarón’s Visitation of New Mexico, 1760* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1954), both of which were featured serially in NMHR. Both authors made extensive use of BNM, New Mexico Documents.

“A man with an extraordinary awareness of the ordinary,” Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez captured the scabby, sometimes hilarious, and often insecure essence of life in the colony in 1776. He drew word pictures of Abiquiú’s mission plant and of the lesser chapel of Santa Rosa de Lima, right down to the last viga and the wig belonging to Our Lady of the Conception. He told of a lively trade fair for the Utes. And he was hard on the *genizaros*, if his string of “they are weak, gamblers, liars, cheats, and petty
thieves" can be considered hard. In 1956 the apt team of Adams and Chavez resurrected this eighteenth-century New Mexico classic under the too-modest title *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez with Other Contemporary Documents* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1956, 1975).

Secure in its place as bible of the subject, George Kubler's *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and Since the American Occupation*, 4th ed. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1972), has sections on Abiquiú but he, like so many others, confuses the site of La Puente with that of La Capilla de Santa Rosa. In *The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, in press), John L. Kessell grapples with the question, What has become of all these structures in the two centuries since Domínguez? Finally, Gilberto Benito Córdova, native Abiqueño, completed in 1979 a specialized study called "Missionization and Hispanicization of Santo Tomás Apóstol de Abiquiú, 1750-1770" (Ph.D. dissertation, UNM).

We may never grasp just how missionization worked at Abiquiú, but surely the witches of the 1760s have something to tell us. Marc Simmons, *Witchcraft in the Southwest: Spanish and Indian Supernaturalism on the Rio Grande* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1974), who devoted a paragraph to the subject, followed Twitchell who followed Bancroft who had the trial proceedings in his library. Another part of the record is in the AGN, Sección de Inquisición, tomo 1001. Women possessed by the Dragon of Hell, exorcism, a network of sorcerers, stone idols in caves—all are here.

IV. Mexican

Santa Fe's conspicuous celebration of Mexican independence may have made news in Mexico City, but it signaled few overnight changes. Granted, the few Missouri traders on hand that January of 1822 can be seen as harbingers of an economic revolution, but even that took time. Most everyone embraced the epithet "Mexican citizen" with gusto. Still, things Mexican flowed gradually out of things Spanish.

As the fiber of familiar institutions went limp, which it had begun to do before independence, locals took up the slack. Armed
hit and miss, militiamen far outnumbered regulars. Community brotherhoods managed the social and spiritual business of the church as old priests died off, and few were replaced. Rico families got richer in partnership with Anglos who came and stayed and married their daughters. Reacting to the instability of government at higher levels, district officials took the law more and more unto themselves. More and more people were counted on censuses, and more and more settlements. Never had New Mexicans moved around so much. And in all this Abiquiú had a part.


The Mexican Archives of New Mexico (MANM) is to 1821-46 what SANM, Series II, is to the colonial years, except for Twitchell. Most of the originals have their abode in Santa Fe at the SRC where they were microfilmed (42 rolls) in 1969. Myra Ellen Jenkins’s short *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Mexican Archives of New Mexico, 1821-1846* (Santa Fe: SRC, 1969), which notes a number of complementary private collections, and her *Calendar of the Microfilm Edition of the Mexican Archives of New Mexico, 1821-1846* (Santa Fe: SRC, 1970), define the categories of documents. A partial, item-by-item card catalogue of MANM, as photographed and bound pre-Jenkins, is at hand at SC-UNM, but only for the years 1821-32. Recently Malcolm Ebright dipped into MANM to come up with an 1832 quarrel between Abiquiú’s Manuel and Ramón Martínez in "Manuel Martínez's Ditch Dispute: A Study in Mexican Period Custom and Justice," *NMHR* 54 (1979): 21-34.
The Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and Chavez’s guide to them run sequentially through the Mexican years. To these should be added a stray, the parish baptismal register of Santo Tomás de Abiquiú, 1832-61, on microfilm at Zimmerman Library, UNM.

Two archives in Mexico City that bear looking into, besides the obvious AGN, are the Archivo Histórico Militar Mexicano of the Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional and the Archivo Central of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. Before taking off on Aero-méxico, however, the researcher should check the holdings of copies at SC-UNM and the Bancroft Library, then read the pertinent sections in Greenleaf and Meyer, *Research in Mexican History*.

