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HISPANIC TRADITIONS AND IMPROVISATIONS
ON THE FRONTERA SEPTENTRIONAL
OF NEW SPAIN

OAKAH L. JONES, JR.*

ONE OF THE FOREMOST social and philosophical movements of Mexican history since the Revolution of 1910 has been the emphasis upon *indigenismo*, or the *tradición indigenista* in which Amerind cultures prior to the arrival of Spaniards are depicted in romantic, utopian terms. Historians too have become involved in defending the Indian tradition or emphasizing the grandeur and greatness of the accomplishments of Spain, the *tradición hispanista*.

While Mexican historians have generally praised the Indians and have been highly critical of Spanish administration, Spaniards have defended the old order. The result of such extreme positions has added to the controversy between advocates of the "*leyenda negra*" and those of the "*leyenda blanca*."¹ Both viewpoints fail to recognize the other and are usually based upon observations for nuclear Mexico, the Caribbean coast, or the southern region of the Kingdom of New Spain. Less attention, except by some historians and anthropologists in the United States, has been directed to a systematic study of the Hispanic tradition on the *frontera septentrional* of New Spain. The preservation of Spanish customs, modifications of traditions to meet local circumstances, and creation of new folk practices in frontier societies serve to explain not only the origins of customs and the nature of colonial life, but the development and preservation of centuries-old practices among the Hispanic settlers of the northern frontier.

The purpose of this study is to introduce and explain some social and economic customs of the *paisanos* (countrymen) or *pobladores* (settlers) who lived on this frontier in the eighteenth century. From

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these practices one can determine the preservation of some original traditions from Spain and discover innovations and adaptations that these people made to fit conditions in this distant region. Primary concern will not be with the transfer of obvious, well-known institutions, such as language and religion, but with local customs that reflect extension, preservation, and adaptation of the Spanish heritage. Furthermore, this study treats only selected practices evident in archival and published sources, mainly on the north central frontier. It makes no attempt to be comprehensive for the entire region or to include all the customs—such as games, music, gambling, and dances—that the Hispanic population developed.

What constituted the *frontera septentrional*? In New Spain it described the limits of Spanish expansion northward from Mexico City and was always changing from the decade of the 1530s when the Bajío and southern Sinaloa were initially occupied until 1821 when Mexico achieved its independence from Spain. In the eighteenth century, Spanish settlement reached Texas, Nuevo Santander (present Tamaulipas), Chihuahua (then part of Nueva Vizcaya), Pimería Alta (northern Sonora and southern Arizona), and Alta California, along with the continued occupation of New Mexico (begun in 1598). The zenith of this expansion occurred in 1790–1795 with the establishment of a temporary military post at Santa Cruz de Nutka (Nootka Sound) on Vancouver y Quadra Island in present British Columbia.² Thus, at the end of the eighteenth century effective colonization on the northern frontier extended through the modern Mexican states of Sonora, Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Nuevo León, along with California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas in the present United States of America. In this region there lived more than 400,000 persons of Hispanic descent with more than 30,000 in New Mexico alone.³

These settlers primarily carried on an agricultural-pastoral life, although many artisans and some professionals were present. Their lifestyle included many customs derived from Spain itself as well as others developed locally. The celebration of religious and secular occasions was evident on a widespread scale. When Governor Félix Martínez of New Mexico, for example, prescribed the methods for the proper observance of Corpus Christi Day at Santa

Fe on 2 June 1716, he ordered that religious services be combined with the assembly of the Pueblo Indians in the provincial capital and instructed that both the *vecinos* (Spanish householders) and Indians were to perform special dances.⁴ Comandante-General Teodoro de Croix of the Provincias Internas del Norte (an administrative division of New Spain created for the northernmost frontier) referred to the *patronato real* (royal patronage from the time of Isabel la Católica) when he ordered that citizens under his jurisdiction in 1780 commemorate Holy Week in the traditional Spanish fashion because it had been done since “time immemorial.”⁵ The collection of *diezmos* (tithes) from the inhabitants and participation of settlers in the ceremonies honoring the birth, death, or marriage of a member of the royal family were also occasions for special festivities, just as they were in the mother country.⁶