Private collections and family papers, like those of Manuel Álvarez, Donaciano Vigil, L. Bradford Prince, and a dozen others at the SRC may contain bits and pieces of the Abiquiú story. These keep turning up. In a small collection in SC-UNM, “New Mexico Documents, 1770-1876,” one finds the last will and testament of José Manuel Martínez of Abiquiú, dated in 1843.

Among published censuses of Mexican New Mexico the Antonio Narbona count of 1827, in H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard, *Three New Mexico Chronicles: The Exposición of Don Pedro Bautista Pino 1812; the Ojeada of Lic. Antonio Barreiro 1831; and the additions by Don José Agustín de Escudero, 1849* (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1942), has Abiquiú and environs with 3,557 souls, of whom 508 are farmers, 48 craftsmen, 6 merchants, a school teacher, and 301 day laborers. The 1845 census of Abiquiú, El Rito, and Ojo Caliente by priest and enumerator Eulogio Valdez, printed in typescript in Virginia L. Olmstead, *Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses of New Mexico: 1790, 1823, 1845* (Albuquerque: N.M. Genealogical Society, 1975), gives names, ages, and marital status of heads of household and spouses.

By the late 1820s Abiquiú had become something of a little Taos. Here at a half dozen posts, traders and trappers rendezvoused and outfitted for ventures north and west. Many of the big names were in and out of Abiquiú. Cerán St. Vrain put Jacob P. Leese in charge of his store here, and Manuel Álvarez maintained

“The longest, crookedest, most arduous pack mule route in the history of America” is how LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen described the 1,200-mile *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fé to Los Angeles* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1954). Santa Fe may have been the New Mexico terminus, but Abiquiu was both jumping-off place and port of entry. Beginning in 1829-30 with Antonio Armijo’s round trip and lasting well into the 1840s, New Mexican woolens went west and California horses and mules came east. Horse thieving and slaving were sidelights. Two earlier articles by Eleanor Lawrence, cited in Weber’s critical bibliography, complement the Hafen book. And today, as fate would have it, Abiquiu’s Rafael Rivera, a member of Armijo’s company who got lost for a couple of weeks, is being touted as the first non-Indian to gaze on the site of Las Vegas, Nevada.


As a birthplace of notables, few communities of similar size can match Abiquiu. Chief among those who came to prominence during Mexican rule and stayed on as burs under the Anglo saddle was Antonio José Martínez, priest, educator, and champion of his people. Martínez, who served the parish of Santo Tomás briefly in 1826 before moving to Taos, has been vilified in fiction by Willa
Cather and only grudgingly recognized by Paul Horgan. He awaits a biographer. In the meantime, we have one good article by E. K. Francis, "Padre Martínez: A New Mexican Myth," NMHR 31 (1956): 265-89. Another unforgettable priest, a son of the Abiquiú Gallegos clan, was José Manuel Gallegos, New Mexico's delegate to Congress in 1855-56 and 1871-73.

As if one congressman were not enough for any town, Abiquiú in 1843 produced another, Francisco Antonio Manzanares, the Las Vegas merchant who served in 1884-85. Brief biographical sketches of New Mexico's national legislators can be found in Dorothy Woodward's New Mexico, Land of Enchantment, rev. ed., 87th Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Doc. 155 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1962). Don Devereux, "Julian Chavez, An Early Rio Arriba Emigrant," EP 74 (Winter 1967): 35-36, follows another Abiqueño overland about 1830 to California where, after a memorable career as ranchero and politician, he leaves his name on Chavez Ravine, home of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Don Julián's distinguished brother, José María, stayed home and was breveted general of volunteers during the Civil War. Even famed Ute Indian leader Ouray, according to J. M. Manzanares, "Colorado Recollections of a Centenarian," The Colorado Magazine (CM) 10 (1933): 114-15, was born of a Ute mother and an Apache father at Abiquiú where he later worked for the Manzanares and Martínez families.