In New Mexico at least two local customs developed during the eighteenth century from this Spanish practice of holding ceremonies to recognize special occasions. The first was a secular event with religious overtones commemorating the anniversary of the reconquest of the province by Diego de Vargas in 1693–1696. Evidently one of the wagons in the Vargas expedition of 1693 from El Paso del Norte carried a twenty-eight inch statue of Nuestra Señora del Rosario that was present nearby during the Spanish victory over the Pueblo Indians.⁷ Vargas had earlier vowed to build a special chapel for “his own favorite statue of Our Lady of the Rosary, should he gain a quick victory, and also to hold a yearly procession in her honor. . . .”⁸ Some years after the battle of Santa Fe, this statue became the focal point of an annual ceremony that continues to the present day. On 14 September 1712, the members of the *ayuntamiento* (town council) of Santa Fe prescribed that this annual event should include a Mass, sermon, and procession bearing “Nuestra Señora del Rosario la Conquistadora” through the plaza, followed by an oath of loyalty to the king and a fiesta to mark the anniversary of the reconquest.⁹ A *cofradía* (a lay brotherhood similar to those in Spain) was established to maintain the small wooden statue and administer the special celebration each year. Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez noted in 1776 that the image was in a small niche of the chapel of Our

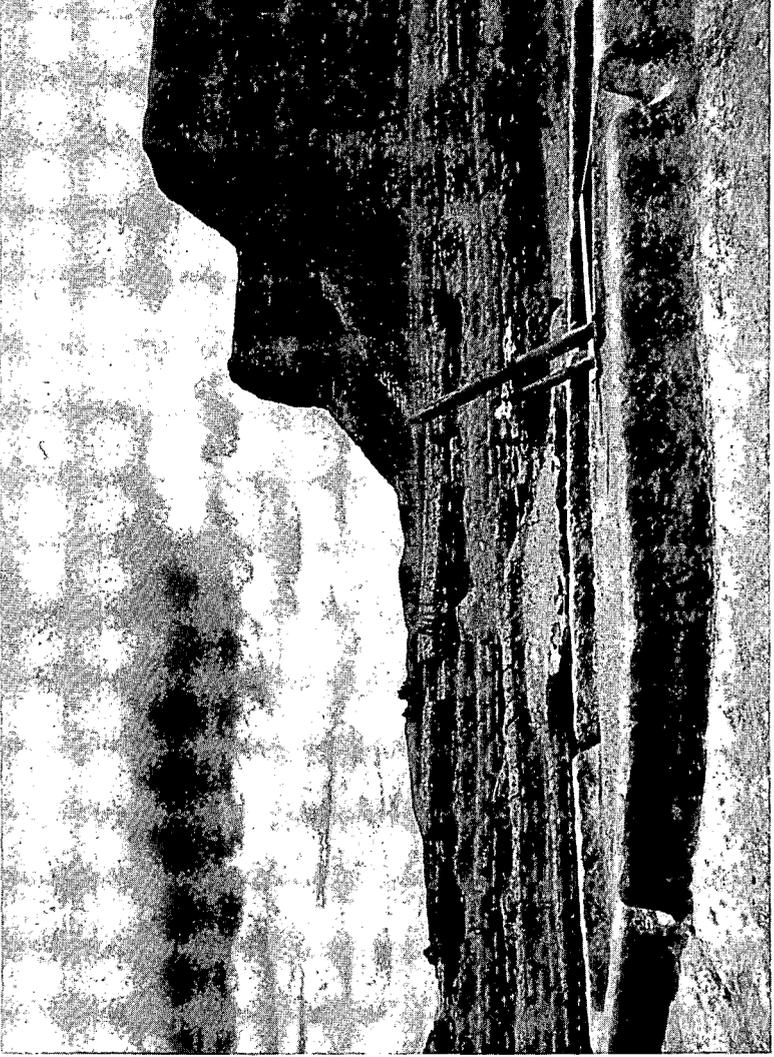
Lady of the Rosary and observed that some called her "La Conquistadora." According to Father Domínguez, she was about "a *vava* tall" and was very old, although she had been recently "retouched" and had "many fine adornments."¹⁰ A modern historian has concluded that New Mexican devotion to her was "Spanish in concept and feeling," Catholic to the core, expressing devotion to the Mother of God as "Our Lady of the Rosary" and the "Lady-Conqueror" for ethnic reasons.¹¹