V. Territorial

If the adjective "bustling" ever fit Abiquiú, it was during the Territorial years. Military post, Indian agency, mercantile, ranching, and mining center, cradle of emigrants—the community was all these and more. To set the place in context it would be well to consult the Goldentree bibliography by Rodman W. Paul and Richard W. Etulain, The Frontier and the American West (Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM Publishing Corp., 1977), which has sections on all these topics and more.

A. Military post

Unquestionably the most prideful and foolhardy boast made by the United States occupation forces in 1846 was that they would protect the locals from injury by hostile Indians. So spoke Maj.
William Gilpin who reined up at Abiquiu late in September. Contemporary John T. Hughes alluded to Gilpin’s actions in *Doniphan’s Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California*, ed. William Elsey Connelley (Kansas City: Bryant and Douglas, 1907). McNitt put them in context in *Navajo Wars*. And Pvt. James Austin had the time of his life. Writing to his brother from Abiquiu on October 23, 1846, he told of a soldier’s happy camp life. A photostat of the letter is on file at the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (MNM). “We live together like brothers,” crowed Austin, who shared quarters with five others, “and if you could see us about eating time you would say we were the happiest set of poor devils you ever saw.” A few months later James Austin died in action at Taos.


The sparse details of post returns can often be fleshed out with correspondence and inspection reports. George Archibald McCall, *New Mexico in 1850: A Military View*, ed. Robert W. Frazer (Norman: OU Press, 1968), found a company of dragoons paying $183-a-month rent in Abiquiu. Because there was no hospital, the half-dozen sick men were being treated in their quarters. “The climate of this region of [the] country,” ventured Colonel McCall, “is considered a very healthy one (the only cases of disease now existing being venereal).” In 1851 the rent, as revealed to Congress (32nd Cong., 1st sess., HED 2, Serial 634, pp. 235-41), was up to $280.

The local tradition that Negro troops manned the Abiquiu post, most unlikely before the Civil War, nevertheless deserves investigation. Another lead worth checking out concerns artist Edward M. Kern, who served the detachment as forage master from July 1850 until the following spring. Although Robert V. Hine, *Edward Kern and American Expansion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962) holds out no such hope, it would be grand to discover a Kern portfolio of Abiquiu scenes.

B. *Indian agency*

If they understood the Army’s boast to control them, the Navajos, Utes, and Jicarilla Apaches at first simply scorned it. Aided in their self-determination by United States civil and military authorities who could not agree on Indian policy and by an ungenerous, preoccupied Congress, the tribes did pretty much as they had done under previous regimes. They raided as it suited their interests, and they came in to places like Abiquiu for trade, gifts, and an occasional treaty-signing ceremonial.

To reconstruct the Abiquiu agency molehill one must go into the mountains of the National Archives, into Record Group 75, Rec-
ords of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and into RG 48, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. Pertinent sections already microfilmed include the Records of the New Mexico Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1849-80 (T21, 30 rolls), Letters Sent by the Indian Division of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1849-1903 (M606, 127 rolls), and Interior Department Territorial Papers, New Mexico, 1851-1914 (M364, 15 rolls). Lively narratives by the New Mexico superintendent and/or Abiquiu agent show up in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which in turn shows up in the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior and also separately.


Again Frank McNitt’s Navajo Wars, taken with Frank D. Reeve’s “The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880,” NMHR, serially in vols. 12-13 (1937-38), can be used as an initia­tion. Both scholars did toilsome research in the National Archives. Today their extensive collections of notes, transcripts, photoprints, microfilms, and maps are available to scholars, McNitt’s at the SRC in Santa Fe and Reeve’s in SC-UNM in Albuquerque.

From Bancroft’s listing of Abiquiu agents, one gets the impres­sion that they were the usual mix—grafters and honest visionaries, political hacks and adventurers, good administrators and bad. At least one, an enterprising Scotsman who lasted from 1858 to
1861, also held an appointment, says Laura C. Manson White in "Albert H. Pfeiffer," CM 10 (1933): 217-22, as captain, Co. A, Abiquiu Mounted Volunteers of Militia. Another, responsible during his tenure for about 1,100 Wiminutche Utes, 700 Capote Utes, and some Jicarillas west of the Rio Grande, got up on a soap box and delivered an open Report on the Apaches and Navaho Indians of Abiquiu Indian Agency, to President Grant, September 23, 1869 (printed pamphlet, Harvard College Library, Cambridge). This was a man of strong convictions, well characterized by Lawrence R. Murphy in Frontier Crusader—William F. M. Amy (Tucson: UA Press, 1972). Three years later, in 1872, a successor of Amy's moved the agency north to the abandoned buildings of Fort Lowell near Tierra Amarilla, where the last rations were doled out in 1881.