A second local custom developed among the *paisanos* of New Mexico was the celebration of Holy Week by *penitentes* in the Rio Arriba region north of Santa Fe. Sometime during the period between the visits of Bishops Pedro Tamarón y Romeral in 1760 and José Antonio Laureano de Zubiría in 1833, these ceremonies were begun by Spanish residents.¹² Whether they originated from the Third Order of San Francisco,¹³ or the *cofradía* of "La Fraternidad Piadosa de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno,"¹⁴ is not certain, but penitente customs were clearly not borrowed from nearby Pueblo Indian practices. Instead, the Hispanic settlers formed a lay religious organization, "a movement clearly within Spanish Roman Catholic tradition,"¹⁵ in which the Lenten services and ceremonies of the *Hermanos de Luz* represented a "genuine Old-World survival."¹⁶ The practice of flagellation during Holy Week descended from the Medieval period in Europe, and *cofradías* were common in Spain before the Americas were discovered.¹⁷ Processions during Holy Week are reminiscent of those in Sevilla,¹⁸ and the formation of confraternities or lay organizations outside the usual clergy of the Catholic Church along with the use of *moradas* (meeting houses) seems to present the survival of deep religious devotion in a time when the church was unable to provide adequately for the needs of all settlers on the far-flung northern frontier.

Among other ceremonies widely practiced were those commemorating the anniversary of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, such as the celebration at El Paso del Norte (present Ciudad Juárez)¹⁹ and even a one-time humorous Pueblo Indian attempt to imitate Spanish customs at Pecos pueblo, New Mexico, in mid-September 1760. Three months earlier during Bishop Tamarón's visit there he had confirmed 192 Indians, among whom was a carpenter

named Agustín Guichí, who apparently studied the bishop's every move. On 14 September, Guichí, garbed in vestments made from local materials, rode an ass into the plaza of the pueblo, where he blessed two rows of kneeling women. Then he seated himself and confirmed the people by making the sign of the cross on each forehead and giving each person "a slap." Meals were served during the three-day ceremony, tortillas were distributed for the "Communion," and "Bishop" Guichí said Mass and supervised the afternoon dances. On the fourth day after he had returned to his property near the pueblo, he was attacked by a bear and mortally wounded.²⁰

Folk art and folk drama also illustrated the survival of the Hispanic tradition and the adaptation of Spanish customs to frontier conditions. The Iberian religious practice of having carved images of the saints within churches and households was transmitted to the New World with the first settlers and ecclesiastical officials. On the northernmost frontier these images were scarce, particularly in the eighteenth century. *Santos* (religious carvings depicting the saints, Mother of God, and angels) consisted of *bultos* (images in the round) and *retablos* (paintings or carvings usually on a flat surface, such as a reredos, altar screen, or wooden tablet).²¹ In New Mexico the carving of wooden bultos and painting of retablos seem to have originated because of the province's geographical and cultural isolation "sometime during the third quarter of the eighteenth century" to meet the increased local demand.²² Beginning as a local craft as early as 1753, santos were later carved by itinerant *santeros*, who travelled from one village to another. Fray Andrés García, a native of Puebla who lived in New Mexico from 1748 to 1778, made altar screens, pulpits, railings, confessionals, and bultos in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and various Indian pueblos.²³ Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, a Spaniard famous for his maps of eighteenth-century New Mexico, first came to Santa Fe in 1756. From that time until his death in 1785, he also carved a number of images for pueblo churches at Nambé, San Felipe, Acoma, and Zuñi, in addition to chapels in the Spanish villages of Las Trampas and Santa Fe.²⁴ Pedro Antonio Fresquí was the first native-born santero; he resided at Las Truchas and made both altar screens and bultos, most



Ruins of the kiva and mission church at Pecos, New Mexico.

of them in the nineteenth century during the “golden age” of the art.²⁵ Although the massive white stone reredos given to the Chapel of Our Lady of Light at Santa Fe by Governor Francisco Marín del Valle in 1760 was apparently carved by Mexican Indian craftsmen,²⁶ the unknown “Eighteenth Century Novice Painter” used oil paints for copies of canvases and retablos at various places in the province.²⁷ All of these folk art developments during the latter half of the eighteenth century depict the survival of an Hispanic tradition and its adaptation to the frontier.