C. Mercantile, ranching, and mining center

Sharing the understandable bias of Anglo miners bound for the bonanza, Richard Sopris pictured Abiquiu as "a miserable Mexican village with supplies, and the very worst starting point." Others disagreed, notably promoter Charles Baker and his cohorts, six Anglos and five Hispanos, who in 1861 secured a charter as the Abiquiu, Pagosa, and Baker City Road Company to operate a toll road north to the San Juan mining district. That winter of 1860-61 miners crowded into Abiquiu. St. Vrain & Co., Denver, shipped in supplies. Santa Fe and Denver newspapers reported the excitement, as did Virginia McConnell in "Captain Baker and the San Juan Humbug," CM 48 (1971): 59-75. A photocopy of the toll-road company's charter is in SC-UNM.

only Douglas's name in bold type, one justice of the peace, and the rest cattle and/or sheep breeders. Although the population holds steady, J. A. Carruth, Business Directory of Arizona and New Mexico for 1897 (Las Vegas, N.M.: Daily Examiner Printing and Binding, 1897) offers some additional information: “Española and Chamita nearest railroad points, mail daily, school 4 months, banking at Santa Fe, Catholic church services regularly, principal resources, agriculture, fruit and mining.” Henry Grant is now postmaster and Grant Bros. the only general store. Allen David lists himself as miner.

Prospectors had been lured into the rugged country around Abiquiu for as long as anyone could remember. They had found copper early on, in Cobre Canyon eight or nine miles north. Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco labeled “El Cobre” on his maps in the 1770s (see, e.g., the detail of his 1779 map in Domínguez, Missions, p. 44). A U.S. exploring expedition poked up the canyon for a look in 1859. Although J. N. Macomb got his name on the Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, in 1859, Engineer Department, U.S. Army (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1876), Dr. J. S. Newberry's geological section formed the bulk of it. Newberry described the countryside and the mines, and he made a sketch of “Abiquiu Peak, Looking Westerly,” which J. J. Young transformed into a handsome color rendering. Next a travel writer, William M. Thayer in Marvels of the New West (Norwich, Conn.: Henry Bill Publishing Co., 1887) picked up Newberry's account of climbing Abiquiu peak, complete with the illustration in black and white, and attributed it wrongly to Macomb. For those today who marvel at the colorful scenery in the area and wonder what is tufa and what is not, Harold T. U. Smith, “Tertiary Geology of the Abiquiu Quadrangle, New Mexico,” The Journal of Geology 46 (1938): 933-65, has the answer.

The chalcocite copper ore of the Abiquiu Mining District “occurs as rounded grains and nuggets up to 5 in. in diameter,” writes Stuart A. Northrop, Minerals of New Mexico, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1959), who lists Las Minas de Pedro and Las Minas Jimmie on the east side of the canyon within the Plaza Colorado Grant. The record of Pedro Jaramillo vs. John Johnson (Rio
Arriba County District Court, Civil Case 455, 1890-91, SRC) over copper in the Abiquiu district, proves that someone thought it was worth going to court over.

The machinations of lawyers and land brokers, imperceptible at first to the people on the land, eventually came home as fences went up across grazing grounds and forests traditionally open to all, and as farming plots were quietly acquired and blocked up. How they went about it is well illustrated by Herbert O. Brayer, *William Blackmore: The Spanish-Mexican Land Grants of New Mexico and Colorado, 1863-1878* (Denver: Bradford Robinson, 1949; reprinted in *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants*, New York: Arno Press, 1974), and by Victor Westphall, *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era* (Tucson: UA Press, 1973). Catron, who owned outright or had a piece of at least thirty-four grants including the Cañón de Chama, Piedra Lumbre, and Tierra Amarilla, also had dealings with Abiquiu rico Pablo González. The Abiquiu documents at Newberry Library, cited above in the Spanish colonial section, should shed light on their relationship. So might the Catron Papers in SC-UNM.