Furthermore, the continued presence of Iberian traditions was evident in the local performances of religious and historical drama among the settlers. The late Professor Arthur L. Campa has noted that folk drama in the Spanish Southwest dates back to the religious drama of Medieval Spain.²⁸ The annual performance by paisanos of “*La aparición*” on the anniversary of the appearance of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (12 December) and the re-enactment of three plays associated with the birth of Christ—“*Las posadas*,” “*Los pastores*,” and “*Los reyes magos*”—were all part of Hispanic culture in the late colonial period.²⁹ So too, was “*Los Comanches*,” an historical play of the last quarter of the same century. Usually performed in northern New Mexico, it was inspired by two Spanish expeditions against the war-like Comanche Indians, including Governor Juan Bautista de Anza’s campaign of 1779 against Cuerno Verde into what is today southern Colorado. Written by an unknown participant, this pro-Spanish play depicted deteriorating trade relations between Spaniards and Comanches and ended with a battle in which the former charged with the famous battle cry of “Santiago,” defeating Cuerno Verde and routing his followers. The play is an example of the Hispanic custom of folk drama, adapted to local events, and reminiscent of the sixteenth-century epic poem of *La Araucana* by Alonso Ercilla y Zúñiga.³⁰

During Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike’s stay as a captive in New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Texas in 1807, he noted the presence of many Spanish customs among the populace. These included the performance of *bailes* and *fandangos* by the local citizens for special occasions at Ojo Caliente, Chihuahua, and San Antonio.³¹ Pike also observed that the minuet was danced by the upper classes, accompanied by guitars, violins, and singers.³² He

described the Spanish cities of Santa Fe, Chihuahua, and San Antonio, including their "public squares" (plazas), the public walk in Chihuahua, the hospitality and generosity of the people, games and betting, the daily meal routine, and traditional *siesta* from two to four o'clock in the afternoon, and the enforcement of nightly curfews by patrols of soldiers.³³ All of these customs were reminiscent of Iberian traditions, and Pike specifically remarked that the "small grated windows" he saw at Santo Domingo reminded him of those he had read about in the descriptions of Spain by Dr. John Moore.³⁴

Lieutenant Pike further described some of the economic practices of the people on the northern frontier, many of which were Spanish in origin. He observed that the residents of Santa Fe were primarily "agriculturalists," an occupation that was considered more "honorable" than being a mechanic.³⁵ Indeed, the majority of settlers on the northernmost frontier raised crops and animals. The Hispanic tradition was preserved in agricultural practices originally employed in Spain. Among these were the construction of aqueducts, as Pike noted at Chihuahua, and irrigation ditches or canals (*acequias*) such as he saw all around Albuquerque.³⁶ These acequias were vital to the existence of a farming population in a region of inadequate natural water supply. They are also reminders of irrigation practices in the mother country. In San Jose, California (founded in 1777), building sites were selected along the course of acequias, which were "the life of the town," furnishing water for garden plots and homes.³⁷ Southward in Los Angeles (founded in 1781) the original settlers dug irrigation ditches to use the waters of the Río Porciúncula primarily for raising maize.³⁸

Acequias were evident in nearly every settlement in New Mexico from Santa Cruz de la Cañada to El Paso del Norte. Water taken from the Río Santa Cruz and Río Grande was used for irrigation at Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and Chimayo in northern New Mexico was provided a "copious harvest."³⁹ El Rito de Santa Fe was used at the provincial capital, but it was insufficient to meet the needs of the settlers except during very rainy years.⁴⁰ The Chama River supplied residents of Santa Rosa de Abiquiu,⁴¹ and the Río Grande at the villa of Albuquerque was channeled through "very wide,

deep irrigation ditches, so much so that . . . little beam bridges [were necessary] to cross them."⁴² Bishop Tamarón described the large irrigation ditch (*acequia madre*) from the Rio Grande at El Paso del Norte in 1760 and noted that it was subdivided into canals that "run through broad plains, irrigating them," and enabling the residents there to grow grapes, wheat, maize, and fruit trees, such as apples, peaches, and figs.⁴³ As in Spain, these acequias were also the source of many disputes over irrigation rights, petitions to open new ditches, and detailed regulations concerning the use of water.⁴⁴

Trade and commerce among the provinces of the northern frontier and with the Indians also reflected the survival of Spanish customs, one of which was the *feria* (annual fair). Just as regular fairs or markets had been held in most cities and towns in the Iberian Peninsula for centuries and annual trade fairs were established early in the New World at Nombre de Dios and Portobelo in Panama, Jalapa in New Spain, and Cartagena in Nueva Granada, so too were they begun on the frontier. All these fairs sought to develop local trade, promote the growth of crops and local industries, and provide for increased interchange of products with Spain or within the provinces. However, trade in general and fairs in particular were usually controlled by Spanish merchants, royal authorities, and *consulados*, or merchant guilds, all of whom regulated the conditions under which they were conducted.

The city of Chihuahua (founded in 1705 and officially chartered as a *ciudad* in 1718) was a major trading center for the northern frontier. Merchants such as Juan Joseph Aramburu and Francisco de Guizarnótegui⁴⁵ even gained control over the commerce of New Mexico by the middle of the eighteenth century when they attended the Taos fair every July or August to procure trade goods from the Comanche Indians that could be marketed in southern regions of New Spain. Caravans left New Mexico in November so that they could arrive in Chihuahua in time for the annual fair there in January.⁴⁶ Among the principal products exchanged at the fair were sheep, hides, piñon nuts, Indian blankets, salt, and wine from El Paso del Norte, all of which merchants brought from New Mexico to exchange for ironware (tools and arms), domestic and imported fabrics, boots, shoes, clothes, sugar,

chocolate, tobacco, liquor, paper, ink, and a few books from the other parts of New Spain or the mother country.⁴⁷ This trade was usually conducted by a barter system⁴⁸ and was "tax free" for the duration of the fair. It was concentrated in booths around the Plaza de Armas and a smaller plaza near the old Jesuit college.⁴⁹ The annual fair was also the occasion for bullfights, fireworks, dances, and strolling musicians.⁵⁰

Other important fairs were held on the frontier. Saltillo, Coahuila, the "emporium and storehouse of the northeastern provinces," staged its trading period in September of each year.⁵¹ In Nueva Vizcaya fairs were held at San Bartolomé, near Parral, every December,⁵² and later in the colonial era at San Juan del Rio in the Durango jurisdiction during mid-November. The express purpose of the fair at San Juan del Rio was to facilitate "the commerce of the Provincias Internas and the growth of industry of the inhabitants" in the region.⁵³

In New Mexico trade with the *indios bárbaros* began early in the eighteenth century and centered at three fairs held at Taos and Pecos pueblos for the Comanches and at the *genízaro* settlement of Abiquiu for the Utes. The Taos summer fair dominated the trade for most of the century. There, according to Fray Pedro Serrano, "when the Indian trading embassy comes to these governors and their *alcaldes* . . . all prudence forsakes them . . . because the fleet is in. The fleet being in this case, some two hundred, or at the very least, fifty tents of barbarous Indians. . . ." ⁵⁴ Bishop Tamarón noted that there were seventy Comanche tents pitched at Taos in 1760 and that no money changed hands, only products. The Comanches bartered buffalo hides, meat, horses, and some Indian captives in exchange for food and European goods, usually knives and cooking utensils.⁵⁵ Prices were set by New Mexican governors as early as 1751, and Governor Anza regularized the trade by providing that it be conducted in the intermediate area between two separate camps of Comanches and Spaniards.⁵⁶ Father Domínguez reported that "the trading day resembles a second-hand market in Mexico, the way people mill about."⁵⁷ At Pecos the fair with the Comanches was held at the end of February,⁵⁸ and at Abiquiu, where the Utes brought deer skins to exchange for horses and knives, in late October and early November.⁵⁹