D. Cradle of emigrants

For every well-known emigrant Abiquiu contributed to other communities—Martínez to Taos, Chávez to Los Angeles, Gallegos to Albuquerque, Manzanares to Las Vegas—there were dozens of less conspicuous souls who for one reason or another risked a new start elsewhere. "The gradual contiguous spread of Hispano colonists during the nineteenth century is a little-known event of major importance," asserts geographer D. W. Meinig in his provocative and closely knit *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Some made it to California. Recognizing the truth in the saying "it takes one to know one," southern California ranchers recruited Abiquiu genízaros to guard their herds against other New Mexicans and Indians. Their story is told by Joyce C. Vickery in *Defending Eden: New Mexican Pioneers in Southern California, 1830-1890* (Riverside: University of California at Riverside, 1977).
But mostly they migrated northward out of Abiquiu, colonizing such grants as the Tierra Amarilla and then, as Apaches, Utes, and Navajos were gradually contained, venturing into the San Juan Basin west of the mountains and into the San Luis Valley on the east. Hundreds of their descendants live today in the southern counties of Colorado. Alerted by Swadesh's *Los Primeros Pobladores*, no Abiquiu historian should lose sight of this intimate Colorado connection.


Parish records, whether stored in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe in Albuquerque or kept in the parishes themselves, abound with vital data to complement censuses in a largely Roman Catholic area. Fray Angelico Chavez, whose published guide to the AASF runs to 1900, is now cataloguing the more recent materials. For Abiquiu per se the researcher should examine not only what exists at the parish of Santo Tomás and its present missions but also the records at the parish of San Juan Nepomuceno in El Rito, of which Abiquiu was a mission for nearly fifty years. Three commemorative publications by Chavez help sort out parishes and missions: *The Old Faith and Old Glory, 1846-1946* (Santa Fe: Santa Fe Press, 1946), *Lamy Memorial, Centenary of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1850-1950* (Santa Fe: Schifani Bros., 1950), and *The Lord and New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1975).

Unfortunately the annals of Rio Arriba County are fragmentary at best. In the late 1930s and early 1940s when WPA Historical Records Survey teams were compiling inventories of county ar-
chives, they missed Rio Arriba. What noncurrent records survive, dating hit and miss from the late 1840s to the 1930s, are housed at the State Records Center in Santa Fe. Here are registers, books, and papers concerning civil and criminal district court cases, assessments, voting rolls and elections, justices of the peace (including the Abiquiu book, 1896-1915), vital statistics, the sheriff, schools, probate estates and guardianships, coroner's inquests, and the like. Current records repose in the Rio Arriba County Courthouse at Tierra Amarilla, county seat since 1880.

Although no one in town published a newspaper, items datelined Abiquiu turn up from time to time in the territorial press—when a killing occurs, when a contract is let or a land grant surveyed, when the church of Santo Tomás burns or a fierce wind damages the place. A few partial indices of New Mexico papers exist, usually in the town of publication, for example, at the History Library, MNM, in Santa Fe. Roman Catholic newspapers, like Revista Católica and The Southwestern Catholic, should not be overlooked. Pearce S. Grove, Becky J. Barnett, and Sandra J. Hansen have led us to water in New Mexico Newspapers: A Comprehensive Guide to Bibliographical Entries and Locations (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1975), but they cannot help us drink. Newspaper research, for all its value, is just plain tedious.

VI. Twentieth century

With world-renowned artist Georgia O'Keeffe living in José María Chávez's house, water skiers and picnickers cavorting at Abiquiu Lake, and all sorts of enlightened human interaction going on at Ghost Ranch Presbyterian Conference Center, it is no wonder that old timers scratch their heads in disbelief. They have seen their relatives leave the valley in search of work. They have seen the highway paved and sewer pipes installed. They have seen the Town of Abiquiu Grant lost for nonpayment of taxes and repurchased for them by the federal government. Even the Penitentes are back in the priest's good graces.

A. Economics, land, federal assistance, and social science

The story of Abiquiu's rude initiation into the twentieth-century world of wage labor and commercial land ownership has been outlined by Alvar Ward Carlson and touched upon in dozens of
studies from the 1930s and 40s cited by Weigle, yet much remains to be said. All the local sources mentioned in the previous section, plus oral history, should be mined right on up through the Depression and War years.