These fairs have been given extended treatment here to illustrate the establishment of a Spanish custom and its adaptation to local circumstances on the far northern frontier. They also served to transmit European practices to the Indians as exemplified by the case of Governor Anza in 1786 when he accepted guardianship of Comanche chieftain Ecueraçapa's son to learn the Spanish language and customs.⁶⁰ Comandante-General Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola in 1788 further stated that to encourage New Mexico trade with Chihuahua and to foster the growth of local industries efforts should be made to establish an *obraje* (factory) there to develop the weaving industry. In addition, he urged that *premios* (rewards) be offered in the manner done by the "Sociedades Económicas de España," and that New Mexicans engaged in this trade should be exempt from the payment of normal *alcabalas* (sales taxes) for a period of ten years.⁶¹

As the late Arthur L. Campa recently noted, "local improvisations became in time part of the body of regional customs" of the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of New Spain's northern frontier. Folkways were explained as "*la costumbre de nuestra gente.*"⁶² Sometimes these customs were offensive to other residents in the region, for example, after 1731 in the villa of San Fernando de Bexar (modern San Antonio, Texas) with the arrival of settlers from the Canary Islands. Their arrogance, clannishness, desire to monopolize the best lands, reluctance to perform manual labor, and insistence upon being treated as *hidalgos*, set the *isleños* apart from the other Hispanic inhabitants of the San Antonio area, thereby causing resentment, hostility, and clashes for the next half century.⁶³

Social and economic practices of the Spanish residents of the northern frontier in the eighteenth century were a combination of Old World customs and New World improvisations. Yet, even the innovations of La Conquistadora, penitente rites, santeros, folk dramas, acequias, and ferias, although adapted to local circumstances, were based upon earlier Hispanic practices. Just as religion in the Spanish kingdoms was syncretic by nature, so too were Spanish customs the union of Iberian and American traditions. Culture, as generally defined by anthropologists, is the learned patterns of thought and behavior. Customs are an integral part of

that culture. Whether they were historically accurate or not, these practices of the folk, the paisanos or pobladores, living on the northernmost frontier had their basis in Hispanic tradition. Even the adaptations in time became a part of that body of beliefs and practices viewed then as now as "the custom of our people."

NOTES

*Part of this essay was delivered at the conference of The American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, San Francisco, California, 10 April 1980.

1. For examples of Spanish historians emphasizing the Hispanic tradition see José García Mercader, *Lo que España llevó a América* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1959) and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *The Spaniards in Their History*, trans. Walter Starkie (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966). An extended discussion of the Black and White Legends is contained in *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New*, ed. Charles Gibson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), among other works. The best recent scholarship on the subject is Philip W. Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (New York and London: Basic Books, 1971).

2. See Oakah L. Jones, Jr., "The Spanish Occupation of Nootka Sound, 1790-1795" (Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1960) for an account of this establishment.

3. Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), p. 240.

4. Félix Martínez, Governor of New Mexico, Santa Fe, 29 May 1716, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM), State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, roll 5, frames 556-58. The Spanish Archives of New Mexico are available on microfilm.

5. Caballero de Croix, Arizpe, 26 June 1780, SANM, roll 11, frames 70-72.

6. For the *patronato real* and collection of *diezmos*, see Phelipe de Neve, Arizpe, 19 August 1783, SANM, roll 11, frames 598-600, and Bando of the King, San Lorenzo, 11 November 1785, SANM, roll 11, frames 909-11. For celebrations of royal occasions, see Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón, Santa Fe, 15 April 1714, SANM, roll 4, frame 1009; Juan Páez Hurtado, Interim Governor of New Mexico, Santa Fe, 6 February 1717, SANM, roll 5, frames 678-81; Juan Domingo de Bustamante, Governor and Captain-General of New Mexico, Santa Fe, 3 September 1724, SANM, roll 6, frame 263, and Santa Fe, 12 July 1725, SANM, roll 6, frame 325; Caballero de Croix, Chihuahua, 15 May 1778, SANM, roll 10, frames 1008-12; Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, Santa Fe, 6 August 1785, SANM, roll 11, frames 877-79. These represent only a few examples of the promulgation of orders originating in Spain concerning proper ceremonies.