Although rural poverty becomes an overriding theme, the *New Mexico Business Directory* (Denver: Gazetteer Publishing Co.), published more or less regularly between 1903 and 1942, focuses on some of the people who were making it. Of the seven hundred persons assigned to Abiquiu and vicinity in the 1903-04 edition, twelve were cattlemen-farmers; two each were cattlemen-freighters, just plain freighters, attorneys, notaries public, general merchandisers, saloon keepers, and shoemakers; and one each barber-blacksmith, justice of the peace, and miner. Beginning in the late 1940s publications from the Bureau of Business Research, UNM, take up the wartime slack. Things get tense. Marlowe M. Taylor, *Rural People and Their Resources, North-Central New Mexico*, Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 448 (Las Cruces, N.M.: State University, 1960), and Margaret Meaders, “The Economy of Rio Arriba County: The County Background Series,” *New Mexico Business* 18 (Apr. 1965): 1-25, (May 1965): 1-29, carefully analyze a situation about to get out of hand.

Armed assault on a courthouse in peacetime America was bound to make national headlines. That it happened at Tierra Amarilla, not forty-five miles from Abiquiu, insured it and the events surrounding it an immediate place in local legend. First the defiant acts of grant heirs calling themselves the Abiquiu Corporation, nervously reported in the New Mexico press, then the rise of Reies López Tijerina, and finally the courthouse shootout. The people of Abiquiu have strong and divergent feelings about all this, feelings worth recording.

Two books aiming to present the facts with a minimum of legend are Peter Nabokov, *Tijerina and the Courthouse Raid* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1969), and Richard Gardner, ¡Grito! Reies Tijerina and the New Mexico Land Grant War of 1967 (New York: Harper and Row, 1971). Nabokov has already deposited his research materials, including taped interviews, in SC-UNM, and Gardner says he will do the same. The State of New Mexico has proffered suggestions for reforming the land grant mess in a *Land
Title Study (Santa Fe: State Planning Office, 1971), a partial response to the challenge of Tijerina and his Alianza Federal de Mercedes. Another partial response, for those who want to get down to the legal nitty gritty, is Michael Roch and Luella G. Rubio’s “A Bibliography of Spanish and Mexican Law Relating to Land Grants in New Mexico,” typescript (New Mexico Legal Rights Project, 1975), copy in SC-UNM.

No overall account of federal assistance in the Abiquiu area has yet been compiled. On September 10, 1941, The Albuquerque Journal ran a story it headlined “FSA to Determine Needs of Abiquiu, May Help Redeem Land From State, Says Chavez.” Item 207 in Saunder’s Guide is a typewritten report by the Farm Security Administraion, “Land Purchase Proposal for the ‘Town of Abiquiu Grant,’ Rio Arriba County, New Mexico.” A check of RG 96, Records of the Farmers Home Administration (successor of the FSA), NA, would probably turn up further documentation. The same with RG 114, Records of the Soil Conservation Service, NA. A couple of brief typescript SCS reports, both dated April 22, 1946, reside in SC-UNM: “Program for Abiquiu-Vallecitos Soil Conservation District, New Mexico,” and “Work Plan for Abiquiu-Vallecitos Soil Conservation District, New Mexico.” The Santa Fe New Mexican (June 11, 1964) shared news of the grant to construct an Abiquiu sewage treatment plant. There must also be records of local OEO and HEW programs.

Three diverse yet not-so-diverse works will serve to demonstrate the social scientists' enduring interest in northern New Mexico as “a country within a country.” Nancie L. González in The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico: A Heritage of Pride (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1969) aims at “an up-to-date synthetic account of the sociocultural system.” Alfredo Jiménez Núñez shows that Spaniards are mindful of their New Mexican kin with Los hispanos de Nuevo México (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1974), a community study centered on Española. In advocating “A Unified Approach to the Anthropology of Hispanic Northern New Mexico: Historical Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnography,” Historical Archaeology 10 (1976): 1-16, Paul Kutsche, John R. Van Ness, and Andrew T. Smith use Abiquiu as an example in posing several plausible hypotheses. The names of other
prominent social scientists—Clark S. Knowlton, Olen E. Leonard, and a dozen more—turn up over and over in the bibliographies cited earlier.