7. Fray Angelico Chavez, *Our Lady of the Conquest* (Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1948), pp. 25–26, 29.
8. Chavez, *Our Lady of the Conquest*, p. 2
9. Juan Páez Hurtado, Lieutenant Governor of New Mexico, Villa of Santa Fe, 16 September 1712, SANM, roll 4, frames 645–47.
10. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, eds., *The Missions of New Mexico: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico (UNM) Press, 1956), p. 24.
11. Chavez, *Our Lady of the Conquest*, p. 1.
12. Marta Weigle, *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood. The Penitentes of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1976), p. 24.
13. Alice C. Henderson, *Brothers of Light: The Penitentes of the Southwest* (1937; reprint ed., Santa Fe: William Gannon, 1977), pp. 56–57, 62; Weigle, *Brothers of Light*, p. 49.
14. Weigle, *Brothers of Light*, pp. xvii, 49.
15. Weigle, *Brothers of Light*, p. xviii.
16. Henderson, *Brothers of Light*, p. 9.
17. Weigle, *Brothers of Light*, pp. 29, 32.
18. Henderson, *Brothers of Light*, p. 9.
19. Ysidro Rey to Governor of New Mexico Joaquín del R.¹ Alencaster, Passo del Río del Norte, 31 December 1805, SANM, roll 15, frame 1142.
20. Eleanor B. Adams, ed., *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760* (Albuquerque: Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History, 1954), pp. 50–52. This episode is repeated in John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1979), pp. 336, 339–41.
21. José E. Espinosa, *Saints in the Valleys: Christian Sacred Images in the History, Life and Folk Art of Spanish New Mexico*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1967), p. 4.
22. Espinosa, *Saints in the Valleys*, p. 23; E. Boyd, *The New Mexican Santero* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1969), p. 3.
23. Boyd, *New Mexican Santero*, pp. 4–6. The large bulto of Christ in the church at Santa Cruz is his creation.
24. Boyd, *New Mexican Santero*, p. 7.
25. Boyd, *New Mexican Santero*, pp. 9–10; Espinosa, *Saints in the Valleys*, p. 4.
26. Adams and Chavez, *Missions*, pp. 33–34; Eleanor B. Adams, "The Chapel and Cofradía of Our Lady of Light in Santa Fe," *New Mexico Historical Review* 22 (October 1947): 327–41; Chavez, *Our Lady of the Conquest*, p. 13; John L. Kessell, *The Missions of New Mexico since 1776* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1980), p. 44. This reredos is now in the church of Cristo Rey in Santa Fe.
27. Boyd, *New Mexican Santero*, p. 8.
28. Arthur L. Campa, *Hispanic Culture in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), p. 226.
29. Campa, *Hispanic Culture*, pp. 228–30.

30. Campa, *Hispanic Culture*, pp. 232–33. The play is a romanticized version of the encounters, based upon historical events, but is not an accurate depiction of actual experiences.

31. Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 1: 387, 437, and 2: 82.

32. Jackson, *Journals of Pike*, 2: 82.

33. Jackson, *Journals of Pike*, 1: 387, 391–92, 417, 437, and 2: 65–66, 81–83.

34. Jackson, *Journals of Pike*, 1: 398.

35. Jackson, *Journals of Pike*, 2: 51.

36. Jackson, *Journals of Pike*, 1: 400–401, and 2: 66.

37. Frances L. Fox, *Luis María Peralta and His Adobe* (San Jose, Calif.: McKay-Smith Printing, 1975), p. 14.

38. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company and A. L. Bancroft Company, 1884–1890), 1: 337, 660. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles* (San Gabriel, Calif.: Mission San Gabriel, 1927), p. 50, shows the main ditch (acequia madre) in the original plan of the pueblo.

39. Adams and Chavez, *Missions*, p. 83.

40. Adams and Chavez, *Missions*, p. 40.

41. Adams and Chavez, *Missions*, p. 126.

42. Adams and Chavez, *Missions*, p. 151.

43. Adams, *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico*, p. 35.

44. For examples see Salvador García de Noriega, Santa Cruz, 15–28 February 1770, SANM, roll 10, frames 619–23, Complaint of Three Settlers, Albuquerque, 7 January–9 February 1733, SANM, roll 7, frames 1–34, and Petition of Cristóval García, Albuquerque, 19 August–12 November 1732, SANM, roll 7, frames 1153–69.

45. Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 49, 52.

46. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, pp. 41–43.

47. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, p. 49; Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Chihuahua: Storehouse of Storms* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1966), p. 78.

48. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, p. 50.

49. Lister and Lister, *Chihuahua*, p. 79.

50. Lister and Lister, *Chihuahua*, p. 79.

51. Vito Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas en la época colonial* (México: Editorial Cultura, 1938), p. 609.

52. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, p. 43; Nemesio Salcedo y Salcedo, Bando, Chihuahua, 24 February 1806, and Bando, 5 March 1806, SANM, roll 16, frames 84, 85–86.

53. Nemesio Salcedo y Salcedo, Comandante-General de las Provincias Internas, Bando, Chihuahua, 10 April 1804, SANM, roll 15, frame 240.

54. Report of Fray Pedro Serrano to the Viceroy, the Marqués de Cruillas, 1761, in *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Ap-*

proaches Thereto, to 1773, ed. Charles W. Hackett, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1923–1937), 3: 486, quoted in Charles L. Kenner, *A History of New Mexican–Plains Indian Relations* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 37.

55. Kenner, *History of New Mexico–Plains Indian Relations*, p. 37; Adams and Chavez, *Missions*, p. 252; Adams, *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico*, p. 58.

56. Kenner, *History of New Mexican–Plains Indian Relations*, p. 40.

57. Adams and Chavez, *Missions*, p. 252. Father Domínguez noted that a buffalo hide was worth one *belduque* (broad iron knife); an Indian slave girl of twelve to twenty years of age brought two good horses, a cloak, a horse blanket, a red lapel, and a she-mule with scarlet cover, although male captives were worth less; and two buffalo skins were exchanged for a bridle. At Pecos, one buffalo hide brought two knives, and one horse was worth thirteen knives (see Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, p. 406).

58. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, p. 406; Kenner, *History of New Mexican–Plains Indian Relations*, p. 52.

59. Adams and Chavez, *Missions*, pp. 252–53. Father Domínguez also noted that the Utes exchanged buffalo or deer meat for maize and corn flour, and they also sold “little captive heathen Indians (male or female) . . .” (p. 253).

60. Kenner, *History of New Mexican–Plains Indian Relations*, p. 57.

61. Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, Valle de San Bartolomé, 25 October 1788, SANM, roll 12, frames 97, 99.

62. Campa, *Hispanic Culture*, pp. 189, 190.

63. Don Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte, Viceroy of New Spain, México, 28 November 1730, Béxar Archives, University of Texas, B24/142; Carlos E. Castañeda, *A Report on the Spanish Archives in San Antonio, Texas* (San Antonio, Tex.: Yanaguana Society, 1937), pp. 21–22; Isaac J. Cox, “The Early Settlers of San Fernando,” *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 5 (October 1901): 152–58.

CONFERENCE NEWS

The Historical Society of New Mexico will hold its 1982 Annual Conference in Santa Fe, 15-18 April. For further information regarding submission of papers, please contact Program Committee Chairman, Historical Society of New Mexico, P.O. Box 5819, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

The New Mexico Association of Museums will hold a joint conference with the museums of Chihuahua, Mexico. The meeting will take place in Juarez at the Museo de Arte e Historia in the spring of 1982. For additional information, please contact New Mexico Association of Museums, P.O. Box 5746, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87502.

The third annual State History Day, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, University of New Mexico, Public Service Company of New Mexico, and Digital will be held April 1982. The national contest in June will take place in Washington, D.C. Students in grades six through twelve may participate. This year's theme will be "Trade and Industry in History," and there will also be an open category for non-theme entries. Contact Dr. Lynette K. Oshima, State Coordinator, Mesa Vista 3066, UNM, 87131, or phone 277-4326 for more information.

NEW MEXICO COMMITTEE FOR THE PROMOTION OF HISTORY

Recently a group of historians active in a variety of fields of history met to discuss some of the major problems facing the profession. To help resolve these problems, they decided to form the New Mexico Committee for the Promotion of History. The Committee will serve as a public interest group representing the concerns of historians and historical organizations throughout the state, as well as those of other disciplines who utilize the services of professional historians. For more information, please contact Dr. Stanley M. Hordes, Department of History, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87131, or call him at (505) 766-3724 or 266-2352.