B. Folklife, Penitentes, and modern intrusions

But for the Works Progress Administration's Federal Writers' Project, launched in 1935, Rosario O. Hinojos might never have had her retelling of "The Murder of Tomás Martínez" set down on paper, nor Amalia Chávez her song "Sobre las Olas." These are a couple of Abiquiu items from hundreds of folk contributions collected in northern New Mexico during the project. Lorin W. Brown's posthumous *Hispano Folklife of New Mexico, The Lorin W. Brown Federal Writers' Project Manuscripts*, ed. Charles L. Briggs and Marta Weigle (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1978), features an extended and integrated bibliography, already a trademark of Weigle's. Further access to this remarkable storehouse is provided by a card file in the History Library, MNM, and by Gilberto Benito Córdova's annotated *Bibliography of Unpublished Materials Pertaining to Hispanic Culture in the New Mexico WPA Writers' Files* (Santa Fe: N.M. Department of Education, 1972). Córdova, who has lived and listened in Abiquiu most of his life, in "A Hispano Tale from Abiquiu, New Mexico," *Aztlán* 1 (Fall 1970): 103-10, shares one of Steven Suazo's delightful parables about an honest stepdaughter and a spiteful daughter who in their respective encounters with the Blessed Virgin come away with signs on their foreheads, the first with a star and the second a horn.

Two other Abiquiu Suazos, Sóstenes and Valentín, were among the ninety-eight storytellers Juan B. Rael relied on for his *Cuentos Españoles de Colorado y Nuevo México (Spanish Folk Tales from Colorado and New Mexico)*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Santa Fe: MNM Press, 1977). J. Manuel Espinosa, "Spanish Folklore in the Southwest: The Pioneer Studies of Aurelio M. Espinosa," *The Americas* 35 (1978): 219-37, concludes this tribute to his father with a listing of the elder Espinosa's writings. Taken with Weigle's bibliographies, which show further bibliographies, with *The New Mex-
ico Folklore Record, published irregularly since 1946-47, and with the works of Arthur L. Campa and John D. Robb, the above references are enough to divert any serious academic historian.

No aspect of Hispano folk life in New Mexico has been more gawked at and more distorted than the Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus, commonly known as the Penitentes. Responding first to virtual abandonment by the Roman Catholic Church and second to the culture shock of Protestant occupation, village laymen in Abiquiú and elsewhere pooled their resources and their resourcefulness to provide community social services and religious expression.

Marta Weigle, in Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood: The Penitentes of the Southwest (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1976), goes a long way toward correcting the distortion. At the same time she offers A Penitente Bibliography (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1976) meant, in her words, to “serve as the obituary for the seemingly endless stream of irresponsible, secondary, sensational palaver about the Brotherhood and a substantial refutation to anyone who publishes yet another ‘exposé’ of the ‘hitherto unknown’ and ‘secret’ cult about which ‘so little has been written’.” Herein she pays her respects to Dorothy Woodward whose The Penitentes of New Mexico (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1935; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1974) remains the “standard scholarly source,” and whose papers are found in the SRC, Santa Fe.

Weighing the evidence prudently, Weigle concludes that the Penitente phenomenon was a regional lay adaptation of New Mexico’s long Franciscan tradition. Fray Angelico Chavez, “The Penitentes of New Mexico,” NMHR 29 (1954): 97-123, and review of Weigle, NM 54 (June 1976): 21, heartily disagrees. He sees the Penitentes not as an outgrowth of the Franciscan Third Order but as a relatively late transplant from Mexico.

There are two moradas, or Penitente meeting houses, in Abiquiu: east, properly La Morada del Alto, and south, La Morada del Moque. Richard E. Ahlborn made them and their furnishings the subjects of his *The Penitente Moradas of Abiquiu*, Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, Paper 63 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968). Many of the religious images and artifacts so carefully photographed here were subsequently stolen, but then recovered, which is another story worth telling. Today La Morada del Alto is on the New Mexico State Register of Cultural Properties and La Morada del Moque is well-nigh fortified.

Worthy of note in a paragraph by itself is E. Boyd’s massive and richly illustrated *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico* (Santa Fe: NMN Press, 1974), the altarscreen-to-zaguan of the subject.


Ghost Ranch and Abiquiu Dam, nearby attractions that bring a lot of people to buy gas and to poke around the village, are probably looked upon by a majority of Abiquiu natives with mixed emotions. Naturalist and philanthropist Arthur Newton Pack, developer of the former, writes informally about the place and some of the people who have come under its spell in *We Called It Ghost Ranch* (Abiquiu: Ghost Ranch Conference Center, 1965). Out of the New Mexico Geological Society’s twenty-fifth field conference there, October 10-12, 1974, came *Ghost Ranch: Central-Northern New Mexico*, Silver Anniversary Guidebook, ed. Charles T. Siemers (Socorro: N.M. Geological Society, 1974).

The twenty-one-million-dollar, 325-feet tall, 1,540-feet long, earthfill, flood-control and sediment-retention Abiquiu Dam, raised up between 1956 and 1963, is described briefly in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Southwestern Division’s serial publica-
tion Water Resources Development by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in New Mexico (e.g., Dallas, 1963). The Corps took plenty of ribbing from the Santa Fe New Mexican in 1962-63 when the big tub did not fill up as rapidly as predicted. Plans are now afoot to make it bigger.

VII. Graphics, historical archaeology, and oral history

Like love, graphic material is pretty much where you find it. Many of the published works named above contain appropriate illustrations and most of the archives reproducible documents. Andrew K. Gregg, New Mexico in the Nineteenth Century, A Pictorial History (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1968), features pictures—not photographs—from "nearly three hundred books, newspapers, or magazine articles," including one of Agent Arny and his Utes and Jicarillas. There are a number of ideas for illustrating the Spanish colonial period—signatures and portraits of notables, map illuminations, pottery designs, all manner of artifacts, early woodcuts and title pages, the seal of the Mexican Inquisition—in Kessell's Kiva, Cross, and Crown.

For historic photographs the first place to look is the Photo Archives, MNM, where the vast array includes copy prints from collections all over the country. The SRC and SC-UNM are good second bets. Córdova in Abiquiu and Don Cacahuaté thanks "Joseph and Robert Grant for their willingness to share their extensive Abiquiu photo collection." There may be other such. Photos can be fun; two natives of the area, within months of each other, published the same shot of the chapel of Santa Rosa reversed and with different dates—Salazar, "Santa Rosa," and Córdova, "A Rose in the Desert," NM 54 (July 1976): 34-35.

As for maps, the MNM, purchaser of a 1760 Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco "original," is in the process of acquiring copies of all known maps of colonial New Mexico. The Frank McNitt Collection, SRC, contains an impressive run of nineteenth-century maps, many from the NA, many of the Navajo country and adjacent points, among them William H. Bell's "Map of a reconnaissance for a wagon road from Abique to the mouth of the Arroyo Tunicha," 1859.
When the old church of Santo Tomás, which photographs show first with a flat roof and then with pitched tin roof, came down in 1937 to make room for a new one, nobody thought to indulge in salvage archaeology or an environmental impact study. There is one thing, however. John Gaw Meem’s architectural drawings (1935) of the new “Pueblo revival” church survive, in the Meem Collection, Zimmerman Library, UNM.

Although not much that resembles archaeology has ever been done in Abiquiú proper, Frank C. Hibben once dug a stratigraphic trench at Santa Rosa de Lima. Others “potted” that exposed and easily accessible site, and lo, the State Highway Department paved New Mexico 84 right across the south end of it. Herbert W. Dick of Adams State College in Alamosa, Colorado, made a surface survey and a partial field sketch, and with Wesley R. Hurt contributed “Spanish-American Pottery from New Mexico,” EP 53 (1946): 280-88, 307-12.


The time seems right, while there are still people around who remember what happened to the vigas from the old Santo Tomás church, to revive the oral history program initiated by Gilberto Benito Córdova in 1967. Perhaps, too, an invitation should be extended to those persons who have documents hidden away in trunks and cigar boxes to bring them out for copying. What better gift to the next generation than a library of tapes and family papers.

There is no lack of sources for the history of Abiquiú. F. Stanley’s analogy, with which this essay began, is surely a good one. Yet he who would write the story, beware. Just picking at the tassle will never do.
Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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